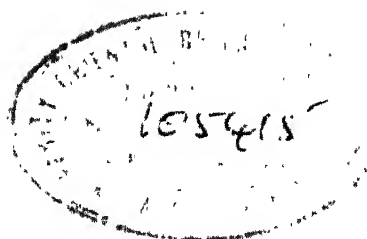


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Ramanand Vidya Bhawan

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A Short History of Ceylon

(from the 5th century B. C. to the 4th century A. D.)

INTRODUCTION: THE SOURCES

The chief sources from which we gather our knowledge of the history of ancient Ceylon are the two Pāli chronicles *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvāṃsa*¹. They are supplemented in some details by the younger literature, chiefly by the *Mahāvāṃsa-Tīkā*, and by the Sinhalese books, like *Pūjāvali*, *Nikāya-saṅgraha*, *Dhātuvāṃsa*, *Rājaraṭnākara*, *Rājāvali*. Among all these works the *Dīpavaṃsa*² is by far the oldest, and the time of its composition is fairly well to be determined. The last Sinhalese king mentioned in the Dv. is Mahāsena, who died in the first half of the fourth century A. D.; in the introduction of Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* the chronicle has been quoted³. As Buddhaghosa lived in the first half of the fifth century A. D.⁴, we can say, with some confidence, that the Dv. was composed between the years 350 and 400 A. D. The Dv. can hardly be called a

1 W. Geiger, *Dīpavaṃsa und Mahāvāṃsa und die Geschichtliche Ueberlieferung in Ceylon*, Leipzig, 1905 (= *Dīp* and *Mah.* by W. Geiger, transl. by Ethel M. Coomaraswamy, Colombo, 1908). Winternitz, *Gesch. der Indischen Literatur*, II, 166ff.

2 *Dīpavaṃsa*, an ancient Buddhist Historical Record, ed. and transl. by H. Oldenberg (1879).

3 *Samanta Pāsādikā*, ed. J. Takakusu, assisted by M. Nagai (P.T.S., 1924), pp. 74, 75. The quoted verses are Dv. XI, 15-16; XII 1-4.

4 B. C. Law, *Life and Work of Buddhaghosa*, Calcutta and Simla, 1923, p. 9.

poem. It is rather a clumsy composition which often consists of mere enumeration of proper names or terms, apparently to serve as a support for the memory. Very often the same subject is narrated twice or even three times in a slightly different manner, as if two or three recensions of the chronicle were knit together. This all shows the compiler's want of literary fitness, but it does by no means touch the value of the *Dv.* as a source of historical information.

As to the contents of the *Dv.*, it starts from the *abhisambodhi* of the Buddha, the legend of his visits to Ceylon, and the lineage of his family. In chs. iv to viii are related the story of the Buddhist councils and that of the missions sent in king Asoka's time to the various countries to preach the Buddhist doctrine including that of the king's son Mahinda's mission to Ceylon. Now the history of Laṅkā is told from the first Aryan immigration under Vijaya up to Devānampiyatissa, who was a contemporary and friend of king Asoka (chs. ix-xi). Mahinda arrives in Ceylon and preaches the *dhamma*. He is joyfully received by the king and his subjects, and the Mahāmegha-vana garden, the later Mahāvihāra, is dedicated by the king to the fraternity, as well as the *ārāma* on the Cetiya mountain (chs. xii-xiv). The holy relic of the Buddha's right collar-bone is brought from India to Ceylon, and is deposited in a stūpa, erected on the Cetiya hill. In connection with this fact the legend of the three former Buddhas and of their relics is told (ch. xv. 1-73). Saṅghamittā, Mahinda's sister, comes to Laṅkā, to confer there the ordination on queen Anulā and other women who were converted to the Buddha's faith (ch. xv. 74-80). Ariṭṭha is sent to India to fetch a branch of the holy Bodhi-tree; the branch arrives and is planted in the Mahāvihāra. The story of the holy trees of the former Buddhas is related in this connection, and the Bhikkhunis living in Ceylon are enumerated (ch. xv. 81 xviii. 44). The rest of ch. xviii and the last four chapters are filled with a succinct history of the Sinhalese kings from Devānampiyatissa's successors up to Mahāsena.

The character of the *Mahāvamsa*¹ differs widely from that of the Dv. although the arrangement of the legendary and historical materials is almost the same in both chronicles and has become typical for all similar compilations of later date. But the Mv. is a real *kāvya*, and its author Mahānāma deserves the poet's title. In the introductory verses of his poem he explicitly refers, I believe, to the Dīpavamsa with the words: "That (Mahāvamsa) which was compiled by the ancient (sages) was here too long drawn and there too closely knit; and contained many repetitions. Attend ye now to this (Mahāvamsa) that is free from such faults, easy to understand and remember, arousing serene joy and emotion and handed down (to us) by tradition". Indeed, the author of the Mv. avoids the faults censured by him, in the older chronicle. Legendary chapters are not wanting, of course, but they are reduced to the right proportion. In the description of Mahinda's arrival in Ceylon and of Devānampiyatissa's conversion to Buddhism, the Mv. generally agrees with the Dv. The reign of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi is described with great details. Its history occupies in the Mv. altogether eleven chapters (xxii-xxxii), whilst in the Dv. only thirteen verses are devoted to it. We are entitled to speak of the Epic of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi as forming the centre of Mahānāma's poem as the "Epic of Parakkamabāhu"² is that of the Cūlavamsa, the later continuation of the Mv.

Concerning the source from which both the Dv. and the Mv. have taken their subject-matter, we are well informed

1 The *Mahāvamsa* in Roman characters with the translation subjoined by G. Turnour, 1837 (the translation has been revised and reprinted in the *Mahāvamsa* by Wijesinha, 1889).—The *Mahāvamsa* from first to thirty-sixth chapter, revised and edited by H. Sumaṅgala and DADS. Batuwantudawa, 1883.—The *Mahāvamsa*, edited by Wilh. Geiger, Pali Text Society, 1908.—The *Mahāvamsa* or the Great Chronicle of Ceylon, transl. by Wilh. Geiger, assisted by M.H. Bode, P. T. S., 1912.

2 R. S. Copleston, *JRAS.*, Ceylon Br. XIII, 44, 1893, pp. 60 ff.

of by a later work the *Mahāvamsatikā*¹, which was probably composed in the 12th century A. D. There existed in Ceylon an extensive commentary on the holy Buddhist scriptures, composed in old Sinhalese language and preserved in various recensions in the monasteries of the Island. It was called *Aṭṭhakathā* or *Sihalatṭhakathā* or *Porānatṭhakathā*. Buddhaghosa went to Ceylon, according to tradition, to study the *aṭṭhakathā* in the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura. It seems that a historical introduction of great length belonged to that *aṭṭhakathā* or perhaps even a separate part of historical character, an old chronicle mixed of prose and verses, and it can be taken for certain that on the *aṭṭhakathā* or, more accurately on the legendary and historical part of it, the *Dīpavamsa*² is based as well as Buddhaghosa's introduction to his *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Mahāvamsa* together with its *Ṭikā*. The Dv. is merely a dry summary of it or as we may gather from the numerous repetitions, of its various recensions, Buddhaghosa's introduction to the *Samantapāsādikā* is chiefly based on the Dv. with some details and supplementary additions taken from the Ak. The Mv. contains plenty of new materials, taken also directly from the Ak. and sometimes also, I believe, from popular tradition. The same holds good with regard to the Mv.-*Ṭikā*. In the younger Sinhalese literature chiefly the account of the Mv. is repeated and supplied by a few additions of no great significance.

As to the trustworthiness of the Sinhalese chronicles, I think that now the majority of experts will agree, in the main at least, with what I said on this subject in my Mv. transl. (pp. xii ff.) Dv. and Mv. are a mixture of legends and of historical truth, and they must be used, of course, with caution and with criticism. They are by no means infallible.

1 *Mahāvamsa Ṭikā* or *Wamsatthappakāsini*, revised and edited by Paṇḍit Batuwantudawa and M. Nāgissara Bhikkhu, Colombo, 1895. Cf. W. Geiger, *Zeitschr. D. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, 63, 1909, pp. 540 ff., 548 ff.

2 Cf. also Oldenberg's Dv., Introduction, pp. 1-9.

In the account of the oldest period the legends prevail, but it is not very difficult to isolate them, and the more we approach to the last centuries B. C., the greater is the trustworthiness of the chronicles. Their authors tried at least to tell the truth, and they did never consciously fabricate, I believe, the historical facts. It must be borne in mind that they were no doubt Buddhist monks, and that they wished to write an ecclesiastical rather than a secular history of Ceylon but they were impartial enough to acknowledge even the virtues of a *Damīla* ruler like *Elāra*. Moreover the Ceylonese tradition is supported to a considerable extent by external testimonies. I have collected some of them (l. l. p. xvff) and I may add here that the names of several kings of Ceylon also occur in ancient Sinhalese inscriptions in the same or a very similar form and in the same sequence as in *Dv.* and *Mv*¹. Professor S. Lévi by comparison with the Chinese annals attains to the result that from the 4th century B.C. the Sinhalese chronicles may be called a solid source of historical information².

I. FIRST PERIOD : FROM VIJAYA TO MUṬASIVA

The history of Ceylon begins with the first Aryan immigration into the island. The name of the leader of the immigrants *Vijaya*, is certainly historical, but the details of the event are veiled in legendary darkness. We do not know the exact time when it took place, nor the part of India where *Vijaya* came from. Tradition tells us³ that *Vijaya* arrived just on the day, or at least, as it is said in the *Dv.* (ix. 21 f.)

1 See below towards the end of this article.

2 *Journal des savants*, 1905, p. 539.

3 *Mv.* 6, 47. As to the date of the Buddha's death I refer chiefly to Fleet, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1906, pp. 984ff.; 1909, pp. 1 ff., 323 ff. V. A. Smith accepts 487 or 486 B. C. as the year of the parinirvāṇa (*Early History of India*, pp. 41 ff.); Gopala Aiyer (*Ind. Ant.* 37, 1908, pp. 341 ff.) 486 B. C. See Geiger, *Mv. transl.* pp. xxii ff.

at the time, of the Buddha's death, that would mean in or about the year 455 B.C. according to the Ceylonese chronology, or 483 B.C. according to the results of modern calculation. But this coincidence of the two events is, no doubt, a later combination, and we must confine ourselves to the statement that the arrival of Vijaya and his companions in Ceylon may probably have taken place in the fifth century B. C. It would be of interest to know exactly from which part of India the first Aryan immigrants came. But this question is still open to controversy. According to the *Mv.* (vii. 1ff.), Vijaya's great-grandmother was a Kaliṅga-princess and was married to the king of Vaṅga (Bengal). Her daughter was carried away by a lion when wandering in Lāla on the road from Vaṅga to Magadha, and the lion begot on her a son Siḥabāhu, the father of Vijaya. Afterwards Vijaya, banished for his lawless behaviour, came to Suppāraka and from here to Ceylon. In the *Dv.* (ix. 1ff.) Vaṅga is mentioned as the home of Susīmā, Vijaya's great-grandmother, but in the story of Vijaya himself only the names Lāla, Suppāra and Bhārukaccha occur.

It is clear that the author of the *Mv.* believed Lāla to be situated in the NE. of India, although the name is ordinarily used as the designation of a country corresponding approximately to the modern Gujarat. Moreover all the other names point towards the NW. of India as the country from which Vijaya started for Lankā. Suppāra is the modern Sopāra, and Bhārukaccha the Barygaza of the Greek geographers, the modern Broach. Both these towns are situated in the Bombay Presidency.

It is not impossible as Dr. L. D. Barnett¹ assumes that the tradition of two different streams of immigration was knit together in the story of Vijaya. One of these streams may have started from Orissa and the southern Bengal, the other from Gujarat. Still more probable seems to be the hypothesis that

¹ Cambridge History of India, I, p. 606.

the tale in the Dv. represents the older form of the tradition, that of the Mv. the later one which shows the tendency of establishing a connection of Vijaya's story with the home of the Buddhist creed. The members of the clan, to which Vijaya belonged, appear to have been called Sihala the "Lion-men". Hence comes the name of the new inhabitants of the island. To explain this name the popular fantasy invented the story of Vijaya's father having been begotten by a lion to a human wife. Similar tales which are, of course, of totemistic origin are spread all over the world.

When the immigrants arrived in Laṅkā, they met in the island inhabitants of a different race and called them *yakkhā* (Sk. *yakṣāḥ*), i.e. demons because they ascribed to them the supernatural faculty of witchcraft. The Mv. (vii. 9 ff.) tells a legend, according to which Vijaya married a Yakkhiṇī named Kuvannā, with whose help he overcame the Yakkhas. But afterwards he divorced her in order to marry a princess of equal birth, the daughter of the Paṇḍu king in Madhurā. The historical nucleus of this tale may be the fact that from the first times an intense mixture of blood took place between the Aryan immigrants on one side and the aborigines as well as the inhabitants of Southern India on the other side.

Ethnologists generally assume that the Vāddas are the remnants of the original inhabitants of Ceylon called *yakkhā* by the Aryan conquerors, and that they are of the same race as the pre-Dravidian population of the Indian continent or as the aborigines of the islands of Farther India. Some hundreds of Vāddas are, indeed, still living as hunters in the primeval forests of Eastern Ceylon in a very low stage of civilization¹.

1 I must, however, point out that the derivation of the name from Skr. *vyādha* "hunter" offers serious phonological difficulties. The stem form (and plural also) is *vīdi*. This seems to point to a Pāli *vajjita* = Sk. *varjita* meaning "excluded, isolated", as Sinh. *sādi* is derived from *sajjita*. Dr. Barnett, (l. l. p. 604) spells the name Vādḍa,

Another name of pre-historic inhabitants of Ceylon seems to have been Nāga. It occurs in the story of the Buddha's three legendary visits to the islands. Whilst the purpose of the first visit was to frighten the Yakkhas and to transport them to Giridīpa he arrived in Lankā, the second time in order to settle a dispute between two Nāga kings, and he had to do with the Nāgas also at his third visit. There can be no doubt that, according to the tradition preserved in *Dv.* and *Mv.*, the Nāgas were of higher civilization than the Yakkhas. It would, however, be too hazardous to draw from those legendary tales any conclusion as to the ethnic relation between the two groups. The Nāgas never recur in the history of Ceylon as the Yakkhas do. But it is remarkable that even as late as the third century A. D. Nagadīpa is used as the name of a district or province in Northern Ceylon¹.

According to the *Mv.* (vii. 39ff.) Vijaya founded in Ceylon the city of Tambapaṇṇī, and by his followers here and there villages were built, called Anurādhagāma, Upatissagāma, Ujjeni, Uruvelā, Vijitapura. All these settlements were situated, I think, in the north-western parts of Ceylon, although we do not exactly know the spot, except that of Anurādhagāma which is, no doubt, the later Anurādhapura built near the Kadamba-river, the modern Malwatu-oya.

Vijaya died having reigned in the city of Tambapaṇṇī thirty-eight years. His successor was, after a short interregnum, his nephew Paṇḍuvāsudeva, the youngest son of his brother Sumitta. In order to obtain the solemn abhiseka which is said to be impossible without a queen, he afterwards married Bhaddakaccānā, a princess born in the Sakya clan. Her brothers followed her to Ceylon and lived in the court of her husband. By all these tales, which in their details bear a legendary character, at least a constant intercourse is

but this is, I believe, not in concordance with the Sinhalese pronunciation.

¹ See *Mv.*, xxxvi. 9 and 36.

proved to have existed between Ceylon and India even in those earliest times.

The history of the next kings is also a mixture of truth and legendary fiction. Paṇḍuvāsudeva died after a reign of thirty years and was followed by his eldest son Abhaya who himself reigned for twenty years¹. Their capital was Upatissagāma. Abhaya's successor was his nephew Paṇḍukābhaya². His father was Dīghagāmaṇi, the son of one of Bhaddakaccānā's brothers, and his mother the sister of Abhaya named Cittā. The story of Dīghagāmaṇi's and Cittā's secret love and of the birth of their son is a romantic one and tales of similar kind occur also elsewhere in popular poetry. With Paṇḍukābhaya's accession to the throne the royal dignity passed over to the maternal line, and this was preceded, it seems, by serious combats. Abhaya was dethroned by his brothers, after a reign of twenty years, because he was inclined to come to an arrangement with his nephew. But in the war Paṇḍukābhaya defeated and killed all his uncles, sparing only the life of Abhaya, to whom he left a fictitious royalty. The new king made Anurādhapura his capital and adorned it with various buildings. From the account of the Mv. (x. 84 ff.) we may perhaps conclude that he had been supported in the war with his uncles by the aboriginal tribes of Ceylon, for he seems to have regarded them as his friends and allies.

According to Mv. and Dv. there was an interregnum of seventeen years between the dethronement of Abhaya and the succession of Paṇḍukābhaya. During this time a brother of Abhaya, Tissa, called Gaṇatissa in the later books³, was regent. A reign of seventy years is ascribed to Paṇḍukābhaya, and a reign of sixty years to his son and successor Muṭasiva. The

1 According to *Kūṭāvali* 32 and 22 years. The round numbers given in Mv. (and Dv.) "have in themselves the appearance of a set scheme" (Mv. transl., p. xxi).

2 In the Dv. he is called Paṇḍuka (x. 9) or Pakuṇḍaka (xi. 1, 2, 4).

3 The *Kūṭāvali* makes Gaṇatissa Paṇḍukābhaya's successor and ascribes to him a reign of 40 years.

chronology is, of course, pure fiction. Paṇḍukābhaya was born just when Abhaya ascended the throne. He was therefore thirty-seven years old, when he himself became king, and would have reached an age of 107 years. Moreover it is impossible that Muṭasiva reigned sixty years, for he was the son of Suvannapālī, whom his father had married before he won the royalty. I still adhere to the opinion that the names of the kings from Vijaya up to Muṭasiva may be taken as historical, and that the reigns of the last two kings were lengthened by the chronologists in order to make Vijaya and the Buddha contemporaries.

II. SECOND PERIOD: DEVĀNAMPIYATISSA AND HIS SUCCESSORS

When dealing with the history of Muṭasiva's son and successor Tissa called Devānampiyatissa we are standing on firmer ground. He was the contemporary of king Asoka, and he assumed his surname Devānampiya, or it was afterwards attributed to him, in imitation of Asoka. In our chronicles great stress is laid upon the fact that the two kings were intimate friends, though they had never seen each other (Dv. xi. 25; Mv. xi. 19). This seems to prove again that there was always some intercourse between India and Laṅkā, and the most important event, during Devānampiyatissa's reign, the conversion to Buddhism of the king and his people is well prepared and motivated by that tradition. The fact of this conversion as well as the personality of Asoka's son Mahinda and of the bhikkhu who converted the king is, no doubt, historical. I even believe that the Missaka mountain, now called Mihintale¹, which is situated about ten miles east of Anurādhapura, was really the locality, whence the extension of the Buddhist faith over the island started. The whole

¹ According to A. Guṇasekara the name is derived from *Mahinda-tala* and contains, therefore, the name of Asoka's son.

story is confirmed by the local tradition which seems to be very old, as well as by the account of Hiuen-tsang.¹

The chronicles fully describe the further progress which the young Buddhist community made in Lankā under the patronage of Devānampiyatissa. The first monastery, the Mahāvihāra, was dedicated by the king to Mahinda and his followers in Anurādhapura. Here a branch of the Buddha's holy Bodhi-tree was afterwards planted which was brought from India to Ceylon by Mahinda's sister Saṅghamittā. Other vihāras were built and thūpas erected at various places and when Mahinda entered Nirvāṇa. In the eighth year of king Uttiya, the Buddhist church was well established in the island.

Devānampiyatissa died after a reign of forty years about 207 B. C. and was succeeded by his son Uttiya who himself reigned for ten years.

The next two kings Mahāsiva and Sūratissa were younger brothers of Uttiya. But now serious troubles arose in Ceylon caused by the invasions of the Damiḷas. The first two Damiḷa usurpers, Sena and Guttika, reigned twenty-two years. They were followed by a Sinhalese king, Asela², but Asela himself was overpowered by Elāra who came from the Coḷa country to seize the kingdom of Lankā (145-101 B. C.). It is a remarkable proof of the impartiality and trustworthiness of the older chronologists that they acknowledge without restraint the even justice shown by Elāra to friend and foe on occasions of disputes at law (Mv. xxi. 14 ; cf. Dv. xviii. 49-50). In the younger Sinhalese chronicles, however,

1 St. Julien, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales, par Hiuen-tsang*, II, p. 40 ; Beal, *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, pp. 246-247. Hiuen-tsang, however, calls Mahinda the younger brother, not the son, of Asoka.

2 Asela is called in Mv. a son of Muṭasiva and the youngest brother of Devānampiyatissa, born of the same mother (Mv. xxi. 12). See also Dv. xviii. 48.

this fact, as far as I know, is suppressed, and the author of the *Rājāvali* even explicitly says that he ruled badly for forty-four years¹.

III. THIRD PERIOD: FROM DUṬṬHAGĀMAṆI TO VAṬṬAGĀMAṆI

The national restoration started from the south-eastern province of Ceylon called Rohaṇa—a fact that repeatedly occurs in Sinhalese history. Rohaṇa was always the refuge of princes who were at enmity with the ruling king, or of Sinhalese kings who were conquered and dispossessed by external foes. In this province Mahānāga, a brother of Devānampiyatissa who was banished, it seems, from court on account of some offence had founded an independent dynasty which was never overcome by the Damiḷas. His grandson was Kākavaṇṇatissa, the famous founder of the Tissamahāvihāra and many other monasteries in Rohaṇa, and his great-grandson was Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, the national hero of Sinhalese people in the ancient period of their history just as Parakkamabāhu is in medieval times. Marvellous stories are told about his mother and about his birth and his youth which clearly bear the character of popular tradition. He became ruler of Rohaṇa after a war with his own brother Tissa and when he had collected a sufficient quantity of well equipped troops, he opened the campaign against the Damiḷas. This campaign is lucidly described in the *Mahāvamsa*. It ended with the complete defeat of the Damiḷas, and with the death of Elāra who was killed by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi in single combat near the southern gate of Anurādhapura².

¹ *Rājāvaliya*, ed. B. Guṇasekara, p. 219: *adharmamayaṇ sūsalis avuruddak rājyayā kaḷeya*. See *Rājavātthūkaraya*, ed. Saddhamanda, p. 11; a contribution to the History of Ceylon, transl. from "*Pūjāvaliya*" by B. Guṇasekara, p. 15.

² A cluster of ruins not far from the Mahāvihāra are called in popular tradition the tomb of Elāra. Excavations, however, have

Dutthagāmaṇi was clever enough in politics to appreciate the importance and the influence on people's mind of the Buddhist doctrine. Thus after having established his kingdom in Anurādhapura he became a zealous protector of the church. He built in his capital the Maricavattivihāra and the Lohapāsāda, and the most celebrated monument of Ceylon, the Mahāsthūpa, now called Ruwanwāli-Dagoba, was his work. His numerous meritorious acts are highly praised in the historical books. He died in the year 77 B.C. after a reign of twenty-four years.

The influence on politics of the Buddhist church seems to have increased since the time of Dutthagāmaṇi, for when after the decease of his immediate successor Saddhātissa (77-59 B.C.) a new king was to be elected, the counsellors consecrated the prince Thūlathana as king "with the consent of the brotherhood"¹. Thūlathana, however, was soon supplanted by Lañjatissa who himself after a reign of nine years (59-50 B.C.) was succeeded by his brothers Khallāṇa-nāga (50-44 B.C.) and Vattagāmaṇi.

During Vattagāmaṇi's reign the Damiilas renewed their efforts to take possession of Laṅkā. The king was defeated in a battle which seems to have taken place near the northern gate of his capital, and was compelled to hide himself fourteen years in the house of one of his faithful subjects. Afterwards he resumed the war with the invaders. He conquered the Damiila usurper Dāthika and reigned for twelve years more. Vattagāmaṇi is the founder of the Abhayagiri-vihāra in the north of Anurādhapura². The

shows that these ruins never were a tomb, but rather a Vihāra, probably the Dakṣiṇāvihāra of Mv. See A. M. Hocart, *Memoirs of Arch. Surv. Ceylon*, I, 1924, p. 54; Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 312.

1 Mv. xxiii. 18 : *samghānūhāra*.

2 As the names of Jetavana and of the Abhayagiri-stūpa have no doubt been interchanged in modern times, I fully agree with Mr. Hocart that it will be advisable to speak of a Northern Stupa and of an Eastern Stupa. The former is the Abhayagiri, the latter the Jetavana.

fraternity of this monastery afterwards seceded from that of the Mahāvihāra, and from it the monks of the Dakkhinavihāra separated, thus the Theravāda split up into several groups. The Abhayagiri monks afterwards accepted the doctrine of a teacher of the Mahāsaṃghika school and were called Dhammarucikā after his name¹. It was at Vattagāmaṇi's time that the Tipiṭaka and its Aṭṭhakatha, orally handed down in former times, were written down in book-form. (Dv. xx, 20-21; Mv. xxxiii, 100-101).

Vattagāmaṇi died in the year 17 B.C. The chronology of his reign is fairly well established. According to Mv. (xxxiii, 80-81) an interval of 217 years 10 months and 10 days lies between the foundation of the Mahāvihāra and that of the Abhayagiri. As the former event can be fixed on May 18, 246 B.C.², we are brought to the end of March, 28 B.C. for the founding of the latter monastery.

IV. FOURTH PERIOD : FROM MAHĀCŪLI MAHĀTISSA TO MAHĀSENA

Vattagāmaṇi's successor was Mahācūli Mahātissa, son of his elder brother Khallāṭa-nāga. He was followed by Vattagāmaṇi's son Coranāga who was killed by his own consort Anulā. This wicked woman murdered also Coranāga's successor Tissa and her four paramours, when she became weary of them. She was herself killed by Mahācūli's son Kūṭakannatissa—a bloody picture, indeed of the Sinhalese court at that period. But it is hardly necessary to mention the names of all the kings reigning in Ceylon during the first three centuries A.D. Some of them are highly praised in the chronicles as being devoted patrons of the Buddhist church, thus e.g. Bhātikābhaya (38-66 A.D.), Mahādāthikamahānāga (66-78 A.D.), and Vasabha (124-168 A.D.). They founded many monasteries and restored or embellished the ancient

¹ *Nikāya Saṃgrahava*, ed. Wickremasinghe, p. 11; A. M. Hocart, *Mem. Arch. Surv. of Ceylon*, I, pp. 15ff.

² Fleet, *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 25; Geiger, *Mv. transl.*, pp. xxxiv-li.

buildings. Great internal troubles appear to have been caused by the rebellion against king Iḷanāga (95-101 A.D.) of the Lambakannas (Mv. xxxv. 16ff.) but the rebellion was suppressed with cruelty. The Lambakannas were one of the most distinguished Sinhalese clans, from which also sprang several kings of Ceylon, e.g., Vasabha, Saṃghatissa, Saṃghabodhi and Gothakābhaya. The last three kings reigned from 296 to 315 A.D. Even Lañjatissa was a Lambakanna, for he is called Lāmāni Tissa in later books, and his brother Vattagāmaṇi therefore was also a descendant of the same clan. The kings mentioned, as I said above, in ancient Sinhalese inscriptions are Vasabha, Vaṅkanāsika Tissa (168-171 A.D.), Gajabāhugāmaṇi (171-193 A.D.), Mahallanāga (193-199 A.D.), and Kaniṭṭha Tissa (223-241 A.D.). They are called in the inscriptions successively Vasaba or Vahaba, Devānapiya Tissa, Gajabāhu Gāmaṇi Abaya, Devānapiya Naka, and Maḷu Tisa¹.

The last king of the so-called "Greater Dynasty" was Mahāsena who may have reigned in the first half of the fourth century A.D. Misled by the wicked thera Saṃghamitta and by the minister Soṇa the king vexed the monks of the Mahāvihāra and compelled them to abandon it so that it was desolate for nine years. Though he afterwards caused it to be restored, he built within its boundaries the Jetavanavihāra, thus again encroaching upon the rights of the older monastery. There was always a rivalry between the two fraternities just as even now the Jetavana Thūpa rivals in grandeur and beauty the Mahāthūpa and the Abhayagiri.

W. GEIGER

¹ Edw. Müller, *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, p. 25ff.; H. C. P. Bell, *Arch., Survey of C.*, xiii. 1896, p. 47-48; Wickramasinghe, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, I, pp. 58ff., 67, 140ff., 148f., 208ff., 252f. See also above p. 100.

Stūpa and Tomb

The *Stūpa* is classed in Buddhist literature as *Sāṅgīka-cetiya* or sepulchral sanctuary enshrining the charred bones or ashes from the funeral pyre of a deceased hero. The Buddhist hero is a Buddha or a Thera, the greatest hero being the Buddha himself. The Sinhalese word denoting this class of sanctuaries is *Dāgaba*, which is a shorter form of *Dhātugarbha*. The *Dhātugarbha* strictly denotes the underground, inner or lower chamber, containing the relic-casket or steatite-box, and the *Stūpa* the upper structure or covering mound. Thus as in one case the whole sanctuary is denoted by the name of the upper structure, so in the other the name of the lower or inner structure denotes the whole. The word *Stūpa* is the Buddhist Sanskrit form of the Pāli *Thūpa*. The origin of the form *Thūpa* can be traced back to an Indo-European word like *Tumla*¹, from which the English *Tomb* or the French *Tombe* has been derived. According to this connexion, the *Stūpa* is nothing but a *Tomb* or *tumulus*.

1 The place mentioned in the Sutta-Nipāta, p. 103, as Vana is evidently referred to in some of the Votive Labels of Sanchi Stupa, I as Tumbavana or Tubavana (Bühler's Sanchi Stupa Inscriptions I. 22, 23, 81, 264, 265 and 330 in Epigraphia Indica, vol. II). The same place came to be known in Buddhaghosa's time by two names: Tumbanagara and Vanasāvathī. See Paramatthajotika, II. p. 583. The word *tumbā* or *tumba* is in the Chittagong dialect a synonym of *tum*, *tubā*, *tuppā*, *tūā* and *tūp*, meaning 'a piled up heap', e.g., the heap of earth, of straw, of paddy, of cow-dung. *Tumbā* is an East-Bengal and a Marāṭhī form. Cf. Latin *tumba*. In the Jaina Prakrit *tum̐ba* and *tum̐bi* mean *ālābu* or gourd and *tum̐ba* also means the navel of a wheel (Haragovinda Das Seth's *Pala-Sadda-Mahānava*). In Pāli *tum̐ba* means an *ālāhaka* which is a measure of grain, and *tum̐bi* a gourd (See Childers). But these words occur in this sense in comparatively modern works.

But in spite of this kinship, the *Stūpa* considered as a Buddhist sepulchral sanctuary and the *Tomb* a Christian sepulchral structure represent two different lines on which tumulus or mound has developed. The custom behind the *Stūpa* is cremation and the custom which is bound up with the *Tomb* is burial. The transition from the latter to the former is a long step.

The *Tomb* is essentially a mound covering a grave in which the actual dead body is buried. The body within the grave may be either directly covered by clods of earth, particles of sand or pieces of stone and brick, or put inside a coffin or life-size box or cylinder of wood or stone. The body may be interred as mere body, or it may be washed and embalmed, wrapped up in cloth, dressed up, adorned with jewellery, honoured with flowers and garlands, and provided with personal belongings and necessities, as a tribute and mark of affection, either out of a pure æsthetic feeling of taste, or owing to a superstitious fear of visits and oppressions from the disembodied spirits, or on account of a human compassion for the helpless condition of the deceased. With the elaboration of protective mechanism, there may be a tomb within a tomb, a grave within a grave, and a coffin within a coffin. Here the desire to protect the body by all possible means from destruction, mutilation, shame and insult is persistent throughout, and the hoarding of jewellery is a side-issue.

The *Stūpa* is essentially a mound covering a *garbha* or chamber in which the bodily remains are deposited. The remains consist of the charred bones and ashes from the funeral pyre where the dead body is burnt. These, as deposited in the chamber, may be covered with the heap of earth, sand, stone or brick, or secured inside a large stone-box along with precious metals and small gold-leaves, or separately in urns. The urn in a Buddhist sanctuary is represented by a vase of crystal or ordinary stone, covered by a lid and inscribed with a label recording whose bodily remains the contents are. Here the hoarding of treasures takes the place

of the preservation of the body¹. In covering the chamber with a mound, the offerings of flowers, garlands and burning oil-lamps are made in honour of the relics. The implication is that the relics are not only deposited but enshrined. With the elaboration of hoarding and enshrining mechanism, there may be a mound within a mound, a chamber within a chamber, a box within a box, and an urn within an urn. The jewels and coins are deposited with the express purpose of enabling the poorer kings to repair or rebuild the shrine. The fiction of the burial of a warrior-hero continues to play its part. The erection of the sanctuary proceeds on the line of the building of a fort, surrounded by walls and ramparts, and supervised by a military guard. The towers and gateways, as well as the representations of achievements of heroes are external features of the art of fort-building. In passing the custom of burial through the fire of the funeral pyre, the superstitious elements in it are sought to be eliminated and the æsthetic elements separated and cast into brighter forms.

The processes of elimination and sublimation were tried along both the lines, in the one by retaining the earlier custom of burial and preserving the actual body, and in the other by introducing the system of burning and hoarding the remains of the pyre together with other treasures. But the animistic beliefs, the superstitious fears, natural weaknesses and primitive sentiments were persistent among the people at large. The screen of fire of the funeral pyre served only to separate these elements, keeping some on one side to do their works as before, and passing some to the other side to improve the quality of art. The burial aspect of the *Stūpa*

¹ The very expression *dhātu-nidhāna* suggests it. Cf. the phrase *nidhīm nidheti*, meaning 'hoards the treasure', *Nidhikaṇḍa Sutta* in *Khuddakapāṭha*. The other expression *dhātu-oropana* suggests also the allegory of planting the seed, the seed of the tree of art, the tree of faith and culture.

continued to be associated with primitive beliefs, rites and practices. It will be interesting to examine the Indian literary evidence in this connexion.

In a Pāli canonical passage the Buddha is said to have made a statement referring to the bleaching of bones (*atthi-dhopana*) as a rite prevalent in southern countries (i. e., in South India). In explaining the rite Buddhaghōṣa says that in some of the countries (i. e., among some of the aboriginal tribes) when a man died, his body was not cremated but buried in a grave. When the body was sufficiently decomposed, the bones were dug out of the grave and left to dry up after being washed and rubbed with aromatic substances. A lucky day was fixed for the celebration of the mourning festival. On the selected site the bones were arranged on one side, and wine and other things on the other. The kinsmen of the deceased person assembled there, drank wine and wept¹. Here the custom is that of burial, the bones are the objects of preservation, the behaviour is characterised by drunkenness and savagery, and the weeping is a natural expression of sorrow.

Now take a case where cremation is the custom. The *Sujāta-Jātaka* (No. 352) relates that a landowner from the day of his father's death was filled with sorrow, and taking his bones from the place of cremation he erected an earth-mound in his pleasure-garden, and depositing the remains there, he visited the place from time to time, adorned the tope with flowers and studiously lamented, neglecting his daily duties and personal comforts. Though here the custom is one of cremation and the man is a member of the Aryan or cultured community, he is said to have lamented, being subject to natural weakness and subconsciously under the superstitious belief that his weeping might bring back the departed soul, and he was not cured of this malady until his wise son, the *Bodhisattva Sujāta*, convinced him of the fact that his weeping

1 *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*, I, pp. 84, 85.

was less availing as a means of bringing back into life the deceased whose body was burnt than feeding a dead cow whose body still remained¹.

Then consider a case where the custom is burial. The Rg-Vedic hymn (x. 18) gives a vivid description of the funeral of a warrior. It appears that the dead-body was carried to the funeral ground by one path, the path of death and the party returned by another, the path of life. The wife of the deceased hero followed the dead body, accompanied by other ladies, the ladies who were not widows walking ahead. The earth was dug out to make a grave. The spot was surrounded by an enclosure (*pariṭhi*), by a stone-rampart (*pāṣāṇa*) as Sāyana interprets it². The wife of the hero was urged by the priest to go back, together with other ladies, to the world of mirth and joy and begin her life anew. The circle of stone was set up as a device to separate the world of living ones from that of the dead, the priest's interpretation changing the original motive of guarding the grave and imprisoning the ghost. But this was also put up as a memorial, the kinsmen of the hero being exhorted by the priest to keep alive his tradition and continue his work for their prosperity and glory. The bow was taken off from the hand of the hero for preservation as a source of inspiration to the nation. The body was afterwards gently laid in the grave and covered with the heap of earth marked with a post (*sthūpa*). The mother-earth was asked to hold her son in her bosom, not allowing the heap or mound above him to press him heavily, and the tomb was intended to serve as a mansion and a monument. Though here the custom is one

1 Scene in Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut, pl. XLVII, 3.

2 Mahīdhara, in commenting upon the Yajurveda hymn (xxxv. 15), says that after the burning of the body, the duty of the priest was to raise a bank or lump of earth between the village where the deceased dwelt and the funeral ground, as a rampart against death. See Wilson's Rg-Veda Saṃhitā, vol. VI, p. 47, f.n. 4.

of burial, the rites and prayers, the motives and expressions are of an Aryan or exalted character, breathing as they do, a high moral tone.

It is well observed that the topes were not especially Buddhist monuments, but, in fact, pre-Buddhistic, and indeed only a modification of a world-wide custom¹. There are clear evidences showing that certain sections of the Aryan community began to make solid brick structures instead of heaps of earth, or of stones covered with earth², and that the urn (*asthikumbha*), containing the bones and ashes and covered by a lid, came to be buried after the dead body had been burnt³. On being asked how his body should be disposed of, the Buddha said that it should be done in royal manner. The Mahākapi-Jātaka (No. 407) gives an account of the obsequies of a king. The ladies of the royal harem came to the funeral ground, as retinue for the deceased king, with red garments, dishevelled hair and torches in their hands. The ministers made a funeral pile with a hundred waggon loads of wood. On the spot where the body was burnt a shrine was erected and honoured for seven days with offerings of incense and flowers. The burnt skull, inlaid with gold, was put at the king's gate, raised on the spear-like staff serving as royal insignia (*kuntagge*), and was honoured. Then taking it as a relic, another shrine was built and honoured with incense and garlands.

It is well suggested : "The first step was probably merely to build the cairn more carefully than usual with stones, and to cover the outside with fine *cunam* plaster to give it a marble-like surface⁴. The next step was to build the cairn

1 Buddhist India, p. 80.

2 White Yajurveda, xxxv. 15.

3 Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra, IV. 5 ; Sāyaṇa on the R̥g-Veda hymn (x. 18).

4 Cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 381 : *caḥre stūpānāṃ sārāḍūbhraprabhānāṃ*, "made the topes that shone forth like autumn-clouds".

of concentric layers of the huge bricks in use at the time, and to surround the whole with a wooden railing''¹.

The heroes over whose graves, funeral pyres, or bodily remains, the shrines were raised, were all as yet 'deceased persons of distinction, either by birth, or wealth, or official position, the chief of them being warrior, king, overlord. The mounds built in honour of their memory were all as yet looked upon as monuments of victory. The presiding deities of such shrines built on four sides of the cities like Vesālī, Malla and Ālavaka were all *Yakṣas* or dreaded personalities among the luminaries, the elemental forces, the inanimate things, the animate forms, the animals on land and in water, the savage tribes and civilised men. They were at the same time all entombed eponymic and deified heroes from whom the members of ruling clans, tribes and nations sought to derive their strength and inspiration. Though the basic idea was hero-worship, the *Yakṣa*-shrines built beside the *Yakṣa*-mansions were all believed to have been possessed by the disembodied spirits and haunted by the ghosts of these heroes. The elements of dread superstition clung on to these shrines which were evidently tombs over the prehistoric graves in which the heroes were buried together with their jewels and hoardings. Though the mode of worship became imperceptibly Brahmanical or priestly, the heroes continued to be remembered in tradition and myth of the people at large as their own leaders, and religious offerings and worship at the tombs enshrining their memory and bodily remains regarded as a way of producing the permanent mental attitude to remain loyal to the glorious tradition of the past and not to depart therefrom. When, in course of time, the kings and nobles became 'the leaders of thought, or reformers, or philosophers, they were claimed by the people at large as their own teachers, much to the detriment of the interest of the priests who traded by mediation between men on one

¹ Buddhist India, p. 80.

side and the unseen and invisible world of spirits on the other. A passage in the *Divyāvadāna* supplies a typical case where the Brahmin priests as a class are represented as so much opposed to this mode of worship that the bankers who wanted to build a *Stūpa* in spite of the opposition, but were fewer in number, that they had to seek the protection of the king and complete their project under the guard of the royal army¹. The development of the art of building this class of shrines took a new turn and followed a direction which went to overshadow warrior the king by warrior the teacher. In the history of this development the Buddha was certainly the greatest landmark. What is the new turn that it took and what the direction that it followed? Hitherto the mounds were built and shrines honoured as monuments of victory. Henceforth they were intended to serve as monuments of victory in defeat.

In a Buddhist sanctuary with the mound in its centre, the carvings and frescoes, depicting various scenes from the Buddha's life, and the temples and niches containing the images illustrative of the formal modes of various meditative moods, are all placed in the outer zone, added as ornaments or decorative designs, full of lesson and artistic value. From the artists' point of view these are various expressions of refined human imagination and finer emotion, and in the devotees' perception these appear as representations of the actual and possible achievements in human life. The central structure towering with its imposing sight is but a device to preserve and enshrine the bones and ashes from the funeral pyre where the body of the Buddha or that of a disciple after death was cremated. There are old inscriptions or epitaphs, incised on the relic-caskets and recording when, by whom, and whose remains were enshrined. The famous

¹ *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 243-244, "The priestly records carefully ignore these topos" (*Buddhist India*, p. 82).

Piprawa Vase Inscription, found in Nepal Terai, records .— *Iyaṃ salila-nidhane Budhasa Bhagavate Sakiyanāṃ sukitti-lhatināṃ*. "This (memorial mound enshrining the relics was built) on the demise of Buddha the Divine Teacher by his Śākyan kinsmen of glorious deed."

The expression *salila-nidhane* occurring in it signifies that the Buddha's body, exactly like that of any other man, was subject to decay and consumable by fire. There are passages where he is represented as saying that he was anyhow dragging his worn-out body, like a cart after careful repairing. The presence of hair, nail, bone, tooth, and the rest indicates that he had a human form. The legends and traditions, the sculptures and paintings, the images and inscriptions go to represent that he was born under all ideal circumstances of life, and that in all respects he was perfect, as perfect as a man could be. And yet the fact remains that he died. The mounds contain the monumental evidence of man's inability to overcome death in spite of all ideal circumstances, opportunities, attainments and perfections. By mere explaining away or mocking at death, the truth about man's inability to overcome it cannot be denied. The fact of the demise and funeral of the Buddha decides once for all that the denial of it is a mere act of fancy and frenzy, and all attempts to deny it are a bad bargain and a hopeless muddle. The bold proclamation of this truth is the obvious Buddhist motive behind the *Stūpa*.

The Barhut Stūpa as a creation of art represents a distinct form or type. The *Stūpas* at Sanchi and Sonari, in short, all the Bhilsa topes belong to this type. The models produced by the Barhut artists can be taken as faithful representations of the forms known to them at the time or they imagined what they ought to be. The scenes of relic-procession represent how the casket containing the remains of the funeral pyre was carried to the site where it was deposited. One of the Pillars full of medallions contains a geometrical symbol, which may be taken to represent the ground plan of the brick-

mound¹. It shows that the layers of large bricks were so arranged as to illustrate various permutations and combinations of *Spatikas*². The forms changed or were modified with times and according to localities, the process being one of differentiation or harmonisation between the mound on one hand and the mansion or temple on the other. The tope built by the Sakyan kinsmen of the Buddha over their portion of the remains of his funeral pyre is an earlier example, but this is still in ruins and has not as yet been restored³. The Alin Posh tope, restored by Mr. W. Simpson, is a later example, and it shows a long flight of steps in front, leading up to the dome⁴.

Buddhaghosa gives the following description of the tope built by and during the reign of king Ajātasatru for hoarding the relics in one place (*dhātu-nidhāna*). His description is evidently coloured by what he saw at Thūpārāma in Ceylon.¹ To start with, the bricks were made out of pure earth dug out of a field to the south-east of Rājagṛha. The people were told that the king's intention was to build some shrines in honour of the eighty great Disciples. When the cavity had been dug so deep as 80 cubits, the bed was metalled with iron, and upon it was built a chamber of copper and iron of the same dimension as the shrine of Thūpārāma. In this chamber were placed eight mound-shaped relic-boxes of white sandal, containing the relics of the Buddha. Each of these was put within seven other boxes of red sandal, of ivory and the like, the uppermost one being made of crystal. All these were covered up by three chambers, one within another, the uppermost one of copper and iron serving as the upper half of the chamber-box. Having scattered sand with seven precious metals, one thousand lotus flowers growing on land

1 Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut*, pl. XII. 2 *Ibid.*, pl. XI.

3 *Buddhist India*, p. 33. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 84. 4 *Buddhist India*, p. 83.

5 *Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī*, Siamese ed., Part II. pp. 271-276.

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and in water were strewn over it. Five hundred and fifty Jātaka-illustrations and the figures of eighty great Disciples and those of Śuddhodana and Mahāmāyā as well as those of seven comrades were made all in gold. Five thousand gold and silver jars filled with water were set up, five hundred golden flags were hoisted, five hundred golden lamps, and silver lamps of equal number were filled with fragrant oil and provided with wick on two sides. The Venerable Mahākāśyapa sanctified them, saying, "Let these garlands never wither, let this fragrance never vanish and these lamps never become extinct." A prophecy was inscribed on a gold-plate to the effect that king Aśoka would in time to come spread these relics far and wide. The king having honoured the relics with all kinds of jewellery, came out shutting the doors one by one. The door of the copper-and-iron chamber was sealed, and upon it was placed a piece of precious gem with an inscription, authorising the poorer kings to honour the relics with its aid. Thereafter Śakra sent Viśvakarmā to do all that was needed to protect the hoarded relics. He set up traps to keep off wild animals (*vāṭasaṅghaṭayanta*), surrounded the relic-chamber (*dhātugabha*) by a wooden enclosure with wooden posts carved with the figures of soldiers holding swords (*asihaṭṭhāni kaṭṭharūpakāni*), and encircled the same by stone in the manner of a brick-structure. After having thrown dust-heap over it, and levelled the ground, a stone-mound was built covering it. When king Aśoka opened this tope after 218 years, he saw the oil-lamps burning as though they were just now lit up, and the lotus flowers fresh as though they were just now gathered and offered.

The story of Dharmaruci in the Divyāvadāna contains the description of another example of a tope. Here the tope, among other details, is said to have four staircases with steps leading, layer after layer, up to the dome with a crowning construction, surmounted by an umbrella, inlaid with all precious metals. On its four sides there were four doorways, and four shrines, one containing the representation

of the scene of birth, another that of enlightenment, the third that of first sermon, and the fourth that of demise of the Buddha¹.

B. M. BARUA

Rasātala or the Under-World*

III

Subāhu, Śrīvaha, Surasa and Subala² represent the Su tribes of Scythians. It is mentioned in the Mahābhārata that while Nārada and Mātali went to Pātāla to seek a suitable

Subāhu and other Su tribes. bridegroom for the latter's daughter, they after visiting Hiranyapura went to the country of the Suparnas, and then visited the country of the Surabhis³. The mention of Hiranyapura in

Pātāla gives us some indication where to seek for it. Kaśyapa had thirteen wives; he had by his wife Diti two sons, Hiranyākṣa and Hiranya-kaśipu, who were the ancestors of the Daityas; and the sons by his wife Danu were called Dānavas. Hiranyapura was the capital of the Daityas and Dānavas. It will be observed that on the south-eastern side of the Caspian Sea, there was an ancient town called Hyrcania, which was the capital of the country of the same name; it was situated near the modern town of Astrabad. On the southern and western sides of the Caspian Sea and immediately to the east, according to some authority, to the north of Media was the country of the Kaspī or Kaspīos. The Caspian Sea was called by the name of "Mare Caspium or Hyrcania" by the classical writers. The name of Hyrcania appears to be connected with those of the two brothers

* Continued from p. 463 of Vol. I. 1 Divyāvadāna, p. 244.

2 *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 35; Udyoga, chs. 101, 102.

3 *Ibid.*, Udyoga, chs. 99, 100, 101.

etc., who belonged to the Su tribe¹. From the country of the Suparṇas, Nārada and Mātali went to the country of the Surabhis or the cow-tribe². Surabhi is apparently the Sanskritised form of Khorasmii of the Greek writers. The country of the Surabhis therefore was situated on the north of the Oxus; it is now called Kharism or the Khanat of Khiva; it is also called Urgendj or Orgunje³, which is the Urjagunḍa of the Matsya Purāṇa⁴. Strabo distinctly says that "the Khorasmii belong to the Massagetæ"⁵ and therefore there can be no doubt that the Khorasmii or the Surabhis belonged to the Su tribe. It appears that Saramā, who was sent by Indra to ascertain the place where the cows robbed by the Panis, the Parnis of Strabo, as the Dahæ were called, who lived on the eastern side of the Caspian Sea⁶, had been kept concealed, was also a Scythian. Saramā apparently represents the tribe of "Sarmatians, who are Scythians" and who lived on the north of the Caspian Sea⁷. Su-parṇas and Su-rabhis, and Saramā, who is described as a 'fair' woman, belonged to the Su tribe of the Scythians, and it appears that they were the early converts to the Aryan religion. They were taken into the communities of Aryans, and to each converted tribe was assigned some particular duty. Thus the Suparṇa tribe became their charioteers, as Garuḍa, called also Suparṇa, was the charioteer of Viṣṇu, and his brother Aruṇa was the charioteer of Sūrya. Su-bāhu, which means 'one with beautiful arms' is the same as Su-parṇa, which means 'one with beautiful plumage or wings'⁸. It appears that the Suparṇas were also

1 *Geography of Strabo*, vol. ii, p. 245, sec. 2, and note 2; *JBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 548.

2 *Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 101.

3 Vanbervy's *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 339; Burnes' *Travels in Bokhara*, vol. iii, p. 162.

4 *Matsya P.*, ch. 121, v. 46.

5 *Strabo*, bk. xi, ch. viii, 8.

6 *Ibid.*, bk. xi, ch. vii, 1.

7 *Ibid.*, bk. xi, ch. ii, 1.

8 *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 93.

Hiranyākṣa and Hiranya-kaśipu, the "Ādi" or primitive Daityas who founded a royal dynasty¹, and the name of the Kaspī also appears to be connected with that of their father Kaśyapa. It is curious that the royal Scythians claim their descent from Colaxais², who is perhaps identified with Kaśyapa, the progenitor of the Daityas, Dānavas, Asuras, Nāgas and other Turanian tribes, who were, of course, non-Aryans. There can be no doubt therefore that the Daityas and Dānavas lived on the southern and western sides of the Caspian Sea and on the north and the east of the ancient country of Ariana. Hyrcania therefore was the Hiranyapura of the Mahābhārata. From Hiranyapura, Nārada and Māt li went to the country of the Suparṇas³ or Garuḍa birds. The names of all the clans which belonged to this tribe commenced with Su⁴, and therefore they must have belonged to the Su tribe of Scythians. They evidently lived on the north of Hyrcania, and their country was separated from the latter by the river Atrik, the ancient name of which was Sarnius which is apparently a corruption of Suparṇa. Sarnius therefore separated the kingdom of Hiranyapura from the country of the Suparṇas. Hence the Suparṇas lived in Turkestan, including the Trans-Caspian district, bounded on the west by the Caspian Sea, on the south by the river Sarnius, and on the north by the river Jaxartes. Strabo also mentions that on advancing from the south-east of the Caspian Sea towards the east, the nations to be met with were the Dahæ, Massageta:

1 *Bhāgavata*, iii, ch. 17; *Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 101.

2 Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Bk. iv, ch. 6 (vol. I, p. 289).

3 *Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 101, v. 1, *Ayaṃ lokāḥ suparṇānāṃ pakṣiṇāṃ pannagāśinām.*

4 *Ibid.*, Udyoga, ch. 101, vs. 2, 3, : *Vainatasyutaibḥ sūta śhaṭbhiḥ tatam idaṃ kulam, sumukhena sunūmnū ca sunetreṇa suvaricāḥ. Surucū pakṣirājena subalena ca mūtale, varthitūni prastṛty vai vinatū-kula kartṛbhiḥ,*

called Śrīvaha¹ which means "beautiful". It has already been stated that Su-tala received its name from the Ki-darites. It cannot be ascertained whether the word Śrī is a corruption of *Ki-darites* or not, but there can be no doubt that *Su* stands for *Ki* of *Ki-darites*, as the Turanian *k*, or rather the non Aryan *k* is equivalent to Sanskrit *s*, as *Samukha* for *Kumik*, *Surabhi* for *Khorasmii*, *Sālmah-dripta* for *Chat-dra*. It should be stated here that according to Dromin, the Kidarites were a Hunnic tribe different from the Ephthalites². The Surabhi converts became the milkmen and soothsayers of the Aryans. According to Herodotus there were many people in Scythia who could foretell the future by means of willow wands, and it appears that the Surabhis were especially endowed with power of prophecy³. It was purely a Magian pretice⁴. Surabhis were also called Surasa and Subala for supplying milk, and Vasiṣṭha's 'cow', which evidently belonged to the Surabhi tribe, was called Subalā⁵. The Saramā converts became door-keepers and watchmen⁶ of the ancient Aryans. Saramā, according to the Bhāgavata, was one of the wives of Kaśyapa⁷.

That the Suparnas were early converts to the Aryan religion is confirmed by the fact that Dr. Spooner was very much impressed "with the striking icono-
 Names of Garuḍa. graphical resemblance between the sculptured images of Garuḍa in India and the customary figure of Ahura Mazda in ancient Persian Art", and he says

¹ *Ibid.*, Udyoga, ch. 101, v. 5.

² *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 571 note.

³ Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I, p. 313 (bk. iv, ch. 67); *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 21.

⁴ Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, vol. iii, p. 130.

⁵ *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ādi, ch. 52.

⁶ *Rg-veda* x, 14, 7-11; see Monier Williams' *Indian Wisdom*, p. 208.

⁷ *Śabdakalpavṛṇṇa*, sv. *Kaśyapa*.

that he found some relation between Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu, and Garō-nmānem, the abode of Ahura Mazda in the Avesta¹. Dr. Modi objects to this identification on the ground that one has to take the Avesta *n* for the Indian *d*². But Dr. Spooner was correct in his identification, as his statement is confirmed by the Mahābhārata. Garuḍa, while carrying the elephant and the tortoise with his nails, was invited by a Banyan tree (*Ficus Indica*) to sit upon its branch and eat them, and he was addressed "Oh Garut-man, you sit upon my extensive branch one hundred yojanas wide and eat the elephant and the tortoise"³.

The Amara-koṣa and other lexicographies and the Padma Purāṇa⁴ have got Garutmān as one of the names of Garuḍa⁵. The abode or paradise of Ahura Mazda named Garō-nmānem⁶ is also called by the names of Garōtmān in the Pahlavi commentary of the Avesta⁷, Garōthmān by the Parsis⁸, Garōdmān⁹ and Garō-demāna¹⁰ in the Avesta. Garut-mān of the Mahābhārata and the Padma Purāṇa

1 Dr. Spooner's *Zoroastrian Period of Indian History* in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1915, p. 427, where he quotes the following passage from the *Vendidad*:—"I invoke Garō-nmānem, the abode of Ahura Mazda." See also Fergusson's *Nineveh and Persepolis*, p. 295 note.

2 Dr. J. J. Modi's *Ancient Pātālīputra* in *JBRAS.*, xxiv, p. 530.

3 *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 29.

4 *Padma P.*, Sṛṣṭi, ch. 44, *Taṅ ca dṛṣṭvā Garutmānā ca prapamya śirasā Harim.*

5 *Śabdakalpadruma*, sv. Garuḍa.

6 *Vendidad*, ch. 32 (150); *Yast*, iii, 1, 4; *S. B. E.*, iv, pp. 214, 215; xxiii, p. 43; *Visparad*, vii: *S. B. E.*, xxxi, p. 345.

7 *S. B. E.*, iv, p. 230 note.

8 *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 214 note; xxiii, pp. 317 n., 337 n.

9 *Gāthās*, Yasna, ii, 15. Garōdman means Home of Song, *S. B. E.*, vol. xxxi, p. 184.

10 *Rashn Yast* (xii), 37; *S. B. E.*, xxiii, p. 177.

therefore appear to be identical with Garotman, Garothmān and Garodmān. But as the bird saved the lives of the Bālakhilya ṛṣis by holding up the broken branch with his beak, the ṛṣis bestowed upon him the name of Garuḍa for his power of bearing such an immense burden, and since that day he has been called Garuḍa¹. It is therefore clear that his former name was Garutmān and not Garuḍa. It is also related that while Garuḍa was carrying away *amṛta* or nectar in order to release his mother Vinatā from her thralldom, Indra hurled at him his thunderbolt. It did him no injury whatever, yet in deference to the ṛṣi with whose bone the thunderbolt was manufactured, he gave up a feather which was so beautiful that the gods conferred upon him the title Suparṇa, and since that day he has been called Suparṇa and he became a friend of Indra², which perhaps indicates that in the religious schism he sided with the party of Indra. Garuḍa's name is mentioned in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka³. This clearly proves that the Su tribes of the Scythians had become converts to the Aryan religion at a remote period, long before the Indo-Aryans migrated to the Punjab. Dr. Modi says, "The Su tribe, which was attacked (by the Huns), consisted of the different Turanian tribes, such as the Messagatæ, Tochari, and Dahæ, who lived on the frontiers of Persia on the shores of the Upper Jaxartes"⁴.

It will be remarked that notwithstanding the inclusion of the Scythian converts into the Aryan communities, some distinction appears to have been made between them and the true Aryans by ascribing to them some animal forms with a view to denote their Turanian origin. Thus the Suparṇas were considered as birds, the Surabhis as cows, the Saramās as dogs. To other Hunnic converts was given the shape of snakes.

Animal
shapes of
Scythian
converts.

¹ *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 30.

³ *Tait. Ār.* X, I, 6.

² *Ibid.*, Ādi, ch. 33.

⁴ *JBBRAS.* xxiv, p. 548.

The episode of the fight between the *Gaja* and the *Kacchapa* that is the Elephant and the Tortoise, as related in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*,¹ is an allegorical description of a protracted war between the people of *Gazaka* or *Gaza*—representatives of the Aryans, and the now extinct tribe called *Kaspīi* (the Turanian *Dānavas*), till they were both exterminated by *Garuḍa*, (the Turnanian *Iluns*). This is a traditional account of a war between the two races at a remote period before the Aryan migration to India. *Gazaka* or *Gaza*, as it was called, was the summer capital of *Atropatene*², modern *Azerbaijan*, one of the two divisions into which ancient *Media* was divided, *Atropatene* being the eastern division. According to *Pliny*³, the *Kaspīi* lived on the north of *Media* along the *Caspian Sea* near the river *Cyrus* or the modern *Kuru*, on the southern side of *Armenia* and *Albania*. According to *Strabo* their country called *Caspiana* appertained to *Albania*⁴, but elsewhere he designates them by the name of *Cossæi* and says that they lived to the east of *Media*⁵. There can be no doubt therefore that they lived on the eastern side of *Media* but towards the north. The *Kaspīi* were a famous tribe, as after their name the *Caucasus* mountain is called *Mount Kaspius* and the *Hyrcanian Sea* the *Caspian Sea*⁶. There can be no doubt that the country of the *Kaspīi* adjoined *Atropatian Media* or *Azerbaijan*. The *Kaspīi* have been described by *Strabo*⁷ as a barbarous people who starved to death those among them who were above seventy years of age by exposing them

1 *Mbh.*, *Ādi*, ch. 29; *Padma P.*, *Sṛṣṭi*, ch. 44 :—*Tiṣṭhantaṁ vipulau tatra jighāṁsū Gaja-Kacchapaṁ, aprameyaṁ mahāsattvaṁ sāgarasthaikadeśataḥ.*

2 *Geography of Strabo*, vol. ii, p. 263.

3 *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 218, note 2

4 *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 234.

5 *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 264.

6 *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 226, 234.

7 *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 258.

1. H. Q., MARCH, 1926

in a desert place. They were a tribe of marauding bandits who never lost an opportunity to exact tribute from the Median kings¹. It is very probable that the name of the Kaspī suggested the name of Kaśyapa as the progenitor of the Turanian race. In the Atharva-Veda Kaśyapa denoted a tortoise². Gazaka was situated on the south-western side of the Caspian Sea and on the south-eastern side of lake Urumiya, and the fight between the Gaja and the Kacchapa is said to have taken place near the sea-shore, evidently the shore of the Caspian Sea. Garuḍa, after he had carried the Nāgas (serpents) on his back at the command of the latter's mother Kadru and at the request of his own mother Vinatā to *Ramanīyaka-dvīpa*³ learnt at that place about his mother's thralldom to Kadru and also the means of her emancipation from her servitude. Garuḍa felt very hungry, and by the direction of his mother he devoured myriads of Niṣādas or fishermen on the sea-shore, but his hunger was not satisfied. He therefore went to his father who was performing asceticism on the north of the *Lauhitya Sāgara*⁴ or the Erythrean Sea, and by his instruction he took up the elephant and the tortoise, which were of enormous size, with one of his claws and flew to a Bāṭa tree (*Ficus Indica*) situated at *Alamba tīrtha*, to eat them. The branch broke and he flew away to a mountain elsewhere and there devoured the elephant and the tortoise⁵. But the Purāṇas go still further. They state that the elephant was very much pressed in the fight, and in his despair he prayed to Viṣṇu to deliver him from his difficult position and Viṣṇu went to the spot on his vehicle Garuḍa, killed his enemy and

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 264.

² *Vedic Index*, vol. I, p. 144; *Atharva-veda*, iv, 207; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, vii, 5, 1, 5.

³ *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 26.

⁴ *Padma P.*, Sṛṣṭi, ch. 44 :—*Tava tūtas tapas tepe Lauhityasyottare tate.*

⁵ *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 30.

saved him¹. The Purāṇas, it will be remarked, thus preserve the Aryan origin of Gaja or the Elephant. It will be observed that the entire scene of the story is placed on the western side of the Caspian Sea, which is the Kṣīra-sāgara of the Purāṇas, and the *Ramaṇīyakadvīpa* may be easily identified with the country of Armenia, Ramaṇīyaka being a pleonastic form of *Ramaṇīya* or *Armenia*, and *Alamba* with *Albania*, the capital of the ancient province of the same name now called Shirwan, situated on the shore of the Caspian Sea, as is indicated by the word *tīrtha* attached to the name and by the distinct mention that the foot of the Baṭa tree situated in Alamba was laved by the waves of the 'sea'² which was evidently the Caspian Sea. The scene of the whole story therefore comprised Atropatian Media, Caspiana, Armenia and Albania, that is, most of the Trans-Caucasian States. Two facts may be deduced from the allegorical description of the fight. One is that the people of Azerbaijan, the capital of which was Gazaka, and which in the language of the Avesta was called Āryavaijam, the supposed original home of the Aryans, were frequently subjected to the invasions and depredations of the barbarous nomad tribes by whom they were surrounded, and were in a constant state of insecurity. Hence it should be inferred that the principal cause of Aryan migration from Iran to India and the countries to the west was not so much for religious schism, as it has been generally supposed, though it may have been one of the causes; but was due to a feeling to escape from the oppression, cruelties and devastations of the barbarous tribes to a place of security where they could enjoy peace and the fruits of their labour in the fields. The other fact that may be deduced from the story is that Garuḍa, one of whose names was Śālmali³ or Chaldea, was originally an inhabitant of Chaldea⁴ or

1 *Vāmana P.*, ch. 85. 2 *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 29. 3 *Amara-koṣa*.

4 *Bhāgavata*, v, 20, where it is said that Garuḍa lived upon the

Mesopotamia, and this is corroborated by the fact that his father Kaśyapa practised asceticism on the north of the Lauhitya (Red) or Erythræan Sea, which in the Pauranic language was called Ghr̥ta Samudra and which surrounded Śālmaladvīpa¹ or Chal-dea. It is also very probable that Kadru, the mother of the Nāgas, was a Kurd, Carduchi of the ancients² as her name indicates, that is a woman of Kurdistan, and that she was married to Kaśyapa who was perhaps the same as Colaxais³ mentioned by Herodotus as the progenitor of the royal Scythians. Hence it should be inferred that Chaldea was the original abode at least of the Su and other kindred tribes of Scythians, and that they were obliged to emigrate to the east of the Caspian Sea, most probably on account of the growing powers of the Semitic race, as is represented by the story of Garuḍa having carried his deformed brother Aruṇa on his back to the east across the Sea⁴. Garuḍa was a Chaldean or a Mesopotamian from his mother's side; this accounts for his and his brother Aruṇa's early conversion to the Aryan or Mithraic religion. From the cuneiform inscriptions of Boghaz-Keui and Tel-el-Amarna it appears that the Mitannians or Hittites of Northern Mesopotamia worshipped Mithra and Varuṇa so far back as 1500 B.C.⁵ The Iranian Mithra and the Vedic Mitra being the Sun-god, it is very probable that Mitanni was the "Mitravana" of the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa⁶.

It is remarkable that almost all the generic names of the serpents in Sanskrit have been derived from the general and tribal names of the Huns and other Turanian races, as *Nāga* is a corruption of Hiung-nu⁷ the original name of

Śālmali tree (*Bombax Malabaricum*) which gave its name to the division called Śālmala-dvīpa.

¹ *Varāha P.*, ch. 89. ² *Strabo*, Bk. xiv, ch. I, 24. ³ Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Bk. iv, ch. 6. ⁴ *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 24, vs. 3, 4.

⁵ *Contemporary Review*, December, 1921, p. 767; Havell's *History of the Aryan Rule in India*, p. 41. ⁶ *Bhaviṣya P.*, I, 72, 4.

⁷ *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 544.

the Huns ; *Sarpa* corresponds to the tribal name of *Sartaspa* or *Sarwya*¹; *Uraga* to the *Uigurs*², who were the ancestors of the Uzbeks. The word *Uraga* could not have been possibly derived from the Urogs, as the Ugric tribes were called after the dismemberment of Attila's Hunnic empire in 462 A.D., because the word existed before that year, and the Ugric tribes should not be confounded with the Uigurs, an ancient Turkish tribe³. *Pannaga* is perhaps a combination of the two words *Parni*⁴ (*Par*) and *Nogāi*⁵, the former being the name of a Scythic tribe which lived on the banks of the Jaxartes, and the latter lived on the north-east of the Caspian Sea.

Ahi is a corruption of *Azi* of the Azi dynasty, the founder of which was Azi Dahāka which literally means (*ahi*) "the fiendish snake". He was a king of Chaldea. He built a palace called Kvirinta or the palace of the Stork in Babylon⁶. He was the counterpart of the Vedic Ahi⁷ or Vṛtra, killed by Indra,⁸ who was therefore called Vṛtrahan (Verethragna of the Avesta)⁹. The Ahi kings of Babylon belonged, of course, to the Semitic race, but according to the *Rg-veda*¹⁰, Vṛtra's mother was Danu, and therefore he was a Dānava, and consequently he must have been a Turanian. The original seat of Azi myth was on the southern coast of the Caspian

1 Tod's *Rājasthān*, vol. I, ch. 7, p. 104.

2 Max Müller's *Science of Language*, vol. I, p. 348.

3 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 366.

4 *Strabo*, bk. xi, ch. ix, 2 ; vol. ii, p. 251 : *Rg-veda*, x, 108, 1.

5 Max Müller's *Science of Language*, vol. I, p. 348.

6 *S. B. E.*, vol. xxiii, pp. 60, 61 ; *Ābān Yast* (V), 29 ; *Rām Yast* (XV), 19, pp. 253, 254.

7 *S. B. E.*, vol. iv, Introduction, p. 28.

8 *Rg-veda*, I, 32, 1 ; III, 32, 11.

9 *Encyclopædia of Religion & Ethics*, vol. I, p. 792 ; *Bahrām Yast* in *S. B. E.*, vol. xxiii.

10 *Ibid.*, I, 32, 9 ; iii, 30, 8 ; see Max Müller's *Rg-veda Samhitā*, vol. I, 97 note.

Sea¹. The legend of Azi is localised only in Medic lands². Though Ahi Dāsa is the Sanskrit form of Azi Dahāka, yet I leave it to the philologists to decide whether the word *Damśaka* (biter) has not any connexion with the same word Dahāka in its application to Ahi or snake, as Dasyu or Dāsa corresponds with the Iranian Danhu.

(To be continued)

NUNDO LAL DEY

The Trade of India

(from the earliest period up to the 2nd century A.D.)

II

IV. The Nordic tribes of the Northern Steppe region (who, in my opinion, had no connection with the Āryas of India) migrated westwards between the 25th and the 20th century B. C., temporarily destroyed the old trade route from Khotan to the East Mediterranean coast and cut off the ancient trade in jade-stone between China and Troy. This probably led to the great development of the sea-trade of India, and this is the trade referred to in the quotations from the Vedic mantras given above. But yet this trade was chiefly in the hands of the Panis and other Dasyus, whom it is the fashion now to call "Dravidians." The R̥sis of the Āryas were interested only in the ultimate results of the voyages of merchants in the shape of *dakṣiṇā*. Hence the references to the sea in the Vedic mantras are sparse; for it was the Panis and not the followers of the Ārya fire-cult that braved the terrors of the deep and carried Indian goods to far-off lands.

1 S. B. E., vol. xxiii, pp. 60, 61.

2 *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 1 note.

V. Ebony, ivory, and cotton goods are mentioned in the Egyptian inscriptions as being supplied to Egypt in the second millennium B.C. by the Abyssinian and Somali (Punt) traders. Abyssina and Somaliland must have got this ebony from India: for (1) India was so noted for its ebony that Virgil¹ speaks of it as peculiar to this country; and, (2) we learn from the *Periplus*² that ebony was exported from the west coast of India in the 1st century A. D. to Africa in order to be sent on to other countries; this was certainly a continuation of a pre-existing trade between India and Africa. Hence the ebony of the Egyptian inscriptions must have been Indian in origin. The elephant hunters of Abyssinia and Somaliland used axes, adzes and swords of Indian manufacture. Cotton cloth of various kinds, dyed and undyed, also found its way to the East African coast; the royal "linen", besides precious stones and cinnamon, among the yearly tributes of Punt to the Pharaoh Rameses III (12th century B. C.) must have been obtained in India, where alone they were available in those days. These Indian articles were exchanged for the sweet-scented gums of the land of Punt, and formed the basis of the unguents and scents so much used in ancient India and of which five kinds are mentioned in the Atharva Veda Samhitā³. By sailing straight to Abyssinia with the help of the monsoon, the Indian traders avoided the rapacious pirates of Arabia, who from ancient times dominated the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea and prevented Indian goods from being taken straight to the Egyptian markets.

VI. One result of this trade to Abyssinia and beyond was that the Indian traders acquired a knowledge of the various regions near the sources of Nile. On this knowledge, as recorded later in the Purāṇas and interpreted by Col. Wilford, Lieut. Speke relied, when he planned his expedition for discovering the source of the Nile. He says, "all our previous information concerning the hydrography of these regions

1 *Georgics* ii. 16-7.

2 *Ibid.* vi.

3 *iv.* 37. 13.

originated with the ancient Indians, who told it to the priests of the Nile; and all those busy Egyptian geographers, who disseminated *their* knowledge with a view to be famous for *their* long-sightedness, in solving the mystery which enshrouded the source of their holy river, were so many hypothetical humbugs. The Hindu traders had a firm basis to stand upon through their intercourse with the Abyssinians"¹.

VII. Indian merchants also traded with the merchants of the South-east and South coast of Arabia and exchanged their goods for Arabian frankincense and gold, and copper, tin, storax, coral and wine of the Mediterranean littoral. The Arabian merchants took the Indian goods to Egypt and Syria. It was thus that Solomon in the tenth century B. C. got Indian sandalwood, precious stones, ivory, apes and peacocks. In the case of most of these, the name of the article was also borrowed by the Hebrew and other languages. Thus Heb. *thuki* (-im) is Tamil *tokai*, peacock, the bird with the splendid tail, (*toka*, tail, from *to*, to hang); Heb. *ahal*, mistranslated "aloes" in the English Bible², is Tamil *ahil*; Heb. *almug*, sandalwood, is probably from Sanskrit *valgu*; Heb. *kophu* is Sans. *kapi*, ape, borrowed also by the Egyptians as *kafu*; Heb. *shen habbin*, ivory, is a translation of Sans. *ibha-danta*, elephant's tooth, *habbin* being but *ibha*, as were also the Egyptian *ebu* and the Greek *el-epha-s* (*el* being the Arab prefix); Heb. *sadin*, cotton cloth, Arab. *satin*, Gr. *sindon* are all from *sindhu*, already noted as an Accadian borrowing for Indian cotton cloth (India being the only ancient country which produced cotton and wove cotton cloth); Heb. *karpas*, Gr. *karpas-os* are from Sans. *Kārpāsa*, cotton. The "bright iron" of Ezekiel³ was Indian steel, for Indian steel was so much prized even centuries later that Alexander preferred to gold a present of 100 talents weight of steel (white iron) from the Malloi and the Oxydrakoi.

¹ Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 230.

² I. Kings, x. 18-22.

³ xxvii. 19.

VIII. Mr. Kennedy in his article¹ on Ancient Indian trade spends all the resources of his learning in trying to disprove the existence of Indian trade either with Egypt or Assyria before the 7th century B. C. He is completely ignorant of the Vedic evidence. The Vedic mantras speak of sea voyages; surely these were not pleasure-trips undertaken by the Indians of that age! Mr. Kennedy admits that the Indian people, especially of the coastal districts, "were accustomed to the sea"; for their culture from time immemorial was coastal; the country produced in abundance timber both hard and sweet smelling, spices and precious stones which were eagerly sought after by the Egyptians and Assyrians; Indians from the neolithic age wove cotton cloth in abundance (and dyed it), as is proved from the various kinds of stone-implements for weaving discovered so far; and yet Mr. Kennedy will not believe that there was commercial intercourse between India on the one hand and Egypt and Assyria on the other. He attempts to explain away the etymologies referred to above and, after trying to whittle down the evidence for the early commerce of India with the west adduced by scholars, concludes that "there is no valid proof of it".

On this remarks Mr. Schoff in his *Periplus*²: "Mr. Kennedy minimizes the importance of the early Egyptian trading voyages, considering them purely local, while the numerous references to articles and routes of early trade in the Hebrew scriptures he passes by with the assertion that they are due to the revision following the return of Ezra. But whatever may have been Ezra's revision of the Hebrew books, substantially the same articles of trade are described in the records of Egypt at corresponding dates, and they indicate a trade in articles of Indian origin to the Somali coast and overland to the Nile, centuries before Ezra's day. Such opinions presume a continuous trading

1 J.R.A.S., 1898, pp. 248-287.

2 P. 228.

journey without exchange of cargoes at common meeting-points. But primitive trade passes from tribe to tribe and port to port".

IX. It was thus that Indian produce found its way to Assyria in the 9th century B. C.; on the obelisk of Shalmeneser III (860 B. C.) are figures of apes and Indian elephants, which latter must have passed through Makran. Tiglath Pileser III (745-727 B. C.) got from the Chaldean state of Bit Yakim a tribute of "precious stones, the product of the sea (pearls?), timber, striped clothing, and spices of all kinds"—all products of India. He also made the ports in the Persian gulf centres for the gold of Karmania and the Himalayas¹. Sennacherib (704-681 B. C.) enlarged the city of Nineveh, built therein a palace for himself, and planted a great park, where among other trees he introduced "trees bearing wool" imported from India². In 606 B. C. the Assyrian empire was overthrown and Babylon became the headquarters of trade in Asia.

X. The trading nations of the world—Ionians, Jews, Phœnicians, Indians and Chinese took their wares to the Babylonian markets, and the population of Babylon got so mixed that Æschylus later on called it *pammikton hoclon*. There was established in that town a colony of South Indian traders, which continued to flourish till the 7th century A. D. Among the business tablets of the great firm of Murashu and Sons at Nippur (in the 5th century B.C.) we find records of dealings with Indian merchants³. As a result of this trade we find Tamil names of some South Indian articles borrowed by the Greeks and mentioned by Sophocles, Aristophanes and other writers. They were Greek *oryza* from Tamil *arisi*, possibly through Arab *aruz*, Gr. *karpion* from Tamil *karuvā*, cinnamon, Gr. *ziggiberos* from Tamil *iñji*.

¹ Schoff's *Periplus*, pp. 123, 160.

² J.R.A.S., 1910. p. 403 (Pinches). This expression "wool-bearing tree", was used more than 250 years later to describe the cotton plant by Herodotus (iii. 106).

³ J.R.A.S., 1917, p. 237 (Kennedy).

ver, perhaps through Sanskrit *śṛṅgivera* ginger, Gr. *peperi*, from *pippali* (which is *tippali* in modern Tamil, but retains the original initial consonant in Telugu), long pepper, but since extended to black pepper, Gr. *beryllos* from Sanskrit *vaidūrya*, itself being probably borrowed from Tamil, beryls being from ancient times mined in the Coimbatore district. Some writers derive Gr. *Kassiteros*, tin, from *kastīra*, tin. But as tin and lead were not extensively produced in India, (there is no name for either in the South Indian languages) but were imported from the west, the Sanskrit word was probably borrowed from Greek. This trade with Babylon is referred to in the Buddhist Jātaka tales. One of them is the *Bāveru Jātaka* (Baveru being the Indian rendering of Babylon), the tale of the Indian merchants who travelled to Babylon and took along with them the crow and the peacock. Another is the *Samuddavāṇija Jātaka*. A third, the *Kuṇḍaka Kucchi-sindhava Jātaka*, mentions Sind horses for export, the western sea-ports mentioned being Bharu-Kaccha and Suppara.

XI. The Jātakas mention also eastern seaports, notably Champā and Tāmralipti, whence traders sailed to Ceylon and Suvannabhūmi (Lower Burma and Malacca). Buddhist chronicles speak of the invasion of Ceylon in the 6th century B.C. by Vijaya Simha, who gave his name to the island; he is said to have sailed in a ship which could hold over seven hundred people. Several tales¹ of trade with Ceylon and Suvannabhūmi are found in the Jātakas. The Chinese legends refer to trade with Malacca as early as the 12th century B. C. and emigrations from the East Coast of India (Northern and Southern) to Indo-China and the East Indian Archipelago prove that there was active trade in early times between India and China. Silk and sugar reached India from China, which received in exchange storax and other incense, red coral, costus, pepper, and perhaps gold from Assam washings.

1 E.g. *Mahājanaka Jātaka*, *Saṅkha Jātaka*, *Sussandi Jātaka*, etc.

The Indians acted also as intermediaries of whatever trade there was between China and Assyria in those early days.

XII. In 538 B.C. Cyrus destroyed the Babylonian empire. His successor Darius annexed the Indus valley to his dominions; this brought him 360 talents of gold-dust, *paipilika*, (from a misunderstanding of which the Greeks constructed the myth of ant-men) from Dārdistan, and besides, led to the development of the ancient caravan trade (1) across the Hindukush to Balkh and thence to the Euxine, (2) skirting the Karmanian desert, and thence through Mesopotamia to Antioch. It was thus that silk from China was first introduced into Greece and Egypt¹. Darius sent his Greek admiral, Skylax about 510 B.C. by the Indus to the Red sea on a voyage of exploration. He then developed sea-traffic, for which purpose he tried to reopen the Suez canal, which was first dug by Sesostias in the 20th century B.C., and reopened under the 18th dynasty in the 15th century B.C. The Persian conquest of Northwestern India was the cause of the introduction into India of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet which continued to be used in that region for five hundred years and more. Another result of the Persian connection was the increasing substitution of stone for wood in Northern India as the material of architecture.

XIII. From the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, the chief adviser of Chandragupta, the great Maurya Emperor (326-296 B.C.) we learn that trade both overland and oversea flourished very much at the end of the 4th century B.C. For the purpose of this trade, as we learn from Megasthenes, the Emperor linked up existing routes and made the Grand Trunk Road which ran from Puṣkalāvati in Gāndhāra, through Takṣhaśīla, Kānyakubja, Hastināpura, Prayāga to Pāṭaliputra and thence to Tāmralipti. Through this road Megasthenes travelled and noted that it was provided with milestones, which little fact proves the extent of literacy among the common

¹ Cleopatra wore transparent silk. *Lyc. Phar.* x, 141.

people in those far-off days. The Emperor himself took part in foreign trade. The *Arthaśāstra* Book II, chapters XI and XII, give detailed instructions about the various articles which the Royal Superintendents (*Adhyakṣa*) had to account for in the Treasury Account-books—pearls, beryls diamonds, corals, sandal-wood, agaru, scents, skins, woollen blankets, garments of fibre, silks, cotton fabrics, besides the products of mine, such as gold, silver, bitumen, copper, lead, tin, iron, crystals, conchshells, salt. These and forest produce formed the chief articles of royal merchandise, about which the following instructions are given in Book II, chapter XVI, to the Superintendent of Commerce (*Panyādhyakṣa*) :—“Let him ascertain the actual value and the selling-price (*arḥamūlya*) of the things sold and bought and the net profit after the payment of tolls (*śulka*), roadcess (*varṭanya*), conveyance-cess (*ativāhaka*), tax payable at cantonments and ferries (*gulma* and *deya*), subsistence allowance to servants (*bhakta*), and portion of merchandise to be given to the foreign king (*bhāga*). If there is no profit from the sale of the (Indian) produce in foreign countries, let him consider whether he could profitably barter it for foreign products. In view of large profits he may make friendship with the forest guards, boundary guards, and officers in charge of cities and of country parts”¹. The *Arthaśāstra* also requires special encouragement to be given to foreign trade by providing that trade taxes should be remitted in the case of those who imported foreign merchandise, and that foreign merchants, who were not members of local companies, should be exempted from being sued for debts. Maritime trade was also fostered. The superintendent of ships (*nāvādhyakṣa*) was ordered to “show fatherly kindness” to weather-beaten ships arriving at ports and to reduce or cancel the tolls of ships whose merchandise was spoiled by water. Pirate ships (*himsrikā*) were destroyed

and the traditional usages of commercial towns were scrupulously observed by the superintendent of ships¹.

XIV. The internal trade of India was also very considerable in those days. The *Arthaśāstra*² speaks of two (internal) trade routes, one by water and another by land, the former being better according to the Ācāryas inasmuch as it is less expensive, but productive of large profit. Not so, says Kautilya, for the water-route is liable to obstruction, not permanent, a source of imminent dangers, and incapable of defence, whereas a land-route is of a reverse nature. Of water-routes, one along the shore and another in mid-ocean, the route along and close to the shore is better, as it touches at many trading port-towns; likewise river-navigation is better, as it is uninterrupted and has avoidable and endurable dangers. According to the Ācāryas, the land route which leads to the Himalayas is better than that which leads to the south. Not so, says Kautilya, for with the exception of blankets, skins and horses, other articles of merchandise, such as conch-shells, diamonds, precious stones pearls and gold are available in plenty in the south. There was uninterrupted trade in these articles between South India and North India from the Vedic times.

XV. The trade with Indo-china was developed in this age to a very large extent. Col. Gerini says, "From several centuries before the Christian era a double stream of traders and adventurers began to flow into Indo-china from Northern and Southern India, reaching the upper parts of the peninsula by land through Burma and its southern coast by sea, and founding there settlements and commercial stations. Brahmanism and, later on, Buddhism (third century B.C.), with most other achievements of Indian culture, followed in the wake of these pioneers, and thus it is to ancient India that Indo-china owes her early civilization"³. The Buddhist cult gained a firm foothold near the head of the Gulf

¹ ii. 18.

² vii. 12.

³ J.R.A.S., 1904, pp. 233-247.

of Siam and the Brāhmaṇa cults in Central and Northern Siam, where the cities of Swankalok (or Svargaloka, 95 B.C.) and Sukhothai (or Sukhodaya, c. 70 B.C.) which possess several temples in the Indian style testify to the amount of Indian influence. *Milindapañha* refers to Takkola, out-side the limits of *Suvannabhūmi*, i.e. near the gulf of Martaban which is certainly Takopa, a well-known trading centre in the early years of the Christian era. Epigraphic records have also been found "proving that the coast in question was dotted practically all the way with Indian settlements and colonies".

(To be continued)

P. T. SRINIVAS IYENGAR

Śālihotra

III

Śālihotra, the veterinary surgeon, is described as the father of the veterinary science in India. The manuscript, called Śālihotra, is a work on veterinary medicine. Śālihotra is described to be the son of Hayaghoṣa, and the father of Suśruta, in answer to whose questions he expounded the Haya-Āyurveda revealed to him by Brahmā himself. It is a work on the 'Treatment of Horses'. It is a practical farriery, a complete guide to all that relates to the horse ; its history, varieties, and uses,—breaking, training, feeding, stabling, grooming,—how to buy, keep and treat a horse in health and disease, etc., forming a complete system of veterinary art as practised in ancient India, and there it was accepted as the standard work on the subject. Śālihotra gives his name to the art, and to this day horse and cattle doctors are known in the North-West Provinces under the name of Saluter.

The work is divided into eight divisions, as we find the Āyurvedic system of medicine to be composed of eight āṅgas or parts (Aṣṭāṅga or octopartite), namely, Śalya or Major Surgery, Śālākya or Surgery of parts above clavicles, Kāya-cikitsā or Inner Medicine, Bhūtavidyā or Demonology, Kaumārabhr̥tya or the Science of Paediatrics (described as Kiśora-vāla-cikitsā), Viṣa tantra or Toxicology, Rasāyana or Treatment to prolong life, and Vājīkaraṇa or Treatment to stimulate sexual power. There are 8 sthānas or main sections which treat of these 8 āṅgas. Each section is virtually a book in itself; it is sub-divided into many chapters, each dealing exhaustively with every phase of its subject.

In the introductory chapter, Suśruta is represented to have requested his father Śālihotra to teach him the origin and treatment of horses. Śālihotra addressed Suśruta as his son and said that "horses were birds originally, but as they came to be submitted by men as beasts of burden, diseases began to attack them in their captivity. Then out of kindness to the equine race, I performed austerities and learned the science of their treatment from Brahmā himself. I severed their wings, and now they roam over the earth on their legs, retaining their former speed. The Vedas were uttered by Svayambhu and I learnt it from him. He described its four-fold division by his four mouths to the four directions of this world. Āyurveda was developed from the Atharva veda. Brahmā originally described the science in one lac and twenty-five ślokas but I abridged it and described in 18,000 ślokas'".

The 8 sthānas mentioned above are 1. Unnaya, 2. Uttara, 3. Śārīrika, 4. Cikitsita, 5. Śīṣu-bhaiṣajya, 6. Uttara-uttara, 7. Siddhisthāna, and 8. Rahasya. Only the first of these 8 sthānas, and even this not quite complete, is contained in the I. O. Ms. 2762. It is necessary to transcribe the whole of Sanskrit passages from the I. O. Cat. in order that the reader may form a just estimate of Śālihotra's work but for the present we must be satisfied with an analysis of its con-

tents in English with my identification of diseases described therein. The other sections are not available. Mm. Haraprasad Śāstri showed us a valuable find of the manuscript in the shape of the eighth sthāna of Śālihotra's work, the 'Rahasya-sthāna' from Udaipur in Rajputana. The Ms. is well preserved and well-written. The manuscript is no doubt unique, but his opinion, that this was the only part of Śālihotra's work known to exist, was modified when I pointed out the I. O. Ms., and Tanjore Cat. Ms. The Ms. consists of 5,000 slokas and is in the possession of Mm. H. P. Śāstri. Afterwards I learned from him that with the instinct of a scholar he made a gift of the Ms. to the library of the Society and it is now available to scholars. The entire Ms. of Śālihotra exists in Baroda and will be published soon. In the Triennial Cat. Mss., Madras, 1916-19, R. No. 2342, we find 1-18 chapters of the eighth section, Rahasya sthāna and 1-9 chapters of Unnaya sthāna.

Relation of Śālihotra to Suśruta

Now in the I.O. Cat. Ms. and in Mm. Śāstri's Ms., Suśruta is said to be the son of Śālihotra-muni who addressed his lectures to his son. Suśruta also calls Śālihotra his father (v. 2). But in the Suśruta Saṃhitā, Suśruta is said to be the son of the celebrated sage Viśvāmitra: 'Bramhaṛṣi-puttra' (S. S., II, i), 'Viśvāmitrātmaja' (IV, ii), 'Viśvāmitrasuta' (VI, lxvi), 'Vaiśvāmitra' (VI, xxviii). In the Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana-parva, ch. 139, vs. 8-11), Suśruta is described as a son of Viśvāmitra. In the genealogical table of sage Viśvāmitra (see my History of Indian Medicine, vol. II, p. 282a), I have shown Suśruta to be one of the sons of Viśvāmitra. Thus there is an anomaly as regards the father of Suśruta. If Viśvāmitra was his father, how could Śālihotra call Suśruta his son. Both the views can be reconciled if we accept Viśvāmitra as Suśruta's father, and Śālihotra as his guru. A guru can address his disciple as son, and a disciple can likewise call his preceptor

father. Such a practice is sanctioned by Śāstras and also by usage.

In the Hārīta Samhitā, Ātreya addressed his disciple Hārīta as his son (see also Hārīta Samhitā, II, i, ii, iii, vii; III, iii, v, xi, xii, xiii, xxii; IV, i; V, i). In the Madras Ms. in the Rahasya sthāna we find Suśruta to be a disciple, and not a son of Śālihotra.

Again we must consider whether besides the evidence of this manuscript, we possess any corroborative testimony that Śālihotra was Suśruta's preceptor. In Nakula's Aśva-cikitsā and Jayadatta's Aśva-vaidyaka we find no mention of Suśruta as a disciple of Śālihotra, who is described as the source of the science. Jayadatta quotes Śālihotra, Nakula, Sāraṅgadhara and Jayadeva. Gaṇa in his Aśvāyurveda (Nepal Cat. 765, p. 151) refers to Śālihotra as his source but does not mention Suśruta. In G.O.M.L., xxiii, 13319, Gaṇa, in the colophon to his Aśvāyurveda, professes to summarise the treatises of Śālihotra, Suśruta, Garga, etc. Śālihotra and Pālakāpya are quoted in later treatises on topics in relation to the veterinary science. As an instance I may mention that Śivadāsa Sena in his Tattva Candrikā, a commentary on Cakradatta's Saṅgraha, quotes Śālihotra and Pālakāpya, but not Suśruta. In the Agni Purāṇa, however, we find that Suśruta is said to have learnt the science of horses, elephants and cattle from Dhanvantari, who is represented in the Suśruta Samhitā to have taught his disciple Suśruta major surgery only. In the Bower Ms., I, i (p. 11) Suśruta is represented to have approached Muni Kāśirāja with the enquiry about the "nature of a plant with leaves dark-blue like sapphire, and with bulbs white like jasmine, crystal, the white lotus, noon's rays, conch-shell or mica or garlic plant." Kāśirāja addressed Suśruta and set forth its virtues (p. 15). Thus we find that Suśruta learned the different branches of Āyurveda, viz., Surgery, Botany and Veterinary Science from Dhanvantari. Hence we find that Śālihotra is said to be Suśruta's father and teacher of veterinary science in this Ms. of Śālihotra.

Śālihotra, according to Nakula, expounded the science of medicine for horses for the benefit of the equine race. He wrote the Āyurveda for horses at the request of Indra, for whom the sage maimed them by cutting their wings. The original Saṃhitā of Śālihotra consisted of 12,000 ślokaś.

Śālihotra is said to have lived in Śālātura, a country near Gāndhāra the modern Kandahar. As such, he is identified with Pāṇini by some, and with Dhanvantari by others (see Dr. Mitter's opinion in the Proceedings of the A. S. B., July, 1885). Cunningham (Ancient Geography of India, pp. 57-58) identified Śālātura with modern Lahore (Śālātura, Halātūr, Alātūr, Lahore) but without sufficient evidence. Hiuen Tsang's Śālātulo, which is situated at a distance of 20 li or about 3½ miles in a north-western direction from the province of Ohind corresponds to Śālātura, the birth-place of Pāṇini (Śālāturiya), in which designation he is referred to in the copperplate inscription of the Vallabhis found in Kathiawad (Indian Antiquary, I, pp., 16, 17, 45). According to Nakula he was the son of Hayaghoṣa or Turaṅgaghoṣa, which are merely descriptive synonymous names. He lived in Śrāvastī and was a brahmin by caste.

He explained the science at his retreat in the forest of Campaka, (the Campakāvatī forest in Magadha) at the foot of the Himalaya mountain.

Hayaghoṣa or Turaṅgaghoṣa is said to have been the father of Śālihotra. Hayaghoṣa has been identified with Aśvaghoṣa from the similarity in their names which are synonymous (haya=aśva, a horse). Hayaghoṣa may thus be identified with the celebrated Buddhistic preacher and writer Aśvaghoṣa Bodhisattva, the author of Buddhacarita or 'Life of Buddha' for the northern Buddhists (edited by Cowell) and Saundarananda Kāvya (edited by Mm. H. P. Śāstri in the Bibliotheca Indica). He is also the author of many philosophical treatises (see Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, the total number being 7 (Nanjio) or 8 (Suzuki) or 9, if we include the Vajrasūci in the list. There is evidence

to connect Aśvaghōṣa with the court of the renowned Indo-Scythian monarch Kanīṣka of Peshwar and so he must have flourished towards the end of the 1st century A. D. His work *Buddhacarita* was translated by Dharmarakṣa into Chinese in the 4th century A.D. His other work (*Ka-coyam-yan-kim-lin*) was translated by Kumārajīva, a Chinese pilgrim, about the same time. His name appears as the twelfth patriarch of the Buddhists from the venerable Buddha, third from Pārśva, the president of the Buddhist council during the reign of Kanīṣka, and Nāgārjuna's name occurs as the third from Aśvaghōṣa in a descending line. He is described as an inhabitant of Sāketa, the ancient name of a city in the modern province of Oudh, a brāhmaṇa by caste, and the son of Suvarṇākṣa.

Hayaghōṣa is also described to be a brāhmaṇa muni who had hermitage in the Campaka forest at the foot of the Himālaya mountain. Thus the age of Śālihotra may be known, but neither Aśvaghōṣa nor Śālihotra has given us any clue as to their identity. Again Suśruta, to whom Śālihotra addressed his lectures, flourished long before Kanīṣka, unless by Suśruta is meant Nāgārjuna, the celebrated Buddhist chemist, the redactor of *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, who flourished during the second century A.D.

Some old Bengali Books and Periodicals in the British Museum*

II

PERIODICALS

I. *Samācār-candrikā*

One of the most important periodicals of the second quarter of the 19th century was the *Samācār-candrikā*, which was started under the editorship of Bhabānicaraṇ Bandyopādhyāy in the Śaka era 1743, corresponding to 1822 A.D. This weekly paper (subsequently becoming bi-weekly from 1829 A. D.) was the organ of the orthodox Hindu society of the time and voiced the sentiments of the Dharma Sabhā, of which Bhabānicaraṇ was the Secretary. It is said that Bhabānicaraṇ at first assisted Rājā Rāmmohan Rāy in the editing of the *Sambād-kaumudī* (first published on December 4, 1821) but left that paper, not long afterwards, owing to a difference of opinion with the Rājā on the question of the abolition of the *satī* and started the *Samācār-candrikā* on his own account, chiefly to oppose the Rājā in his agitation on the question. This paper, therefore, enjoyed for a long time the reputation of being the organ of one of the most influential sections of society in Calcutta, just as the *Samācār-darpaṇ* (started on May 23, 1818) represented the views of the missionaries of Serampore and the two papers, the *Brāhmaṇ-sebadhī* or *Brahmanical Magazine* (started Sept. 1821 and written in English and Bengali in each issue) and the *Sambād-kaumudī* voiced the opinions of Rājā Rāmmohan Rāy and his party. These are the earliest Bengali periodicals of which we have any record, and they laid the foundations of modern Bengali journalism.

* Continued from Vol. I, p. 323.

The old files of these papers are very scarce today. I had an occasion of giving an account of the early files of the *Samācār-darpan* (from its inception up to July 14, 1821), which I found in the Library of the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat¹. I came across a complete file of the *Samācār-candrikā* for the Bengali year 1237 (April 1830 to March 1831) in the Bengali collection in the British Museum. Of this I have already given an account in the *Calcutta Review*, 1922, pp. 274-283. I may supplement that account by recording here what I have been since able to gather about the career of its founder and first editor **Bhabānīcaran**.

Bhabānīcaran Bandyopādhyāy, son of Rāmjay Bandyopādhyāy, was born at Nārāyanpur in Parganā Ukhḍā in 1787 A. D. His father, who was employed in the Calcutta Mint, had a house in Calcutta, where Bhabānī appears to have been brought up in early boyhood. As was customary in those days, he learnt Persian and probably some English, besides Sanskrit. In 1803, at the age of sixteen, he was employed as a *sircar* to Messrs. J. Duckett & Co., and served in that firm for about 11 years. Later on, he acted successively as chief clerk to various well-known officials, such as Herbert Compton (afterwards Chief Justice of Bombay) and Bishop Middleton. On the establishment of Bishop's College, he is said to have acted as its Secretary. He had a chequered career thereafter. He was for some time the *khātānji* or Chief Accountant to the Hughli Collectorate, the Dewan of Calcutta Tax Office and a *banian* to Messrs. Hickey, Baillie & Co. He appears also to have been for some time the manager of the *Englishman* under J. H. Stocqueler, and here probably he gained some experience

¹ *Baṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, vol. 24, pp. 149-170, and my *Bengali Literature 1800-1825*, pp. 235-244. Here I have given an account also of the files of the paper (i) from 1831 to 1837 (Imperial Library, Calcutta) and (ii) from 1851 to 1852 (Bengal Asiatic Society's Library).

in newspaper-management. The Dharma Sabhā, which was started on Māgh 5, 1236 of the Bengali era (= 1830 A.D.), found in him an enthusiastic Secretary, who published most of its proceedings in his *Samācār-candrikā*¹. Besides journalism, he wrote several works in Bengali, of which I have been able to trace the mention of two. One of these was advertised for sale at Rs. 2/- in the first issue of the °*Candrikā*, as a publication from the Candrikā Press. The full title of the work is given thus : কলিকাতা কমলালয় প্রস্তুত দ্বারা কলিকাতার রীতিবর্ণন মূল্য ২ টাকা।² In an old catalogue of the Calcutta Public Library (which subsequently became the Imperial Library, Calcutta) I find a mention of this work, although I have not been able to trace it in the Bengali collection of the Imperial Library. In the same catalogue mention is made of another work of Bhabānīcaraṇ, entitled মার্গার্ঘ্য উপাখ্যান। This work also cannot be traced. Some importance attaches to the first-named of these works, *Kalikātū-Kamalālay*, because it is probably the first specimen of realistic social satire and served as model for such later works as *Naba-Bābū Bilās* and *Hutam-Pēcār Naksā*. Bhabānīcaraṇ appears to have died in 1848 at the age of sixty-one. After his death the °*Candrikā* was probably conducted by his two sons, Rājkr̥ṣṇa and Bāmācaraṇ, assisted by Bhagabatīcaraṇ Caṭṭopādhyāy of Pāṇihāṭi. From a reference to it in the daily °*Prabhākar* of Baisākh 23. 1272 (= May 4, 1865 A. D.), it appears that this paper existed till that date.

II. *Sambād-bhāskar*

A file of this paper, edited and published by Gaurīśankar Bhaṭṭācārya (popularly known as গুড়গুড় ভট্টাচার্য), exists in the British Museum. It contains the following numbers :

¹ *Calcutta Review*, 1922, pp. 276-77. It is said that the expenses of this paper were defrayed by the Dharma Sabhā (started probably in the year 1830) which was patronized by such distinguished men as Rājā Rādhākānta Deb, Tārīṇīcaraṇ Mitra, Rāmkaṁal Sen and Umānanda Ṭhākura.

² *Ibid.*, p. 278.

- A. Vol. 20, no. 75, October 2, 1858 (Āśvin 17, 1265 B.S.).
Saturday.
B. Vol. 20, no. 85, October 26, 1858 (Kārttik 11, 1265 B.S.).
C. Vol. 20, no. 152, March 29, 1859 (Caitra 17, 1265 B.S.).
D. Vol. 26, no. 155, April 5, 1859 (Caitra 24, 1265 B.S.).
E. Vol. 24, no. 98, November 28, 1861 (Agrahāyaṇ 14, 1268 B.S.).
F. Vol. 24, no. 102, December 7, 1861 (Agrahāyaṇ 23, 1268 B.S.).

There is no complete file of any particular year.

As twenty volumes appear to have been published by 1858 and as each volume is devoted to each Bengali year, the paper must have begun in the Bengali year 1246, corresponding to 1839 A.D. At the beginning, one Śrīnāth Rāy was the editor for about a year, after which Gaurīśaṅkar took charge of it.

The first number is numbered and dated in the following way :—৭৫ সংখ্যা ২০ বালম ইং ১৮৫৮ সাল ২ আক্টোবর দানীশাব্দ ১০৮ আন্দুল রাজাষাঃ ১১ বাঙ্গালা ১২৬৫ সাল ১৭ আশ্বিন শনিবার মূল্য মাসে ১ টাকা আগামি ৮ টাকা। And at the end of this number we have the following information : এই সম্বাদভাস্করপত্র সহর কলিকাতার শোভাবাজারীয় বালাখানার বাগানে শ্রীগৌরীশঙ্কর ভট্টাচার্য্যের নিজভবনে প্রতি মঙ্গলবার ও বৃহস্পতিবার ও শনিবারীয় প্রাতঃকালে প্রকাশ হয়। It would follow from this that in 1858 it was a tri-weekly edited by Gaurīśaṅkar Bhaṭṭācārya and published at his own house in Śobhābājār Bālākhānā, Calcutta, every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday morning¹. But in the issues marked C, D, E, F above, we have at the end এই সম্বাদভাস্করপত্র সহর কলিকাতার শোভাবাজারীয় বালাখানার বাগানে প্রতি মঙ্গলবার ও বৃহস্পতিবার ও শনিবারীয় প্রাতঃকালে শ্রীক্ষেত্রমোহন ভট্টাচার্য্য দ্বারা মুদ্রিত ও প্রকাশিত হয়। In the issue marked F above, we have also a letter from a correspondent addressed to Kṣetramohan Bidyāratna Bhaṭṭācārya as

¹ From Long's article on 'Early Bengali Literature and Newspapers' in *Calcutta Review*, 1850, it would appear that this paper continued to be published thrice weekly even in 1850.

the editor : মহামহিম শ্রীযুত ক্ষেত্রমোহন বিদ্যারত্ন ভট্টাচার্য্য সম্বাদভাস্কর সম্পাদক মহাশয় প্রবলপ্রতাপেযু। 'This leaves no doubt that from March 29, 1859, Kṣetramohan (who was Gaurīśaṅkar's son) was the editor as well as the publisher¹, Gaurīśaṅkar having died in 1858.

The first number in our file contains two punning verses in Sanskrit (in the Śārdūla-vikrīḍita metre) as a headnote :

ভ্রাতর্বেদাধিসবোজ কিং চিরয়সে মৌনস্ত্র নায়েং ক্ষণো
দোবধ্বাস্ত্র দিগন্তরং ব্রজ ন তেহবস্থানমব্রোচিতম্।
ভোঃ ভোঃ সংপুরুষাঃ কুরুধ্বমধুনা সংকৃত্যমত্যাদরাদ্
গৌরীশঙ্করপূর্বপর্বতমুখাদুজ্জ্বন্ততে ভাস্করঃ ॥
নানালোককরক্রিয়ঃ সমুদিতে ন ব্যায়তে শাশ্বতঃ
শশ্বৎস্বাস্ত্রাশ্বজোজ্জ্বলকরো দেবান্ধকারোজ্জ্বিতঃ।
নানাদেশবিলাস এষ বিলসম্মঞ্জুরুবর্ণোপরে
গৌরীশঙ্করপূর্বপর্বতমুখাদুজ্জ্বন্ততে ভাস্করঃ ॥

The second verse began to be omitted from the headnote in the issues, marked E and F above.

I have not been able to glean any important information from these files ; but in one of the advertisements it appears that Gaurīśaṅkar edited the Caṇḍī text with a Bengali commentary (চণ্ডী মূল টীকা ভাষা),. In the issue marked B, Śaurīndramohan Thākura announces a Bengali translation of Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* done by himself.

1 This disposes entirely of the statement of Mahendranāth Bidyānidhi (*Janmabhūmi*, 1302-3, pp. 328f.) that Kṣetramohan was the editor of the paper from 1264 B.S. In the same article, we are told that the first editor Śrīnāth Rāy was assaulted by the servants of the Rājā of Andul, a cruel tyrannical landlord, some of whose misdoings had been exposed in the paper. A criminal suit was brought against the Rājā who was fined Rs. 1000 by the Court. Gaurīśaṅkar also seems to have come into conflict with the same Rājā. From the fact that the Andul Raj era is used to date the paper (as we see above), it would appear that it was probably in some way patronised by the Andul Raj. The above assault occurred in January 13, 1840, and it was reported in the *Englishman*, April 15, 1840. Śrīnāth incurred heavy injuries, as parts of his body were burnt by redhot iron.

The name *Sambād-bhāskar* was probably suggested by that of the rival paper *Sambād-prabhākar* (first published in January 28, 1831) edited by Īśvarcandra Gupta, between whom and Gaurīsankar there grew up rivalry, ultimately ripening into jealousy. It is evident from what Īśvar Gupta said about Gaurīsankar in °*Prabhākar* (Baisākh 2, 1253 and Baisākh 1, 1254 quoted in Īśvar Gupta's life by Bankimcandra) that their mutual relations were at first friendly : সুদিত্যত পণ্ডিত ভাস্কর-সম্পাদক ভৰ্কবাগীশ মহাশঃ পূৰ্বে বন্ধুরূপে এই প্রভাকৰেৰ অনেক সাহায্য কৰিতেন। এক্ষণে সময়ভাবে আর সেরূপ পারেন না। The quarrel must have begun later (according to some, in the same year 1254 B.S.) ; and they abused each other in the *Pāsāṇḍa-pūṇan* and *Sambād-rasarāj* respectively. Of this Rājñārāyaṇ Basu writes in his *Bānyālā Bhāsā O Sāhitya Biṣayak Bakṛtā* : “প্রভাকর” ও “রসরাজে” যখন ঝগড়া হইত, তখন রাস্তার ছইজন ময়লাপরিষ্কারক জাতীয় লোকে ঝগড়া করিয়া পরস্পরের হাঙিকাস্থিত ময়লা লইয়া পরস্পরের গাত্রে নিক্ষেপ করিলে বেরূপ দৃশ্য হয়, সেইরূপ জঘন্য দৃশ্য হইত।

Mahendranāth Bidyānidhi, on the authority of Long's article on early Bengali literature and newspapers in *Calcutta Review* for 1850, states that the *Sambād-bhāskar* was in existence till 1850. But in the list of periodicals given by Padmanāth Bhaṭṭācārya¹ from the Assamese paper *Arumoduy* of 1851, it appears that the °*Bhāskar* continued till 1851 and was still published from Śobhābājār, Calcutta. We, however, find a reference to it at a much later date in the daily °*Prabhākar* of Caitra 7, 1272 (= March 19, 1866), of which a file exists in the British Museum.

Of Gaurīsankar's life very little is known. That he was also the editor of another bi-weekly, the notorious *Sambād-rasarāj* mentioned above and that he was imprisoned for libelling Rājā Nṛsiṃha Rāy of Kāsimbājār are facts which are well known. He was also the author of a school-book on Geography and is said to have collected together the moral stories written by himself for the *Bhāskar* in two parts,

1 *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 1324, p. 75.

entitled *Jñān-pradīp*. These were published between 1848 and 1853. Gaurīsaṅkar had the title Tarkavāgīś. He died a fortnight later than Īśvar Gupta on Māgh 24, 1265 (=1858 A. D.).

III. *Sambād-rasarāj*

There are only two numbers of this periodical in the British Museum, dated respectively (A) January 17, 1862, Friday (5 Māgh, 1268), numbered Vol. I, No. 38 (১ বালম ৩৮ সংখ্যা) and (B) February 7, 1862, Friday (Māgh 27, 1268 B. S), numbered Vol. I, No. 43 (১ বালম ৪৩ সংখ্যা)। মূল্য মানে ৯০ অগ্রিম ৪ টাকা।

This, like the *Sambād-bhāskar*, is a very slight print, each issue consisting of only four pages (two sheets), of which two are taken up entirely by advertisements and the remaining two by reading matter. The name of the editor is nowhere given. The top of the front page is illustrated by a curious engraving. The engraving represents an escutcheon with floral (rose) designs on all sides, excepting the top where we have a man's bust. Along the base of the escutcheon we have another flowing design which reads on the left side দুই দমন, on the right side শিকিপালন and in the middle শ্রীরামধন স্বর্ণকারের সাবধান বোধিত বসন্ত শিমলা। On the two sides of the escutcheon stand the figures of two stalwarts bearing the mace and the strident and probably typifying the above-quoted motto. The escutcheon is divided into four quarters, having stars and the figure of a deer on the dexter chief and dexter base respectively, and the figure of a lion and the crescent on the sinister chief and sinister base respectively. Under this engraving we have a Sanskrit verse in the Sikharinī-metre as follows :

সত্যং স্বাস্তে শ্রীস্তুঃ শমসুখমসীমং প্রকটয়ন্
বিদব্ধানাং সন্ধ্যাঃ কুসুমশরলীলাং প্রবলয়ন্ ।
গুণানাবিকুর্ব্বন্ গুণিষু খলগর্ব্বানপহরন্
রসোদন্তোদগারী জগতি রসরাজো বিজয়তে ॥

Of the one sheet (two pages) devoted to reading matter, more than three-fourths are taken up by letters, either wholly

or partly composed in doggerel verse, from anonymous correspondents (কস্ম্যচিৎ পাঠকস্য, কস্ম্যচিৎ শ্রী * *). The number marked A above, for instance, has a প্রেরিত পত্র which covers practically three columns of p. 3 ; while on the next page we have another anonymous letter, half in prose and half in verse, entitled ভাষলদাসের হন্যারোগ, the contemporary allusion of which is not intelligible. The first of these letters details the power of the °*Rasarāj* in demolishing the activities of other papers and contains a play upon the words *gupta* and *prabhākar*, obviously alluding to the *Sambād-prabhākar* edited by Īśvar Gupta¹. Although the name of the editor of the periodical under discription is not mentioned, this fact makes it certain that the present paper is the notorious °*Rasarāj*, originally edited by Gauriśaṅkar Bhaṭṭācārya who was dead now. The style and temper of these doggerels, which constitute nearly the whole of the subject-matter of the periodical, exhibit a bad taste and scurrilous vulgarity which justify the severe strictures of Rājñārāyaṇ Basu quoted above. It is hardly necessary to give quotations here.

Long in his *Return* (1855)² states that this paper, edited by Gauriśaṅkar, started in 1838, for which Mahendranāth Bidyānidhi gives the date³ 1839. It was first published probably from Murshidabad by Rājñārāyaṇ Sen who was its first editor and who was prosecuted for libel by Rājā Kṛṣṇanāth of Kāsimbājār. It is curious, however, that both the issues, discussed above, of this paper are for the year 1862 and numbered Vol. I, Nos. 38 and 43 respectively. This fact is unintelligible if the paper was first published in

1 This is, of course, **keeping up** the tradition of the paper, for both Īśvar Gupta and Gauriśaṅkar **were** dead by this time.

2 *A Return of Names and Writings of 515 Persons connected with Bengali Literature*, 1855, pp. 145f.

3 *Janmabhūmi*, loc. cit. It is stated here, on the authority of the *Englishman*, Feb. 6, 1840, that about this time, Gauriśaṅkar was assisted by Kālikānta Gāṅguli in the editing of this paper.

1838 or 1839, and if we presume that each issue was numbered consecutively. It is probable that a new series began from 1862 and was numbered anew as Vol. I.

From the numbers mentioned above, it is clear that between January 17 and February 7, 1862, six numbers were issued (38 to 43), which gives us two numbers for each week (six numbers to three weeks) and makes it probable that the paper was a bi-weekly publication at this time. Both the numbers are published on Fridays. It is also evident that the paper did not cease in 1850 (as Mahendra nāth Bidyānidhi indicates), nor in 1858 with the death of Gaurisāṅkar. It was in existence and was still published from Śobhābājār, Calcutta, in 1851, when it is mentioned by the Assamese paper *Arunoday*¹. It was also in existence in 1855 when Long wrote his *Return* quoted above. The present file proves that it continued even up to 1862, although the name of the editor or the publisher at this time cannot be found.

IV. *Samlād-prabhākar*

We have got in the British Museum only the file of the daily *°Prabhākar* for one year 1272 B.S. or 1865 A.D. (Vol. 36). The file, however, is not complete even for that year. It begins with the second number, of which the superscription says : ৩৬ ভাগ, ২ সংখ্যা । বৃহস্পতিবার ২ বৈশাখ সন ১২৭২ সাল । ইং এপ্রিল ১৮৬৫ । মাসিক মূল্য ১ টাকা । অগ্রিম মূল্য ১০ টাকা । It was published daily (excepting Sundays) by Rāmcandra Gupta from 54 Nayancaud Datta's Street, Simla, Calcutta : এই প্রভাকর পত্র রবিবার ব্যতীত প্রতি দিবস কলিকাতা সিমুলিয়ার অন্তঃপাতি নয়ানচাঁদ দত্তের ষ্ট্রীটের মধ্যে ৫৪নম্বর ভবনে শ্রীরামচন্দ্র গুপ্ত কর্তৃক মুদ্রিত ও প্রকাশিত হয় ।

In the second number (pp. 2-4) dated Baisākh 3, there is

¹ *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 1324, p. 75.

an interesting short review of Bankimcandra's *Durgēśāndinī* which deserves quotation here :

[১২ পেজী ফরমায় ২৬ ফরমায় ২২ পরিচ্ছেদে সম্পূর্ণ কলিকাতা যুজ্জাপুর বিদ্যারত্ন যন্ত্রে মুদ্রিত ও গ্রন্থকারের জ্যেষ্ঠ ভ্রাতা শ্রীযুক্ত বাবু শ্যামাচরণ চট্টোপাধ্যায় মহাশয়ের নামে উৎসর্গ করা হইয়াছে। মূল্য ১৮।]

যাঁহারা ইংরাজী ভাষা শিক্ষা করিয়া সুপণ্ডিত হইয়াছেন তাঁহাদিগের অনেকে বাঙ্গালা ভাষার প্রতি আস্থা ও ভক্তির পরিবর্তে ঘৃণা ও অশ্রদ্ধা প্রদর্শন করেন। তাঁহাদিগের দ্বারা বাঙ্গালা ভাষার নাম রক্ষা হওয়া সম্ভাবিত নহে। যাঁহারা কেবল চতুষ্পাঠীতে সংস্কৃত অধ্যয়ন করিয়াছেন, তাঁহারাও সকলে বাঙ্গালা ভাষার যথোচিত সম্মাননা করিতে পারিতেছেন না। যাঁহারা ইংরাজী ও সংস্কৃত উভয় ভাষায় উত্তমরূপ নিপুণতা অর্জন করিয়াছেন, তাঁহাদিগের সকলে না হউন, কেহ কেহ বাঙ্গালা ভাষার মর্যাদা রক্ষার নিমিত্ত যত্ন করিয়া থাকেন। কিন্তু তাঁহাদিগের অধিকাংশের সে যত্ন বিফল হইতেছে। তাঁহারা প্রাচীন গ্রন্থের অনুবাদ করিতেছেন। অনুবাদের যে কোন প্রকার ফলোপধায়িতা নাই ইহাও আমরা কহিতেছি না, তদ্বারা অনেক উপকার প্রাপ্ত হওয়া যায়। কিন্তু যখন একটি ভাষার সৃষ্টি হইয়াছে তখনই তাহার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে সেই ভাষার গৰ্ভজাত সম্ভানোৎপত্তির আবশ্যকতা রহিয়াছে ; সে সম্ভান কোথায় ? পাঠকগণ স্মরণ করিয়া বলুন তাঁহারা বাঙ্গালা ভাষায় লিখিত কথানি মূলগ্রন্থ পাঠ করিয়াছেন ?^১ বাস্তবিক বঙ্কিমবাবু এই পুস্তকে অসাধারণ নৈপুণ্য প্রদর্শন করিয়া বাঙ্গালীর প্রথম উপাখ্যানকার (First Novelist) উপাধির অধিকারী হইয়াছেন।

In *Prabhākar*, dated Baisākh 8 (p. 3), we have an article supporting Bidyāsāgar's agitation on the question of polygamy; in the number dated Baisākh 23 (p. 4), we learn from a reference that the *Samācār-candrikā* was still alive. In *Prabhākar* dated Baisākh 29 (p. 3), we learn that Īśvar Gupta died at the age of 45², and that within thirty years he composed more than 60,000 verses. We learn also that Capt. D.L. Richardson left Calcutta in May, 1865. On Śrābaṇ 20 (= Aug 3), a perfor-

১ By way of exception, the footnote to this mentions the older poets and the following well known works : রোমাবতী উপাখ্যান, কুলীনকুল-দর্পণ, নীলদর্পণ and নবীন তপস্বিনী।

২ At the time of his death Īśvar Gupta is usually stated to have been 47 ; the date of his birth being given as Phālgun 25, 1218 (= 1811 A. D.) and that of his death Māgh 10, 1265 (= 1858 A. D.). See his *life* by Bāṭkimcandra.

mance of Michael Madhusūdan's *Ekēi Ki Bale Sabhyatā* (একেই কি বলে সভ্যতা) at the house of Rājā Debīkr̥ṣṇa of Śobhābājār by the Śobhābājār Nāṭya-sabhā is noticed. On Śrābaṇ 24 (=August 7) an interesting piece of news relating to the Brāhma Samāj is given: কলিকাতা ব্রাহ্মসমাজে নূতন বিপ্লব উপস্থিত হইয়াছে। বাবু কেশবচন্দ্র সেন ও প্রতাপচন্দ্র মজুমদার প্রভৃতি কয়েকজন ব্রাহ্ম তাঁহাদিগের মতানুযায়ী নিয়ম প্রবর্তনার্থ প্রধান আচার্য্য শ্রীযুক্ত বাবু দেবেন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুরকে যে পত্র লিখিয়াছেন, বাবু দেবেন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর তাহাতে সম্মত হন নাই। বাবু কেশবচন্দ্র সেন তদন্তুথায় তাঁহাদিগের স্ব স্ব উপাসনার নিমিত্ত যে নূতন সমাজ প্রতিষ্ঠার উপদেশ চাহেন, প্রধান আচার্য্য তাহাতে সন্তুষ্ট হইয়া লিখিয়াছেন, দেশের মধ্যে যত অধিক পরিমাণে ব্রাহ্ম-সমাজ সংস্থাপিত হয়, ততই মঙ্গল।

There is an interesting article, entitled খেমটার নাচ, যাত্রা ও ওস্তাদী কবি, which would give some idea of the state of these forms of popular diversion at the time. We quote here a few lines from it (Āśvin 6=Sept. 21 : কয়েক বৎসর পূর্বের নীলকমল সিংহ, বদন অধিকারী, পরমানন্দ, ত্রীদামসুন্দর, মদন মাফার ও গোপাল উড়ে এই বিষয়ে প্রসিদ্ধি লাভ করিয়া গিয়াছেন। এক্ষণে গোবিন্দ অধিকারী, উমেশ মিত্র ও মহেশ চক্রবর্তী প্রভৃতি যে কয়জন বর্তমান আছেন, ইহাদিগের স্রষ্টাতি অতিগোচর হইয়া থাকে। কিন্তু ইহাদিগের কাহারও দ্বারাই স্বার্থ সঙ্গীত বিজ্ঞানের কোন অংশ উদ্ধার হয় নাই। পক্ষান্তরে কৃষ্ণযাত্রা ও বিদ্যাসুন্দর উভয়ই প্রায় সাদৃশ্যে এক প্রকার।.....অধিকারীরা এক্ষণে যে রীতিতে কৃষ্ণযাত্রা করেন তাহাতে যদি ধর্মসম্বন্ধ না থাকিত, কোন ভজরমণীই তাহা অনাবৃত নেত্রে কর্ণে দর্শন শ্রবণ করিতে পারিতেন না। ওস্তাদী কবি, হাফআখড়াই ও পাঁচালী এখন যুগকল। শেষোক্ত দুটি শাখা অল্প দিন প্রবল হইয়াই অল্প দিনের মধ্যে বিলুপ্তপ্রায় হইয়াছে।.....এখন বাঁহারি কবি গাহিয়া থাকেন, তাঁহারি বহু বস্ত্র করিয়াও লোকের মনোরঞ্জন করিতে পারেন না।

On Agrahāyan 10 (=November 24), p. 2, we have similar remarks in a comment on the second¹ performance of পদ্মাবতী গীতাভিনয়, probably the drama of the same title by Michael Madhusūdan : অনুষ্ঠান দেখিয়া বোধ হইতেছে, এ দেশের যাত্রাগুলির প্রাণবায়ু স্বরূপ কালুয়া ভুলুয়া ও ভিত্তি মেথরাগীদিগের² অন্নলোপ হইল।

¹ The first performance took place on the Kārttik Pūjā night at the house of Rājendra Datta of Bahubājār, Calcutta.

² These were the so-called comic but really vulgar characters in the popular *yātrā*.

আমাদের বহুকালের পরিচিত দূতী, যশোদা এবং মালিনা গোয়ালিনারা শ্রী বঙ্গালী সমাজের নিকট বিদায় গ্রহণ করিবেন। চিবাকাক্সিত নাট্যাভিনয়ে মধুর ফল আজকাল অনেকের হৃদয়ঙ্গম হইয়াছে।¹

On Phālgun 24, 1272 (=March 6, 1866), we have the mention of a medical journal, called *Cikitsak* (চিকিৎসক), conducted by Mahendranāth Mitra, Rasiklāl Dās, Kṣetrāgopal Tāhā and Ambikācaran Raksit, members of the *Cikitsak-sabha*, *Cikitsak Office*, 6 Gom'sāi Gali, Āhiritolā.

We give below a list of some of the other important articles in this file of the daily *Prabhākar* :

সন ১২৭২ সাল।

বৈশাখ ৩—দুর্গেশনন্দিনী

৮—বিলাতেও বহু বিবাহ হয় (supporting Bidyasagar's agitation on the question)

১০—বৈদ্যাক্ষিত টাকা অগ্রে কে পাইবে ?

১৩—সিবিলিয়ানদিয়ার বেতনভ্রাস

১৭—লাখেরাজ ভূমির বিচার

২৩—চন্দ্রিকা সম্পাদকের মতিচ্ছন্ন

২৫—গোহিত্যাকারীর দণ্ড হওয়া উচিত কি না ?

২৭—আবকারীর শ্রীবুদ্ধি

২৮—কলিকাতার জল সরবরাহ (also ৩রা and ৪২১ জ্যৈষ্ঠ)

২৯—বঙ্গালী ভাষা ও বিজ্ঞাপনী সম্পাদক (The বিজ্ঞাপনী was published at Dacca)².

৩০—নৃতন পুলিশের অভিসার

জ্যৈষ্ঠ ১২—বালিকাবিক্রয় ও গবর্ণর জেনেরল

১৭—নীলপ্রধান প্রদেশে অগ্ন্যুৎপাত

১৯—নীলপ্রধান প্রদেশের বিচার প্রণালী

¹ With this remark may be compared the sentiment expressed in the preface to Rāmnārāyaṇ Tarkaratna's *Ratnābālī*. The Bidyāsundar, however, was dramatised and acted at the house of Rājā Yatīndramohan Thākura (Feb. 27, 1866 or Phālgun 17, 1272). We are told in this connexion that the Pāikpārā Nāṭyamandir was closed by this time.

² It was edited by Kṛṣṇacandra Majumdār, the well known author of *Sadbhāratā*, who left the editorship of the ঢাকাপ্রকাশ for that of this periodical.

- ২১—বিনা অত্যাচারে নীল জন্মিবে না কেন ?
 ২৫—চুরি ডাকাইতির উন্নতি
 ২৬—নীল পুনর্ব্বার
 মাষাঢ় ২—মফঃস্বলে পাপের শ্রীবুদ্ধি
 ৪—নীলকর সাহেব ও ছোট আদালত
 ইনকম ট্যাক্সের চরমোৎসব
 ৬—আইন ও সারকিউলার
 ৭—পশ্চিমবাহিনী খাল ও তাহার সেতু
 ১১—জেলা আদালতের স্বেচ্ছাচারিতা
 ১৩—আব্রাহাম লিঙ্কনের মৃত্যুর জন্ম (শোকপ্রকাশ)
 ১৮—ভারতবর্ষের আয় ব্যয় ও ফ্রেণ্ড অফ ইণ্ডিয়া
 অগ্রহায়ণ ১০—আমাদের রমণীগণকে কতদূর স্বাধীনতা দেওয়া উচিত ?
 ১৭—সিভিল সার্ভিশ পরীক্ষা (mentions সত্যেন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর as having passed)
 ২২—গ্রাম্য পুলিশ কিরূপে সংশোধন হইবে ?
 পৌষ ২—অস্বদেশীয় বালিকাবিদ্যালয়ের অবস্থা

This list does not pretend to be exhaustive but, taken along with the literary topics referred to above, it will indicate the extent and variety of subjects dealt with, as well as the popularity which this interesting and useful paper enjoyed for over 30 years.

Although the °*Prabhākar* was a daily paper in 1272 B. S. (=1865-66 A.D.), it was originally started on Māgh 16, 1237 (=January 28, 1831), Friday¹, as a weekly paper under the patronage of Jogendramohan Thākura and with Īśvar Gupta (then only a lad of 19 or 20) as the editor. It stopped on the death of Jogendramohan in 1239 B. S. (=1833 A. D.) The history is thus told by the editor himself. বাবু যোগেন্দ্রমোহন ঠাকুরের সম্পূর্ণ সাহায্যক্রমে এই প্রভাকর পত্র প্রকটিত হয়। তখন আমাদের যন্ত্রালয় ছিল না, চোরবাগানে এক মুদ্রায়ন্ত্র ভাড়া করিয়া ছাপা হইত। [১২]৩৮ সালের শ্রাবণমাসে পূর্ব্বোক্ত ঠাকুরবাবুদিগের বাটীতে স্বাধীনরূপে যন্ত্রালয় স্থাপিত করা যায়। তাহাতে [১২]৩৯ সাল পর্য্যন্ত সেই স্বাধীনযন্ত্রে অতি সস্ত্রমের সহিত মুদ্রিত হইয়াছিল।² It was again revived on Śrābaṇ 27. 1243

¹ See my article in the *Calcutta Review*, 1922, quoted above, p. 281-2.

² *Sambād-Prabhākar*, Baiśākh I, 1253, quoted in Bāṅkimcandra's 'life of Īśvar Gupta' (also in *Jannabhūmi*, 1303-4, p. 241).

B. S. (= 1836 A. D.), Wednesday and was published three times weekly. Let us quote the words of the editor again : ১২৪৬ সালের ২৭শে আশ্বিন বৃহস্পতি দিবসে এই প্রভাকরকে পুনর্বার বারতীয়কল্পে প্রকাশ করি। তখন এই গুরুতর কার্য সম্পাদন করিতে পারি, আমাদের এমন সম্ভাবনা ছিল না। জগদীশ্বরকে চিন্তা করিয়া এতৎ অসমসাহসিক কর্ণে প্রবৃত্ত হইলে, পাতুরেঘাটা নিবাসী সাধারণ মঙ্গলাভিলাষী বাবু কানাইলাল ঠাকুর ও তদনুজ বাবু গোপালচন্দ্র ঠাকুর মহাশয় যথার্থ হিতকারী বন্ধুর স্বভাবে ব্যয়োপযুক্ত বহুল বিত্ত প্রদান করিলেন এবং অত্যাধি আমাদের আবশ্যকক্রমে প্রার্থনা করিলে তাঁহার সাধ্যমত উপকার করিতে ত্রুটি করেন না।^১

It was probably from Āsādh 1, 1246 B. S. that it became a daily paper. As it was then reduced to a few pages only, it contained some editorial remarks and news and gave little scope to Īśvar Gupta's prose and poetical compositions which used to form one of the chief attractions of the °*Prabhākar* in those days. But Īśvar Gupta continued to be the nominal editor, contenting himself with writing editorials on important events and contributing poems and essays now and then. The editorial work was practically carried on by Śyāmācaran Bandyopādhyāy, the assistant editor. To accommodate the literary contribution of Īśvar Gupta, however, a monthly number of a somewhat larger bulk was issued from 1260 B. S. (= 1853 A. D.) on the first day of every Bengali month, in addition to the daily °*Prabhākar* which was also continued. This monthly °*Prabhākar* was almost entirely taken up by the writings of Īśvar Gupta himself. It was in one of these issues that Īśvar Gupta published a valuable account of the Kabiwālās and their poetry^২ and a life of Rāmprasād and Bhāratcandra. After his death, his younger brother Rām-

১ Quoted from °*Prabhākar* in Baṅkimcandra's 'life of Īśvar Gupta'; also in *Janmabhūmi*, loc. cit., p. 242.

২ I have already given an account of *Sambād-sādhuranjan* for 1854, another paper edited by Īśvar Gupta, in *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 1324, p. 39. I find from a advertisement on the fly-leaf of *Prabodh-prabhākar*, published by Īśvar Gupta himself on Caitra 1, 1264 B.S., that this paper existed up to that date as a weekly : মাসিক মূল ১০ বাষিক মূল ২০০ টাকা।

candra Gupta became the editor. The °*Prabhākar* used to have the following two verses, composed by Professor Premcandra Tarkavāṅśi of Calcutta Sanskrit College, as the headnote :

সত্যং মনস্তামরসপ্রভাকরঃ সতৈব সর্বেষু সমপ্রভাকরঃ ।
 উদেতি ভাস্বৎসকলাপ্রভাকরঃ সদর্থসংবাদনবপ্রভাকরঃ ॥
 নক্তং চন্দ্রকরেণ ভিন্নমুকুলেয়িন্দীবরেণ কচিদ্
 ভ্রামং ভ্রামমতল্লমীষদমৃতং পীত্বা ক্ষুধাকাতরাঃ ।
 অত্য়োত্ত্বিন্নিলপ্রভাকরকরপ্রোত্ত্বিন্নপদ্যোদরে
 অচ্ছন্দং দিবসে পিবন্তু চতুরশ্বান্ত্বিরেফা রসম্ ॥

S. K. D.

Patañjali

as he reveals himself in the Mahābhāṣya

INTRODUCTION

The ancient history of India is unfortunately enveloped in obscurity. It is really to be regretted that we know very little of our ancient teachers, who by dint of their many-sided genius and clearness of vision, gave such a unique stamp to the intellectual and spiritual life of India, and left behind them such a brilliant record of erudition and scholarship which still excites our wonder and will continue to do so in all times to come. Their birth and parentage, their manner of life, their society and environments, and particularly the period of time in which they were born, are more or less obscure to us. In the absence of chronological history and authentic records in most of the cases, we cannot form an accurate estimate of their achievements and say anything definitely about their life and mission. The undesirable consequence has been that some of these teachers, like the heroes of ancient myths, have already become fabulous, their identity being lost for ever. India is the land of glorious traditions. But traditions

that are connected with the life of these ancient teachers sometimes prove to be so incredible and misleading that we very often fail to construct a real history out of the materials that are supplied by them. What first strikes our attention when we look back to the past is that the history of India has been the history of a galaxy of outstanding personalities, each eminent in his sphere of activity, each showing a new line of thinking. India can really boast of having produced prophets and religious preachers like Buddha and Caitanya, a saintly philosopher like Śaṅkarācārya, a man of letters like Patañjali, a politician like Cāṇakya, and a poet like Kālidāsa, who once held the torches of light that illuminated the countries far and wide. How eager we feel to know of our great men, to have a glimpse into the history of their life and after all to save their sacred memory from the depth of oblivion ?

We turn our attention to Patañjali as he has revealed himself in the *Mahābhāṣya*. He is one of those teachers of respectable antiquity who have made their mark in the history of Indian thought. He is a great grammarian, greater still as a man of letters, and in everything he is a true type of Indian genius.

Out of the materials as are placed before us by a careful study of the *Mahābhāṣya*, an attempt will be made through these pages to prepare a short account of Patañjali with particular reference to the scope of his studies and his intellectual culture. Patañjali is best known as the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, "the Great Commentary," which is regarded as the most comprehensive work ever written on grammar. A study of the *Mahābhāṣya* makes it sufficiently clear that Patañjali was not only a philosopher and a grammarian, but he may be truly styled the representative man of letters of his age. He appears to have been a man of wide culture, trained in the orthodox fashion, endowed with unequalled power of exposition, well read in all current systems of Indian philosophy, and, in short, a veritable repository of Brahmanic culture. A landmark in

the history of Indian literature, his work, apart from its grammatical interest, may be studied as to what it reflects of the then India in its social, political and religious aspects.

Mahābhāṣya as a work

The Mahābhāṣya forms a critical and explanatory study on the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, i. e. an original commentary mainly elucidating the supplementary rules of Kātyāyana and those of Pāṇini only to a limited extent. Wherever the aphorisms of Pāṇini were found inadequate to cover the growing peculiarities of Sanskrit forms, Kātyāyana tried to supplement them by a number of additional rules (popularly called Vārttikas) as were necessary to bring the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini to completion and to make it up-to-date. The main object of the Vārttikas¹ was to make clear by way of criticism all that was either unnoticed or partially noticed by the rules of Pāṇini. In strict conformity to the order of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, the author divided his work into eight chapters of four sub-sections or Pādas, each of which contains further sub-divisions into Āhnikas varying from one to nine. The work is said to have been composed, on the strength of the evidence contained therein, during the second century before the Christian era, and it has continued to be a most authoritative work on the science of Sanskrit grammar. Patañjali, who is popularly mentioned as the last of the "three sages" (त्रिमुनि) gave a finishing touch, as it were, to the Pāṇiniyan system of grammar by this monumental commentary.

The Mahābhāṣya is a unique production ; its style is so simple and dignified, and the method of argument is so logical and accurate that it stands almost unparalleled in Sanskrit literature. As an indispensable guide to the understanding of the Vedas, the science of grammar had been studied in ancient India with much zeal and devotion. The advent of the Mahābhāṣya marked a new epoch in the grammatical speculations of India ; and students were not wanting to make

1 उक्तावुक्तदुक्तार्थव्यक्रियारि तु वाचिकम् ।

a serious study of so important a work. The study of the Mahābhāṣya proved a vast field of knowledge by itself. Bhartṛhari, the well-known author of the Vākyapadīya, was not only a keen student of the Mahābhāṣya, but is said to have written a running commentary on it (a Ms. of which has been found in the Berlin Library). Mention is also made of this commentary by I-tsing¹. The circumstances that necessitated the outcome of such a huge treatise as the Mahābhāṣya have got a historical interest. First, it should be borne in mind that the science of grammar was regarded as a particular class of *Smṛti* (a term usually applied to the treatises dealing with Dharma) and in consequence of such regard this department of study was formerly designated as “Vyākaraṇa-smṛti”,² and “Vyākaraṇāgama”³. It was not only the grammarians who used to apply such epithets to grammar but the Mīmāṃsakas too have shown similar regard for “Vyākaraṇa”, and designated it as such. Bhartṛhari⁴ has, however, given an account as to how this “Great Commentary” came to be composed so as to preserve the continuity of the “Vyākaraṇa-smṛti” from interruption. Vyāḍi⁵ is said to have written a huge work on grammar under the name “Saṃgraha” containing one *lakh* of verses. This work was held in high respect and considered to be an authority on the subject, as is clearly evidenced from references in the Mahābhāṣya. In course of time, however, there came a period of decadence in Indian intellectual pursuit, and people could not afford to make a sustained effort so as to go through such a huge treatise on grammar. The study of the “Saṃgraha” thus came to be neglected by the majority of students, because they were either lacking in academic ambition or unable to spare the

1 *I-tsing*, Takakusu, p. xiv.

2 साधुलक्षणविधया सेवा व्याकरणस्मृतिः ।

3 पनैतादागमं लब्धुं भाष्यबीजानुसारिणि—Vākyapadīya, 2. 489.

4 Vākyapadīya, 2. 484-485.

5 वाद्य परचितं यमलक्षपरिमाणं संग्रहामिधानं लिखन्ममासीत्—Puṇyarāja and संग्रहो व्याडि-
कृतो लक्षश्लोकसंख्यो यम इति प्रसिद्धिः—Nāgeśa on M. B., vol. I, 1. 6.

time necessary for mastering so difficult a subject. At such a critical juncture, when the study of "Vyākaraṇa-smṛti" was about to be discontinued, there came Patañjali with his robust genius, who again restored the study of grammar to its former state by building a grand edifice upon the basis of Kātyāyana's Vārttikas. In bulk the Mahābhāṣya comes nearer the Mahābhārata, and contains, in the words of Bhartṛhari¹, the germs of all principles—religious, social, scientific and moral. Besides being an elaborate disquisition on grammatical problems, the Mahābhāṣya has dealt with so many subjects of popular and philosophical interest that it can rightly be viewed as an epitome of all branches of knowledge with which Hindus in those days were more or less conversant. The influence exercised by the Mahābhāṣya on later disquisitions on grammar has been so great that a man's scholarship was not considered to be complete² enough to command popular respect unless and until he was well-versed in the Mahābhāṣya. The extent to which this great work was respected by the grammarians is clearly brought out by a couple of adjuncts whereby Bhartṛhari characterised it in the Vākyapadiya. In point of depth, Bhartṛhari maintains that the Mahābhāṣya seems to be unfathomable, but at the same time clear on account of its beautiful exposition³. Thus, in the Mahābhāṣya we find a strange mixture of two opposite qualities; it is in a sense impenetrable, dealing as it does with subjects too many to be enumerated, and has, on the other hand, a peculiar stamp of clearness and perspicuity that serves to render it so interesting and beautiful. It is how Bhartṛhari has eulogised the Mahābhāṣya and tried to show the salient features that won for the work so glorious a name. Puṇyarāja, the well-known commentator on the Vākyapadiya, emphatically puts forward the reason why this commentary is generally

1 सर्वेषां व्याख्यानानां महाभाष्ये निबन्धने—Vākyapadiya, 2. 485.

2 तस्मिन्नज्ञतवृद्धीनां नैवावास्थित निश्चयः—Vākyapadiya, 2. 486.

3 अलम्बनाधिशास्त्रीयांदुस्तान इव सौन्दर्यम्—Vākyapadiya, 2. 486.

known as the Mahābhāṣya and not merely as Bhāṣya¹. It must be, however, remembered here that the commentaries of so reputed teachers as Medhātithi, Sāyaṇa, Śaṅkara and others are only called Bhāṣya, and it is the commentary of Patañjali alone that is distinguished from the rest of its kinds by the word *Mahat* (great). The Mahābhāṣya had many followers, and though a commentary by itself, it was studied as an original text by all devout students of grammar. We may mention the names of Bhartrihari, Kaiyaṭa, Punyārāja, Bhaṭṭoji, Nāgeśa, Koṇḍabhaṭṭa and others as those who made a special study of the Mahābhāṣya. Bhartrihari's Vākyapadīya, Nāgeśa's Siddhānta-Mañjūṣā and Śabdenduśekhara, Bhaṭṭoji's Śabdakaustubha and Koṇḍabhaṭṭa's Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇa are works that were written and planned entirely on the basis of the Mahābhāṣya. Kaiyaṭa, who wrote a learned annotation on the Mahābhāṣya under the name Pradīpa, compares this "Great Commentary" to a "boundless ocean"² and frankly admits like a true scholar that the ocean of the Mahābhāṣya is so deep and his intelligence so shallow that he is not really competent to undertake the task of commenting on it. He sincerely acknowledges his indebtedness to Bhartrihari for what he has done with regard to the exposition of the Mahābhāṣya. Nāgeśa or Nāgojibhaṭṭa made a further contribution to the study of the Mahābhāṣya by his commentary which he designated as the Pradīpodyota. What is important to note is that the Mahābhāṣya did not only prove an authoritative work on grammar but subsequently gave rise to a vast field of study, for scholar after scholar ransacked this storehouse to widen the scope of grammatical speculations still further. The Mahābhāṣya is also called Phanibhāṣya from the supposed identity of Patañjali with Śeṣa, the Serpent-king. It is decidedly the greatest and most authoritative work ever written

1 सर्वभाषावीजहेतुत्वादेव महच्छब्देन विशिष्य महाभाषमिति च्यते—under the Kārikā, 2. 485.

2 भाषाभिः कातिगन्धीरः काङ्क्षं सन्दनतिस्रया ।

on grammar. The influence of the Mahābhāṣya on the extant grammatical literature of India has been very great; the decision of the Mahābhāṣya is still regarded as final and indisputable. It still enjoys such reputation and commands such respect that a form of word not sanctioned by the Mahābhāṣya runs the risk of being rejected by the grammarians.

Patañjali : His time

It is difficult to definitely ascertain the time of Patañjali. He is evidently the last among the "three sages" (Trimuni) whose names are prominently mentioned in connection with the Pāṇiniyan school of Sanskrit grammar. It does not, however, serve our purpose to assign him a date later than those of his predecessors, i.e., Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, because the dates of these two grammarians have not yet been positively fixed by the consensus of opinions. The best and reliable source wherefrom the information about Patañjali's time and birthplace etc. might be gathered is, really, the Mahābhāṣya itself. It will be almost clear from the materials we have put forward that the history of Patañjali is not so meagre as in the case of other ancient teachers of India. The following texts of the Mahābhāṣya have been considered and examined by both Indian and European scholars as what point to some positive data for determining the date of Patañjali. Under the rule Pāṇ. 3. 2. 123 the Mahābhāṣya has cited by way of examples पृथग्विन्नं राज्ञः, and under the Vārttika जित्पदार्थस्यैव राजादर्थम्¹ it has given two more instances, namely, पृथग्विन्नसमा and चन्द्रगुप्तसमा which all tend to prove that Patañjali flourished during the reign of Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty. Patañjali mentions both Candragupta and the Mauryas (Pāṇ. 5. 3. 99), and particularly refers to the council of the former and the profiteering practice of keeping the idols or images of gods by the Mauryas. But a careful examination of the

¹ Vol. I, p. 177.

expression इह पुष्यमित्रं राजयामः will make it sufficiently clear that the performance of religious rites by Puṣyamitra as referred to here was an event that undoubtedly took place during the life-time of Patañjali. Now, if these passages really refer to Puṣyamitra and his royal council, as many eminent scholars have unhesitatingly given their verdict, we must be prepared to believe that Patañjali was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra and that he could not be placed later than 150 B. C. Patañjali has shown his familiarity with Puṣyamitra by frequent references ; whenever he happens to mention the name of a king, he does not forget to give prominence to the name of his patron-king Puṣyamitra by way of illustration. What particularly strikes our attention in dealing with these instances is that Puṣyamitra was not only a contemporary of Patañjali but held him in respect and favoured him adequately as his great patron. Patañjali has repaid his favour by mentioning his name several times in the Mahābhāṣya¹. That he was in touch with a great ruling chief and had intimate knowledge of the royal court is clear from many passages of the Mahābhāṣya. Further evidence regarding the date of Patañjali is furnished by the texts अहमद्यवनः सञ्चितम्² and अहमद्यवनी राजनिकाम् which have been explained by distinguished scholars as an historical reference to a siege of Sāketa (Oudh) and Mādhyamikā by the Greek King Menander. This is, so to speak, the internal evidence in regard to the time of Patañjali.

Next we turn to the external evidence. The Mahābhāṣya was indeed hailed by the grammarians as the most authoritative exposition of the grammatical aphorisms of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, and it undoubtedly attracted good many scholars who not only made a careful study of it but tried to render the texts of this "great commentary" easier by the further addition of commentaries and annotations on it. But in course of time, as Bhartṛhari tells us, the study of the Mahā-

1 See M. B., vol. II, p. 34.

2 See M. B., vol. II, p. 119.

bhāṣya was unfortunately neglected.¹ Of the earliest annotations on the Mahābhāṣya we have no definite knowledge. Bhartṛhari, the renowned author of the Vākyapadīya is said to have written a learned commentary "Tīkā" on the Mahābhāṣya. Both Puṇyarāja and Koṇḍabhaṭṭa call Bhartṛhari a "Tīkākāra"² i.e. author of a commentary on the Mahābhāṣya. A commentary from the pen of so great a scholar as Bhartṛhari, who is distinguished both as a poet and grammarian, is supposed to have been a very learned work, but unfortunately we have no access to it. Prof. Kielhorn speaks of a manuscript of this valuable work as preserved in the Berlin Library. The date of Bhartṛhari may be ascertained with a degree of certainty from the record of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing. What we actually learn from this account is that Bhartṛhari flourished during the early fifties of the seventh century. It is not unlikely that Bhartṛhari might have availed himself of those earlier annotations on the Mahābhāṣya before he wrote his commentary and the Vākyapadīya. There must necessarily be a wide gulf between Patañjali and Bhartṛhari. The distance between Patañjali and Bhartṛhari is a period that extends over many centuries. From the accounts recorded by Bhartṛhari himself in his Vākyapadīya it is clear that the study of the "Vyākaraṇāgama"³ i.e. Mahābhāṣya had fallen much below the rank at the hands of logicians, namely, Baiji, Saubhava and Haryakṣa who by the introduction of logical niceties minimised the importance of grammar, and spoiled the "Ārṣa" (sacred) character of the Mahābhāṣya. In this way the Mahābhāṣya not only found itself in a miserable plight but lost its followers, and what is still more regrettable is that it became almost extinct in course of time,

1 Vākyapadīya, 2, 487-488.

2 Vākyapadīya, 2, p. 283 ; लतलोवर्णकचनं दीक्षायां हरिषा कृतम् Vaiyākaraṇa-bhuṣaṇa, kār. 49.

3 Vākyapadīya, 2, 487.

it being studied in the Deccan only as an ordinary text.¹ When the study of the Mahābhāṣya had thus been neglected and the continuity of the “Vyākaraṇāgama” was about to be broken up, there came Candracārya, Vasurāta and others who again restored the dignity of the “Vyākaraṇāgama” to its pristine glory.² The account given in the Rājatarāṅginī³ is almost the same. It was at the instance of the king Abhimanyu of Kāśmīr that the grammarians Candracārya and others popularised the study of the Mahābhāṣya. This Vasurāta is said to have been the tutor of Bhartṛhari. Like a typical Indian student, Bhartṛhari has magnified the greatness of his revered tutor by stating without any reservation that he made the collection of Vyākaraṇāgamas (principles of grammar) under the direction of Vasurāta. Now, what light is really thrown by these accounts on the date of Patañjali is that a good many centuries had actually elapsed before Bhartṛhari might have attempted to preserve the main tenets of the Mahābhāṣya in his Vākyapadīya. Moreover, the author of the Vākyapadīya respectfully mentions the name of Patañjali as a Ṛṣi and characterises the Mahābhāṣya as “Ārṣa” or sacred. This shows that Patañjali had already become a sacred personage to Bhartṛhari—a fact which is inexplicable unless we are prepared to make allowance for sufficient time between these two authors. It can be easily presumed that he could not attain to Ṛṣi-hood and the reverential designation of ‘Bhagavat’, as he is laterly called by the majority of scholars, until he became so old as to pass for a fictitious personage.

(To be continued)

PRABHAT CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI

1 यः पतञ्जलिशिष्येभ्यो सटी व्याकरणगतः । काले स दक्षिणालेषु ग्रन्थमार्गे व्यवस्थितः ॥

Vākyapadīya, 2, 488.

2 Vākyapadīya, 2, 489.

3 चन्द्राचार्यादिभिर्लब्ध्वादिशं तस्मात्तदागतम् । प्रवर्तितं महाभारतं ख' च व्याकरणं कृतम् ॥

Rāj., I, 176.

A Copper-plate Grant of Viśvarūpa Sena of Bengal

In April 1925, Mr. B. L. Chaudhuri of Sherpore in Mymensing, handed a copper-plate to me for decipherment. I learnt from him that it belonged to the young Mahārājā of Susang, who was informed that a blacksmith had a copper-plate, but before his men reached the blacksmith's shop, a portion of it was cut and melted. The Mahārājā, however, secured it though in its present mutilated condition. I began to read it and when I had nearly finished the reading Rai Saheb N. N. Vasu informed me that inscriptions of the same king having the same beginning was twice published, once in the 7th Volume and once more in the volume for 1896, pt. I of the *JASB*. I immediately took down the volume from the library and found the historical portion nearly the same in all the three plates, but the donation differed in all the three and that the new plate contained the names of many places in East Bengal which are likely to be useful for the topography of East Bengal in olden times. The plate will throw light on the later history of the Sena Dynasty in Bengal.

In the seventh volume of *JASB*. the plate was transcribed by the Society's Pandit Govindarāma and revised by Kamalākānta and the traslation into English was made by Sāradāprasāda. In the volume of 1896 the whole responsibility rested with Rai Saheb Nagendranath Vasu.

In one sense the historical portion of this plate is very important as it settled the name of the king who succeeded Lakṣmaṇa Sena in Bengal. Govindarāma read the name as Keśava Sena only in two places out of three but the Rai Saheb read it as Viśvarūpa Sena in all the places. In the other place Govinda did not read a proper name but an epithet. He read 'viśvavandyo nṛpaḥ' for 'Viśvarūpo nṛpaḥ.' He was evidently wrong. The ū in 'Viśvarūpo' was not

visible in the facsimile but *po* is distinctly there and not *ndyo*. Where he reads 'Śrī Keśavasenaadeva' there is no space for three syllables 'Keśava' but only for two 'Viśva'. But the letters are very indistinct. The metre however comes out right with 'Śrī Viśvasenaadevaḥ' with 12 mātrās and not with 'Śrī Keśavasenaadevaḥ' with 13 mātrās. In Rai Saheb's facsimile the word Viśvarūpa is distinct in both the places, but the metre becomes extremely awkward with 'Śrī Viśvarūpa-senaadevaḥ' with 15 mātrās in the second place. In my copper-plate the word is distinctly *Viśvarūpa* in all the three places and the metre in the second place comes right with *Śrī Viśvarūpasenaḥ*.

Another difficulty arises in the name of the Queen of Lakṣmaṇa Sena and the mother of Viśva Sena Deva. Pandit Govindarāma reads it *Śrī Vasudevikā* but his facsimile does not support him. It looks like *Śrī Rāndrādevī* which is unintelligible. Rai Saheb Nagendranath Vasu reads it *Śrī Tāṇḍādevī tadasya* which comes out of the facsimile though with some difficulty. In the present plate it is *Śrīmat Taṭṭana-devyamūṣya mahiṣī*. The metre is all right though I am not without my misgivings, as *Taṭṭana-devī* is an unusual name and the *t* in *Śrīmat* would be *ṭ* in sandhi.

The names of the ancestors of Viśvarūpa are, father Lakṣmaṇa Sena, grandfather Ballāla Sena and great grandfather Vijaya Sena all descended from the Lunar race. They are the three best known kings of the Sena dynasty of Bengal. Two more princes of the Sena dynasty are mentioned in the donation portion of the copper-plate: one is Sadā Sena and the other Puruṣottama Sena Deva. Their relation with Viśvarūpa is not given but as they are called Kumāras, most probably they were his sons. Sadā Sena gave lands in Somagrāma in Vikramapura and Puruṣottama gave lands in Kandradvīpa. There are two more donors, viz. Nāñi Siṃha the minister of peace and war and Dāmārali Sthairya Siṃha.

Halāyudha of the Vātsyagotra, the donee, was a very clever man. He purchased many pieces of land in many

places in East Bengal, he got donations of land from princes and ministers, but he made the king Viśvarūpa Sena to sanction all the various purchases and gifts as royal donations. A tabular statement of the lands is given below. He had gardens of cocoanut trees and betel-nut trees, he had plantations of betel leaves ; these were then regarded as a source of wealth and even learned brāhmaṇas like Halāyudha did not scruple to plant such profitable trees and creepers as these. One of Halāyudha's purchases was from Rājapaṇḍita Maheśvara undoubtedly the Pandit of that name belonging to Śaṇḍilya gotra who was the 'sabhāpaṇḍita' of Ballāla Sena.

The lands granted to Āballika Paṇḍita Halāyudha was valued at 500 Drammas of which 332 were the revenue from land and the rest income from cocoanut and betel-nut trees and betel leaves. This grant was divided into 6 portions situated in different parts of East Bengal :

- (1) Given in the Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti 100.
- (2) In Vaṅga surrounded by a hedge of Madhuksīrakas in an Aṣṭalā Mātṛcaraṇā in the village of Soma-grāma 250.
- (3) In Vikramapura given by Dāmārali Sthairya Siṃha 25.
- (4) At the same place given by Sāndhivigrahika Nāṇi-siṃha 25.
- (5) At Kandradvīpa Urā Caturaka purchased 50.
- (6) At Pātīlādivika given by Puruṣottama Sena 50.

500

This statement is given after the name of the donee as a summary of detailed statements given in the body of the donation after 'Viditam astu bhavatām'.

There we come to learn that the land belonged to the province of Paundra-vardhana. The city of Paundravardhana has been identified with Mahāsthāna in the Bagura District. On the theory that Lakṣmaṇa Sena was the last king of the five

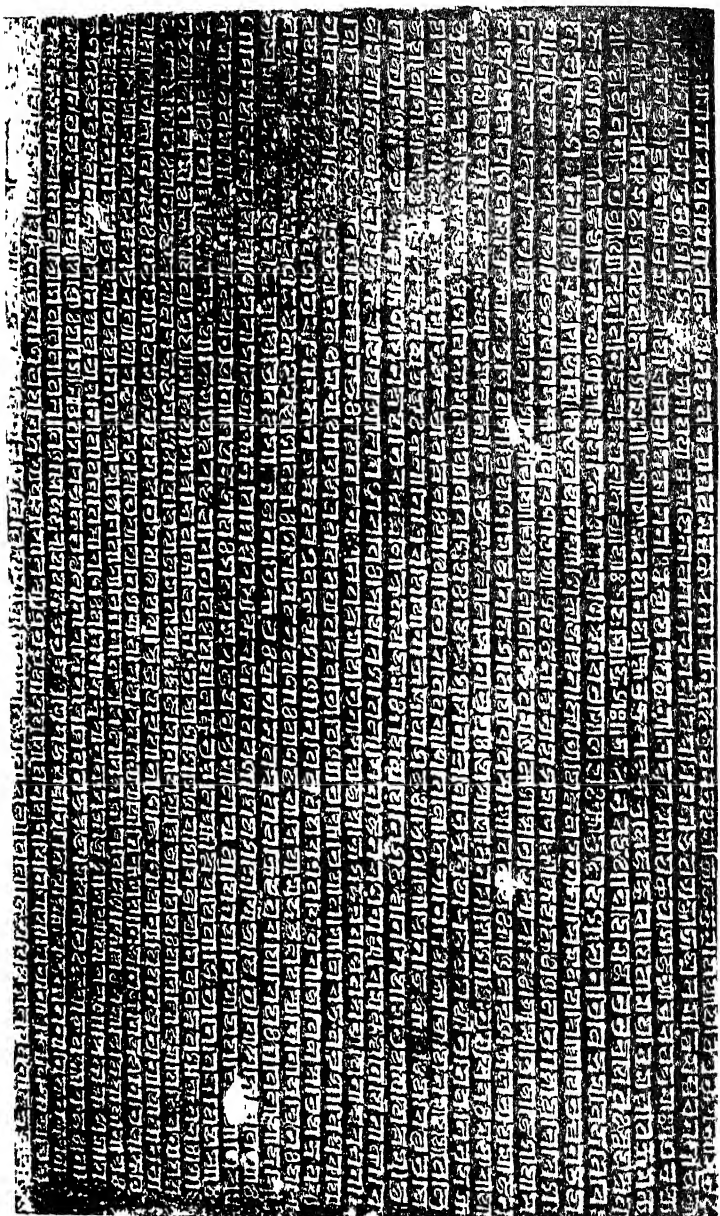
Gaudas viz. Vaṅga, Varendra, Bāgri, Rādha and Mithilā, and that he fled at the advance of Bakhtiyar Khilji on Navadvīpa in 1198 A. D., his son still held the province of Paundravardhana. The province included Vaṅga approachable by boats only. It necessarily included the Pāṭaka or district of Sāmasiddhi. Sāmasiddhi is still a flourishing village in Vikramapura inhabited by many Śrotriya Brāhmaṇas of Mahintā gāṇī which belongs to Vātsya gotra, and who pronounce five pravaras Aurva, Cyavana, Bhārgava, Jāmadagnya, and Āpnavata. They belong to the same gotra and pravara with the donee but the donee professed Yajurveda in the Kāṇva śākhā while the Mahintās of the present day profess Śāmaveda in the Kauthumī śākhā.

Though in the detailed statement the name of Sadā Sena appears as a donor his name is substituted by that of Dāmārali Sthairya Siṃha in the summary.

As a portion of the copper-plate has been cut away and melted with writings on both sides, we miss on the obverse side the statement that Viśvarūpa Sena conquered the Gargas and Yavanas and on the reverse side we miss the name of the Dūtaka of the inscription. The inscription is published. We believe the archæologists of East Bengal will help the public by identifying the Caturakas, the Pāṭakas and the Grāmas mentioned in this copper-plate. The temptation of identifying Kandradvīpa with Candradvīpa is very strong but for the present we must resist it.

A COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VISVARŪPA SENA OF BENGAL
REVERSE

[illegible]



OBVERSE

(1) नमो नारायणाय ।

वन्देऽरविन्दवनवान्धवमन्धकार-
कारानिवहभुवनत्रयसुक्तिहेतुम् ।
पर्यायविस्तृतसितासितप-(2)क्षयुग्म-
मुद्यान्तमङ्गतखगं निगमद्गमस्य ॥ [१]

पर्यस्तस्फटिकाचलां वसुमतीं विश्वग्विमुद्रीभवन्-
सुक्ताकुञ्जलमब्धिमस्वरनदोवत्या(3)वनहं नभः ;
उद्भिन्नस्मितमञ्जरोपरिचिता दिक्कामिनोः कल्पयन्
प्रत्युन्मोलतु पुष्पसायकयशोजन्मान्तरं चन्द्रमाः ॥ [२]

एतस्मा(4)त् क्षितिभारनिःसहशिरोदर्वीकरग्रामणी-
विश्रामोन्मवदानदीक्षितभुजास्ते भूभुजो जज्ञिरे ।
येषामप्रतिमल्लविक्रमक(5)धारव्यप्रवन्धाद्भुत
व्याख्यानन्दविनिद्रसान्द्रपुलकैर्व्याप्ताः सदस्यैर्दिशः ॥ [३]

अवातरदयान्वये महति तत्रऽदेवः स्वयं
सुधा(6)किरणशेखरो विजयसेन इत्याख्यया ।
यदङ्घ्रिनखधोरणिस्फुरितमौलयः क्षमाभुजो

दशास्त्रनतिविभ्रमं विदधिर(7) किलैकैकशः ॥ [४]
नौलाभोरुहसोदरोऽपि दलयन् मर्माणि कादम्बिनो-
कान्तोऽपि ज्वलयन् मनांसि मधुपस्त्रिंशोऽपि तन्वन् भय(8)म् ।
निर्झिक्ताञ्जनसन्निभोऽपि जनयन्नेत्रकृतं वैरिणां
यस्याशिषजनाद्भुताय समरे कौक्षेयकः खेलति ॥ [५]

भासस्त्रिंश(9)निद्राविरहविलसितैर्वैरिभूपालवंश्या-
नुच्छिद्योच्छिद्य मूलावधि भुवमखिलां शासतो यस्य राज्ञः ।
आसौत् तेजोजिगीषा स(10)ह दिवसकरेणैव दोष्णस्तुलाभूद्-
भर्तृर्वाशीविषाणामजनि दिग्धिपैरेव सीमाविवादः ॥ [६]

खेलत्स्वङ्गलतापमार्जन(11) हृतप्रत्यर्थिदर्पञ्जर-
 स्तस्मादप्रतिमङ्गकोर्त्तिरभवद्वल्लालसेनो नृपः ।
 यस्यायोधनसौमि शोणितसरिङ्गमञ्चरायां (12) हृताः
 संस्कृद्दिपदन्तदण्डशिविकामारोप्य वैरिन्ध्रियः ॥ [७]

यस्याग्रसेन्यचलितेभघटासहस्र-
 सम्पातनिर्दलितपद्म(13) परम्पराणाम् ।
 भूमोभुजां भुवमतिव्यजतां वभूवुः
 पाथोधितोरविधुराणि विलोकितानि ¹ ॥ [:]

श्रीकान्तोऽपि न मायया वलि(14) जयी वागोश्चरोऽप्यक्षरं
 वक्त्रं नेत्यपटुः कलानिधिरपि प्रोन्मुक्तदोषाग्रहः ।
 भोगौन्द्रोऽपि न जिह्वगैः परिहृतस्त्रै(15) लोक्वरेखाङ्गत-
 स्तस्मात्क्ष्मणसेनभूपतिरभूद्भूलोककल्पद्रुमः ॥ [८]

प्रत्यूषे निगडस्त्रनेर्नयमितप्रत्यर्थिभूमौभु(16) जां
 मध्याह्ने जलपानमुक्तकरटिप्रोद्गालघण्टारवैः ।
 सायं वेशविलासिनोजनरणम्भ्रोरमञ्जुलनै-
 र्येनाकारि (17) विभिन्नशब्दघटनावन्ध्रं तिसन्ध्रं नभः ॥ [१०]

पूर्वं जन्मशतेषु भूमिपतिना सन्त्यज्य मुक्तिग्रहं
 नूनं तेन सुतार्थिना (18) सुरधुनीतीरे हरः प्रीणितः ।
 एतस्मात् कथमन्वया रिपुवधूधैधव्यवद्वप्रतो
 विख्यातचित्तिपालमौलिरभवत् श्रीविश्वरूपो (19) नृपः [११]

न गगनतल एव शीतरश्मिर्न कनकभूधर एव कल्पशरस्त्री ।
 न विबुधपर एव देवराजो विलसति यत्र घरावतार(20) भाजि ॥ [१२]

वाङ्ग वारणहस्तकाष्ठसदृशौ वल्गः शिलासंहतं
 वाणाः प्राणहरा द्विषां मदजलमस्त्रन्दिनो दन्तिनः ।

1 This verse is not found in the other two inscriptions.

यस्ये(21)तां समराङ्गणमणयिनीं कृत्वा स्थितिं वेधसा
 को जानाति कुतः कृतो न वसुधाचक्रोऽनुरूपो रिपुः ¹॥ [१३]
 वेलायां दक्षि(22)णाध्वेर्मुषलधरगदापाणिसंवासवेद्यां
 क्षेत्रे विश्वेश्वरस्य स्फुरदसिवरणाश्लेषगङ्गोर्निभाजि ।
 तोरोक्ताङ्गे त्रिवेण्याः (23) कमलभवमुखारम्भनिर्व्याजपूते
 येनोच्चैर्यज्ञयूपैः सह समरजयस्तम्भमाला न्यधायि ॥ [१४]
 यां निर्माय पवित्रपाणिर(24)भवहेधाः सतीनां शिखा-
 रत्नं या किमपि स्वरूपचरितैर्विश्वं ययालङ्कृतम् ।
 लक्ष्मोर्भूरपि वाञ्छितानि विदधे यस्याः (25) सपत्न्योर्द्वयं
 श्रीमत्तृट्टणदेव्यमुष्यमहिषो साभूत्तिवर्गीचिता ॥ [१५]
 एताभ्यां शशिशेखरगिरिजाभ्यामिव बभूव शक्तिधरः ।
 श्रो(26)विश्वरूपसेनः प्रतिभटभूपालमुकुटमणिः ॥ [१६]
 दृष्टिस्पर्शमवाप्य विश्वजयिनो यस्य द्विजानां चयः
 पादौर्लोचनयैर्ह्रस्वपद(27)वौ प्राप्तेति को विस्मयः ।
 एतस्मिन्नियमाङ्गुताय महति प्रत्थर्षिपृथ्वोभुजां
 यत्पात्राणि हिरण्ययास्यपि पुनर्यातान्ययोषर्षता(28)म् ¹॥ [१७]
 आकौमारमपारसङ्करभरव्यापारदृष्ट्यावश-
 स्वात्तस्यास्य निशम्य वीरपरिषद्वन्द्यस्य दोर्विक्रमम् ।
 नेदं नेदमिदञ्च नेति चकितै(29)र्दुर्गं प्रविश्य द्रुतं
 निर्गच्छन्निररातिभूपनिवहैर्भ्रास्यन्निरेवाप्यते ॥ [१८]
 आकर्णाक्षलमेलकारविशिखक्षेत्रैः समाजे द्विषां
 दानाश्वः(80)कणगर्भदर्भकलनैर्गोष्ठीषु निष्ठावताम् ।
 नौविवन्धविसारणेः परिषदि त्रयस्यत्कुुरङ्गीदृशा-
 मन्ध्यापारसुखासितां क्षणमपि (81) प्राप्नोति नैतत्कारः ¹॥ [१९]
 तापिच्छैः परिशीलितेव सरितां कच्छस्थली नीरदे-
 नोर्नन्नेव नभस्तटो मरकतैः क्लृप्ता भुवः क्षारहः ।

1. These three verses do not occur in Rai Sahib N. N. Vasu's inscription.

नो(३२)लयावकदस्यकैरविरलाभोगिव विलावली-
 लेखासोददसोययज्ञहुतभुग्धूमि मुहुर्मुच्छति । ॥ [२०]
 कल्पक्ष्मारुहकाननानि कनकक्ष्माभृ(३३)विभागात्रिभिं
 रत्नानां पलिनान्तराणि च परिभ्रस्य प्रयासालसाः ।
 एतत्पादपयोधरप्रणयिनि च्छायावितानाञ्चले
 विश्राम्यन्ति स(३४)तामनिद्रविदशोदुभ्रान्ता मनोवृत्तयः ॥ [२१]
 किमेतदिति विस्मयाकुलितलोकपालावली
 विलोकनविमृङ्खलप्रधनजैत्रयादा The plate has been cut here.

REVERSE

- 1 ससस्तस्त्रप्रशस्युपेतश्चरिराजनिःशङ्खशङ्करगौडेश्वरश्रीमद्वल्लालसेनदेवपादानु-
 ध्यातसमस्तस्त्रप्रशस्युपेतश्चरिराजमदनशङ्ख-
- 2 रगौडेश्वरश्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनदेवपादानुध्यातसमस्तस्त्रप्रशस्युपेतश्चरिपति-
 गजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपतिसेन-
- 3 कुलकमलविकासभास्करसोमवंशप्रदोपप्रतिपन्नकर्णसत्यव्रतगाङ्गेयशरणागत-
 वज्रपञ्चरपरमेश्वरपरमभ-
- 4 शरकपरमसौरमहाराजाधिराजश्चरिराजवृषभ[१]ङ्गशङ्करगौडेश्वरश्रीविश्व-
 रूपसेनदेवपादा विजयिनः समु-
- 5 पगताशेषराजराजन्यकराञ्चौराणकराजपुत्रराजामात्यमहापुरोहितमहाधर्मा-
 ध्यक्षमहासान्धिविग्रहिकम-
- 6 हासेनापतिदौःसाधिकचौरोद्वरणिकनौवलहस्यश्वगोमहिषाजाविकादिव्य-
 घृतगौलिम्बकदण्डपाशिकविषयपत्यादीनन्यांश्च सक-
- 7 लराजपादोपजीविनो अर्धक्षत्रवरान् चट्टभट्टजातीयान् ब्राह्मणान् ब्राह्मणो-
 त्तरान् यथाहं मानयन्ति बोधयन्ति समादिशन्ति च विदि-
- 8 तमस्तु भवतां यथा पौण्ड्रवर्द्धनभुक्त्यन्तःपातिवङ्गे नाथ्ये सामसिद्धिपाटके
 वराहकुण्डदक्षिणपश्चिमे पूर्व्वे देवहारदेवभोगसीमा द

1 This verse also is not found in Rai Sahib N. N. Vasu's inscription.

- 9 क्षिणे वाङ्गालवङ्गाभूःसीमा पश्चिमे नदीसीमा उत्तरे तथा नदीसीमा एवं
चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नवास्तुभूम्यु दान ३४॥ तथा देवङ्गा-
- 10 रपूर्वं टा ४ व्या भू उ ४ । वास्तु उदाडिहि १॥ तथा नाल भू उ २६॥
देवहारउत्तरे नाल भू उ २ नाल उदाडिहि १॥ एवं
- 11 सवास्तु भू उ दान ६७॥ ग्रामयत्या सांहि ८०॥ तथैतदग्रामे वारणा-
कोलीक्तगाजोकादीनां नूतनवरजचतुष्टयसमेत वारणे-
- 12 मनो उदयिता परलोक्तानां वरजत्रयसम्बलित सांहि १६॥ मिलि-
वलिता का २ खं ७ हाभ्यां त्रयोदशवेष्टे उत्तरायणमहासंक्र-
- 13 मणसम्बन्धेन समुलक्षित भू सं सांहि १०० तथा नाथ्ये विनयतिलकग्रामे
पूर्वं समुद्रसीमा दक्षिणे प्रलुक्ताभूःसीमा पश्चिमे जङ्गा-
- 14 लसीमा उत्तरे शासनसीमा एवं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नसवास्तु भू उ दान
२५ नानायत्या सांहि ६० तथा मधुचोरकावृत्तौ नवसंग्रहच-
- 15 तुरके आङ्गिजलापाटके यथाप्रसिद्धससीमावच्छिन्नशौवसाकिरितो मितो
डाब्बाकादौनां अनेनैवावन्निकपंहलायुधेन क्री-
- 16 तपट्टोलो सं सवास्तुभूम्यु दान १६५ नानायत्या उच्छन्नत्वात् सांहि १००
तथेहास्तुभूमौ कलन संसा गुवाकशत २० एत-
- 17 न्मूल्यं हि ४० हा सांहि १४० तथा विक्रमपुरभागे लाङ्गण्णाचतुरके
देऊलहस्यां नदीपूर्वपश्चिमे राजहिताय एव वार
- 18 अरख्ये कामापिण्डनागादौनां अनेनैव क्रीतपट्टोलो सं सवास्तुभूम्यु दान
२५ सांहि ५० त्रिभिः माहचरणा नाम अष्टल-
- 19 सोमग्रामे समुलक्षितभूसम्बन्धेन गुवाकमूल्यममेत सांहि २५० तथैतद-
ग्रामे वारब्रह्मश्रमृतोक्तयोः अनेनैव क्रीतपट्टो-
- 20 लो सं वर्षद्वौ कुमारश्रीसदासेनप्रदत्त नालभू उ ७ गुवाकवास्तुभू उ ३
हा स वा भू उ १० सांहि २५ तथा तथैतदग्रामे
- 21 वारकलोश्रमृतोक्तयोः अनेनैव क्रीतपट्टोलो सं सान्धिविग्रहिकनाजी-
सिंहप्रदत्त नालभू उ ३ गुवाकवास्तुभू उ ४ हा सवास्तु-
- 22 भू उ ७ सांहि २५ हा सांहि ५० तथा कन्दर्पौपे उराचतुरके जयडाह-
भू पूर्वं डोम्बरकाटिपाटके राजपंमहेश्वरस्य अनेनैवाव

- 23 लिकपंहलायुधेन क्रीतशासन सं सवासुभू उ दान १२॥ सांहि ५०
तथा कन्द्रद्वीपे पातिलादिवीके कुमारश्रीपुरुषोत्तम-
- 24 सेन भुज्यमानायग अनेनैव चतुर्दशीव्यापिउत्थानद्वादश्यां समुलक्षित-
भूसम्बन्धेन दत्त सवासुभूय दान २४ सांहि ५० मि
- 25 लिता संज्ञेय द्वा ि]त्रंशदम्नानाधिकशतत्रयोदानात्मककललगुवाकमूल्य-
वरजायसमेत सां चूर्णं पञ्चशतिकभूमि सजलस्थला स-
- 26 वाटिविटा सगर्तोषरा सखिलनाला सगुवाकनारिकेला अचट्टभट्टप्रवेशा
आचन्द्रार्कक्षितिममकालं यावत् देवकुलपुष्करि-
- 27 ण्यादिकं कारयित्वा गुवाकनारिकेलादिकं लग्नावधित्वा पुत्रपौत्रादि
सन्ततिक्रमेण स्रच्छन्दोपभोगिनोपभोक्तुं वात्स्यसगोत्रस्य श्रीर्व-
- 28 च्यवनभागंवयामदग्न्यश्चाप्रवत्पञ्चप्रवरस्य यजुर्वेदान्तर्गतकाण्वशास्त्रेकदेशा
ध्यायिनो लक्ष्मीधरदेवशर्मेण; प्रपौत्राय तथा वे-
- 29 दधरदेवशर्मेण, पौत्राय तथा अध्यायदेवशर्मेण; पुत्राय वात्स्यसगोत्राय
श्रीर्वच्यवनभागंवयामदग्न्यश्चाप्रवत्पञ्चप्रवराय यजु-
- 30 र्वेदान्तर्गत-काण्वशास्त्रेकदेशाध्यायिने आवल्लिकपंहलायुधशर्मेण ब्राह्म-
णाय लाट्ये महाउत्तरायणमहासंक्रमणे स्तूप संसा
- 31 भू हि १०० नाव्यमधुक्षीरकवङ्गभागेषु मातृचरणा नाम अष्टलाः सोमशामे
दत्त संसा भू हि २५० विक्रमपुरभागे वर्षहृत्ती दा-
- 32 मारलौख्यैश्चसिंहप्रदत्त संसा भू हि २५ तथाहि सान्धिनार्जोसिंहदत्तसंसा
भू हि २५ कन्द्रद्वीपे उराचतुरके क्रीतशासन संसां भूहि ५० तथा पा-
- 33 तिलादिवीके कुमारपुरुषोत्तमसेनदत्त संसा भू हि ५० मिलित्वा श्रीमत् सदा-
शिवसुद्रया सुद्रयित्वा भूच्छिद्रन्यायेन ताम्रशासनोक्त्य प्रद-
- 34 त्तोऽस्माभिः यत्र वरजगुवाकायायसमेतताम्रशासन सां भूहि ५००
तद्भवन्तिः सवरेव अनुमन्तव्यम् । भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरप-
- 35 हरणं नरकपातभयात् पालने धर्म्मगारवात् पालनोयम् । भवन्ति चात्र
धर्म्माणुशंसिनः श्लोकाः ॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्र-
- 36 यच्छति । उभो तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं जगंगामिनौ । बहुभिर्वसुधा
दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल

Inscriptional Excursions

IN RESPECT OF ASOKA EDICTS

Progress in study of Asoka inscriptions—how far real?

The study of inscribed records of Devānaṃpiya Piyadasi Asoka now extends nearly over ninety years. Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka* in vol. I of *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, published in 1879, represents the middle stage in the progress of this fruitful study which commenced since James Prinsep, the father of Indian Epigraphy, deciphered the Brāhmī alphabet, and successfully read and translated the famous Delhi-Toprā Inscription in 1837. The republication of vol. I of the same *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* containing a new edition of the *Inscriptions of Asoka* prepared by Dr. Hultzsch marks, of course, the final stage. This edition stands out as a remarkable scholarly output of the year 1925. This year also has seen the publication of *Asoka Text and Glossary* from the pen of Prof. Woolner and that of the *Carmichael Lectures on Asoka* delivered in 1923 by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar of the Calcutta University. As early as 1919 Dr. Vincent A. Smith lived long enough to see his work on Asoka pass through a third edition. Dr. Bühler's *Edicts of Asoka* in the *Epigraphia Indica*,¹ vols. I and II, and M. Senart's *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi* (1881, 1886) are two great publications that appeared after Cunningham's *Inscriptions*.

Words cannot adequately express our indebtedness to Prinsep to whom we really owe the discovery of Asoka as he appears in his edicts. Inspiring is the memory of Turnour, Wilson, Lassen and Burnou who formed the first group of scholars associated with Prinsep. The work of those gentlemen who discovered Asokan monuments and edicts from time to time is very precious. Supreme is the task of Bühler, Senart, Fleet, Kern and Rhys Davids who endeavoured to place the path of Asokan study on *terra firma* and formed the second group of scholars associated with Cunningham. The third period of

¹ Fully treated in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1893-94, an off-print from which was published from Leipzig in 1909 with the title 'Beiträge zur Erklärung der Asoka Inschriften.' See also *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, vol. I.

the study of Asokan records, characterised occasionally by extravagant and marvellous grammatical niceties and etymological ingenuity, began when Dr. F. W. Thomas created the nuclei in the several instructive notes he had time to jot down in the midst of his busy life in the India Office Library. Profs. Oldenberg, Haraprasad Sastri, Sylvain Lévi, Dr. Charpentier, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and Mr. Harit Krishna Deb represent the group of grammarians and etymologists associated with Dr. Thomas. A new synthetic stage emerged out of these isolated attempts when Dr. V. A. Smith wrote his monograph on Asoka.

Hultzsch's readings and interpretations—how far reliable?

It is not too much to say that the world of scholars interested in the study of Asoka awaited the publication of Dr. Hultzsch's edition with much wistful expectation. The prospect held out is not after all very encouraging. As one turns over its pages, reading written records of the Buddhist emperor of India, depending on Dr. Hultzsch's amended texts, interpretation, notes and introduction, the suspicion begins to grow that the position of his readers is no better than that of the caravan merchants in the Buddhist parable in which they are said to have at the end of their journey returned almost to the same spot whence they had started. For example, his rendering of the Bhābrū Edict or Second Bairāṇ Rock inscription goes to show that he has overlooked the note of the present writer in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, used in the third edition of Smith's *Asoka*. As to the identification of the seven Buddhist texts recommended by King Piyadasi, his references (*op. cit.*, f. n. 1, p. 174) make it evident that he has not utilised this edition of Smith's book, though it was published six years back. All his foot-notes refer to the second edition of Smith's work published in 1909. As regards the readings of this text, *v[ā]tave* and *diseyā* in line 4 (p. 173) and *bhikkhu-[p]āye* can easily be challenged. From his plate it is clear that the readings would be *vitave*, *diseyo* and *bhikkhupo ye* respectively, the construction of the sentence in which *bhikkhupo ye* occurs being *bahuke bhikkhupo ye cā bhikkhun[i] ye c[ā]*, "many, who are monks and who are nuns." His reading of the effaced letters of the third Barābar Hill Cave Inscription as *jalāghosāgamathāta* (*op. cit.*, p. 182) is hardly convincing.

'Anusaṃyāna' is not the same as 'anusaññāyamāna'

If the reader turns to the *Carmichael Lectures on Asoka* for light regarding the chronology of the inscriptions, he cannot surely feel that he

is in any way more enlightened than he was on reading Smith, Bühler, Senart, Kern and Thomas. In supporting the earlier translation of *anusamyāna* by 'tour of inspection', Prof. Bhandarkar cites the authority of certain Pāli passages in the Majjhima Nikāya (*op. cit.*, pp. 278-9). These passages illustrate the use of the expression *anusaññāyamāna*. But the connection of this with Asokan *anusamyāna* is phonetic rather than semantic. Buddhaghosa has explained *anusaññāyamāna* as meaning "*katūkatam jānanto, anuvicaramāno vā*", (knowing what is done and not done, or judging the actions).

Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical Ājīvikas

The paramount interest of his lectures lies in his bold attempt to construct a history of Asoka as a man, a ruler and a teacher of *dhamma* solely relying on the authority of the Buddhist emperor's epigraphs, each of which is considered to be his autobiographical sketch. The discovery of the birth-star of Asoka is highly interesting. I fail however to understand how the evidence of the inscriptions of Asoka justifies his suggestion that the costly cave-dwellings at Barābar were probably excavated by the Buddhist emperor for the Brahmanical Ājīvikas as distinguished from their non-Brahmanical name-akes, who were associated with the Nirgranthas or Jains. The recipients of Asoka's cave-gifts at Barābar were obviously the same Ājīvikas who received some cave-dwellings subsequently from the Mauryan king Dasaratha. In the inscriptions of Dasaratha, the Ājīvikas are mentioned with the honorific prefix *Bhadanta* (Most Gentle), which is a clear indication of the fact that they were, strictly speaking, *Śramaṇas* or anti-Brahmin recluses, leaving aside the question whether they were Brahmins by caste or not. Prof. Bhandarkar's assumption of the existence of two divisions of Ājīvikas, viz., the Brahmanical and the non-Brahmanical, the eaters and non-eaters of fish, rests evidently (*op. cit.*, pp. 170-2) upon his interpretation of certain statements in the Pillar Edict VII, which are as follows :—

"Dhammamahāmātā pi me te bahuvidhesu aṭhesu ānugahikesu viyāpaṭāse pavajitānam ceva gihithānam ca sava [pāsaṃ]desu pi ca viyāpaṭāse saṃghaṭasi pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭāse hohaṃti ti hemeva bābhanesu ājīvikesu pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃti ti nigamṭhesu pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃti nānāpāsaṃdesu pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃti ti paṭivisiṭhaṃ paṭivisiṭhaṃ tesu tesu [te te mahā]mātā dhammamahāmātā cu me etesu ceva viyāpaṭā savesu ca amnesu pāsaṃdesu."

Smith renders the text thus :

"My Censors (or High Officers) of the Law of Piety, too, are employed on manifold objects of the royal favour affecting both ascetics and householders, and are likewise employed among all denominations. On the business of the Church, too, they are employed, as well as among the Brahmans and Jains are they employed. Similarly, they are employed among the Jains, among miscellaneous sects too, are they employed. The High Officers of various kinds shall severally superintend their respective charges, whereas the High Officers of the Law of Piety (Censors) are employed both on such things and also among other denominations."

Dr. Hultzsch's rendering substitutes "the Brāhmaṇas (and) Ājivikas" for "the Brahmans and Jains," and "the Saṃgha" (lit. Buddhist Clergy) for "the Church."

Prof. Bhandarkar makes rather a free translation of the text in question :

"Likewise I have arranged that they shall be occupied with the Brahmanic Ājivikas, the Nirgranthas and the various sects."

Here the point to be decided is whether by the expression *bābhanesu ājivikesu* Asoka meant the Brahmins and Ājivikas or simply the Brahmanical Ājivikas. The same question arises with regard to the analysis of the compound *bābhanasamanesu* occurring in the Pillar Edict VII, since *bābhanesu ājivikesu* is grammatically the same expression as *bābhana-ājivikesu*.

The term *śramaṇa-brāhmaṇa* or *brāhmaṇa-śramaṇa*, as employed in Indian literature, is a convenient expression to denote all *religieux*, broadly distinguished as Brahmin and anti-Brahmin. The Brahmin *religieux* are supposed to be all Brahmins by birth. The *śramaṇas* are supposed to be all anti-Brahmin in attitude but not necessarily all non-Brahmins by birth.¹ What one has in the above quoted statements is but a clumsy enumeration of these *śramaṇa-*

¹ For instance, Bindusāra's court-astrologer Piṅgalavatsa, whose prediction is said to have helped Asoka in life, is called 'ājīva-parivrājaka' in the *Dīvyāvadāna* (pp. 370-1); the same person, named Janosāna the Ājivika, is represented as a Brahmin by birth (Mahāvamsa-Ṭīkā, Ceylon ed., pp. 126-8).

(Buddhists) and Ājīvikas as representatives of *vr̥ṣaloppravrajitas*,¹ the term *vr̥ṣaloppravrajita* implying not that they were all *Śūdras* or *Vr̥śalas* by birth but they freely admitted them into their orders and were associated with recruits even from among the *Vr̥śalas*.²

In all the Jaina canonical texts, as well as in almost all the Buddhist canonical passages, the Ājīvikas or Ājīvakas figure as followers of Gosāla. In an exceptional Buddhist passage having correspondence with statements in the Pillai Edict VII, the *śramaṇa* teachers other than the Nirgrantha or Jaina and Śākyaputriya or Buddhist are broadly classed as Ājīvika. In order to establish that the recipients of cave-dwellings at Barābar were non-Brahmanical Ājīvikas, Prof. Bhandarkar would have done well to prove that these religieux were dissociated from Gosāla or from Gosāla and other *śramaṇa* teachers excluding Nātha-putta or Mahāvira. If it be asked why the Ājīvikas, mentioned in the inscriptions of Dasaratha with the honorific prefix *Bhadanta* befitting *śramaṇas*, were mentioned in the inscriptions of Asoka without it, the straight answer would be that Dasaratha was their devotee, while Asoka was not so. Because Asoka was a devotee of Buddhist monks, in addressing them he has used the honorific term *Bhaṇṭe* or 'Venerable Sirs' (Bhābrū Edict). In all the votive inscriptions on the railing of the Buddhist *stūpa* at Barhut, the Buddhist monk donors are invariably mentioned with the prefix *Bhadanta*, *Aya* or *Bhadanta Aya*.³

Chronology of the Edicts faulty in Smith's work

Dr. V. A. Smith had the unsurpassed genius of a compiler. It must be always said to his credit that his rendering of the edicts preserves the 'turn' or 'spirit' of the original. The rendering which does not bring out in relief the simple but dignified diction of homely conversations, enlivened by a genial personal touch, and spontaneous expressions of an affectionate fatherly heart, cannot fulfil the responsible task of the translator of Piyadasi's epigraphs. But in spite of a good sense that prevails throughout adding to its peculiar charm, his account of Asoka

1 *Arthaśāstra*, edited by Shama Sastri, p. 199: *Śākyājīvakādān vr̥ṣaloppravrajitān*.

2 *Paramatthajōtikā*, II, p. 175: *samaṇakā ti...vasale vā pabbājetvā tehi saddhiṇ ekatosambhoga-paibhoga-karaṇena patito ayaṃ vasalato pi pāpataro ti jigucchanto vasalakā ti āha*.

3 *Barhut Inscriptions*, edited by Barua and Sinha (Calcutta University publication).

brāhmaṇa or *brāhṇaṇa-śramaṇa* religieux, of whom the Brahmin religieux represented four *āśramas*: the *brahmacharya*, the *gārhasthya*, the *vānaprastha* and the *yati*. *bhikṣu* or *parivrajaka*, in short, both *pavajita* and *gihitha* of the Pillar Edict VII. In this enumeration the Ājīvika is clearly distinguished from the Nirgrantha or Jaina and the Saṃghastha or Buddhist. Now the question is — Is the Ājīvika distinguished from the Jaina and Buddhist as a *brāhmaṇa* or as a *śramaṇa*, as a Brahmanic recluse or as an anti-Brahmanic one? I would say, as a *śramaṇa* or anti-Brahmanic recluse. For, in the first instance, two stanzas of the Dhammika-Sutta (Sutta-Nipāta, verses 381-2) contain a similar enumeration of religious teachers other than Buddhist. And in the Sutta-Nipāta commentary one reads :—

“ Idāni ito bahiddhā lokasammatehi samaṇabrāhmaṇehi ukkaṭṭhabhāvena Bhagavantaṃ paṇḍitaṃ ‘ye kec’ ime’ ti gāthādvayam āha. Tattha ‘titthiyā’ ti Nanda-Vaccha-Saṃkiccehi ādipuggalehi tihi titthakarehi kate diṭṭhitithe jātā, tesam sāsane pabbajitā Pūraṇakassapādayo cha satthāro. Tattha Nāthaputto Nigaṇṭho, avasesā Ājivikā, te sabbe dassento āha : ‘ye kec’ ime titthiyā vādasīlā’ ti.....‘Brāhmaṇā vādasīlā vuddhā’ ti ettavatā Caṃki-Tārukkha-Pokkharasāti-Jānussoṇi-ādayo dasseti ; ‘apī brāhmaṇā santi kecī’ ti iminā majjhimā pi daharā pi kevalam brāhmaṇā santi atthi upalabbhanti. ‘Kecī’ ti evaṃ Assalāyana-Vāsiṭṭha-Ambaṭṭha-Uttaramānavakādayo dasseti.....‘ye vā pi c’ aññe pi ye mayam vādino ti evaṃ maññamānā caranti.”¹

Here is an enumeration of *śramaṇas* and *brāhmaṇas*, representing the religieux other than Buddhist (*ito bahiddhā*, lit. those outside the pale of Buddhist Order). The list, exactly as the one in the Pillar Edict VII, is not intended to be exhaustive. Five *śramaṇa* teachers: Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Ajita Kesakambali and Saṃjaya Belaṭṭhiputta are broadly distinguished as Ājīvika from the sixth *śramaṇa* teacher Nāthaputta the Nigaṇṭha. The *brāhmaṇa* teachers are distinguished as aged, middle-aged and young. Caṃki, Tārukkha, Pokkharasāti, Jānussoṇi and the rest are mentioned as typical representatives of aged *brāhmaṇa* teachers, and Assalāyana, Vāsiṭṭha, Ambaṭṭha, Uttara and the rest as those of younger *brāhmaṇas*.

Secondly, the *Kaṇṭhīya Arihaṇḍasūtra* distinctly mentions the Śākyas

1 *Paramatthajātikā*, II, pp. 372-3.

cannot claim to be faultless ; it is rather faulty, at least in respect of the chronology of the edicts as settled or accepted by him.

Here my immediate purpose is to show how the vehicle of Asokan study has gone off the track and how this can be put back on it. This, I believe, can be best achieved by ascertaining the chronology of the edicts and the exact significance and historical bearings of certain technical terms and expressions in the edicts.

Number and classification of available edicts

Hitherto altogether 137 inscriptions representing 32 edicts of Asoka have been discovered and deciphered. These can be conveniently divided, according to the materials whereupon and the manner in which they are found inscribed, into these six classes: (1) Hill Cave, (2) Rock, (3) Separate Rock, (4) Minor Rock, (5) Pillar and (6) Minor Pillar. Conformably to this classification, their total can be worked up as follows :—

1. Hill Cave: Barābar Hill Cave Edicts, I—III —3
2. Rock : (a) 10 Rock Edicts, I-VII, IX, X and XIV, each in six recensions : Gīrnār, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, Mānsehrā, Dhauli and Jaugaḍa $10 \times 6 = 60$
 (b) 1 Rock Edict, VIII, in seven recensions : Gīrnār, Bombay-Sopārā, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, Mānsehrā, Dhauli and Jaugaḍa $1 \times 7 = 7$
 (c) 3 Rock Edicts, XI-XIII each in four recensions : Gīrnār, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā $3 \times 4 = 12$
3. Separate Rock : 2 Edicts separately inscribed on Dhauli and Jaugaḍa Rocks, each in two recensions $2 \times 2 = 4$
4. Minor Rock : (a) 1 Edict, Minor Edict I in seven recensions, inscribed on Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, Brahmagiri, Siddāpura and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara Rocks $1 \times 7 = 7$
 [(b) 1 Edict, Minor Rock Edict II in three recensions, forming the concluding portion of the last three edicts in the preceding list, not to be separately counted]
 (c) 1 Edict, the so-called Bhābrā or Bhābrū Edict, inscribed on the second Bairāt Rock —1
5. Pillar (a) 6 Edicts, I-VI, each in six recensions, inscribed on Delhi-Toprā, Delhi-Mīrāth, Lauriyā-Ararāj, Lauriyā-Nandanagarh, Rāmpurvā and Kauśāmbī (Allahabad-Kosam) Pillars $6 \times 6 = 36$
 (b) 1 Edict, VII, in one recension, inscribed on Delhi-Toprā Pillar. $1 \times 1 = 1$

6. Minor Pillar : (a) 1 Schism Edict in three recensions, inscribed on Sānāth, Kauśāmbī (Allahabad-Kosam) and Sīncī Pillars

1 × 3 = 3

(b) 1 Votive Edict inscribed on Lumbinī or Rummindei Pillar ——— 1

(c) 1 Votive Edict inscribed on Niglva or Nigālī-Sāgar Pillar ——— 1

(d) 1 Votive Edict, the so-called Queen's Edict, inscribed on Kauśāmbī (Allahabad-Kosam) Pillar ——— 1

—————
Total 32

—————
Total 137¹

Current views of scholars as to chronology of edicts : Smith and Thomas

There are wide divergences of opinion on the question of chronology of these edicts. In the mature opinion of Dr. V. A. Smith and Dr. F. W. Thomas the seven copies of the Minor Rock Edict I appear to be the first fruits of the epigraphic zeal of Piyadasi the Buddhist convert. The 'Minor Rock Edict II, containing concise summaries of the *dhamma*, or the Law of Piety, and the Bhābrū or Second Bairāt Rock Edict, recommending seven favourite passages selected from the Buddhist sacred books, are seemingly of early date. The whole set of Fourteen Rock Edicts was engraved in the thirteenth and fourteenth regnal years ; the two special Kaliṅga or Separate Rock Edicts, substituted in the newly conquered province for Rock Edicts, XI-XIII, and the two Barābar Hill Edicts, dedicating costly caves to the Ājīvika ascetics, must be assigned to the same period. The third Barābar Hill Edict, dedicating another cave-dwelling to some sect of ascetics, is to be dated in the twentieth regnal year, while the Minor Pillar Edicts of Rummindei and Niglva, recording the visit of Asoka to the village of Lumbinī and the Stūpa of Koṇāgamana, belong to the twenty-first regnal year. The dated record is then interrupted until the twenty-seventh regnal year, when the Pillar Edict VII was composed. The dated series of inscriptions as discovered up to the present terminates in the twenty-eighth regnal year with the Pillar Edict VII. The Minor Pillar Edicts of

1. The second total would be 139 including the missing records on two inscribed Pillars, one at Benares, the so-called Lāṭ Bhairo, smashed during a riot in 1809 and identified by Dr. Vincent A. Smith with a pillar described by Hwen Thsang, and one at Pāṭaliputra, numerous fragments of which were found by the late Babu Purna Chandra Mukharji.—Vincent A. Smith's *Asoka*, 3rd edition, p. 28 f.n. 1.

Sārnāth, Allahabad-Kosam and Sāmpet, appearing as supplements to the main series of Pillar Edicts, must be later in date, as late as the 29th to 38th regnal year.'

Hultzsch

Dr. Hultzsch agrees with M. Senart and Dr. Vincent A. Smith in considering the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām and cognate edicts to be the earliest of all the Asoka inscriptions, and that for two reasons: (1) they speak of inscriptions on rocks and pillars as a task which it was intended to carry out, and not as an accomplished fact; (2) they contain the first elements of Asoka's *dhamma*, which are more fully developed in his Rock and Pillar edicts. The Second Bairāt Rock Inscription or the so-called Bhābrū Edict, which may be interpreted as a 'letter to the Saṃgha', seems to be earlier than all the other Rock and Pillar edicts, inasmuch as the references to a few Buddhist tracts in this inscription suggest that after his visit to the Saṃgha and before starting on tour, he was engaged in studying the sacred literature, a fact that goes to place the inscription in the twelfth year of his reign. All the earliest proclamations have zeal (*parākrama*, *prākṛa*) for their subject. The Rock Edict XIV, in which the author of the preceding edicts states that he caused them to be written 'either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length, for the whole was not suitable everywhere', presupposes the Minor Rock Edicts. The words 'at full length' apply to the complete sets of fourteen edicts at Girnar, Kālsi, Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā, which are practically identical, with exception of the end of edict IX. The words 'in an abridged (form)' may refer to the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts, and the words 'of middle (size)' to Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, where two separate edicts were substituted for the Rock Edicts XI-XIII. It can be shown that the two Separate Rock Edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa were contemporaneous with the Rock Edict XIII which was issued positively twelve years after Asoka's coronation. In this edict the king says that he ordered the officers of all districts of his empire to undertake quinquennial tours for inspection and propaganda purposes. The First Separate Edict at Dhauli must have been drafted in the same year because in some of its sections the king speaks of the quinquennial circuit of the *Mahā-mātras* as a measure which he was about to introduce, and also states that at the same time triennial tours were instituted in the provinces of

1 Smith's *Asoka*, 3rd ed., pp. 27-54, 145-6.

Ujjayinī and Takṣaśīlā. The first six Pillar Edicts I-VI were issued twenty-six years after Asoka's coronation, while the Pillar Edict VII at Delhi-Toprā was published one year later. The Kauśāmbī Sāṇci and Sārnāth Edicts cannot be earlier than the first six Pillar Edicts because the first of them, *i. e.*, the Kauśāmbī Schism Edict is found engraved on the Allahabad-Kosam Pillar in a position which shows that it was a subsequent addition.¹

Smith and earlier authors

Dr. Vincent A. Smith upholds the opinion of M. Senart when he argues in favour of placing the publication of Fourteen Rock Edicts in the fourteenth regnal year of Asoka, that is to say, thirteen years after his consecration. He says that though the Rock Edicts III and IV are expressly dated in the thirteenth regnal year and the Rock Edict V mentions the fourteenth year, in the localities where all the fourteen edicts occur, it is clear that the whole set was engraved at once, their publication taking place in B. C. 256, assuming that the date of consecration was B. C. 269 and that of accession B. C. 273. It was clearly perceived by the early band of scholars that the Rock Edicts II and XIII referring to or mentioning by name the five contemporary Greek kings were issued when these kings were reigning. These Greek kings are :—

Antiyoka, Antiyoga = Antiochus I Soter of Syria, 280-261 B.C. or =
Antiochus II Theos of Syria and Western Asia, son of Antiochus I, 261-246 B.C.

Turamāya, Tulamaya = Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt, 285-247 B.C.
Antekina, Antekini = Antigonos Gonatas of Macedonia, 276-246 B.C. ;
277-239 B.C. according to the authority relied upon by Dr. Vincent A. Smith.

Makā, Magā = Magas of Cyrene, half-brother of Ptolemy, 300-250 B.C. ;
285-258 B.C. according to Dr. Vincent A. Smith's authority.

Alīkasudara, Alīkaśudala = Alexander of Epirus, 272-255 B.C., or =
Alexander of Corinth, 252-244 B.C.

According to the above list of reigns as given in Beloch's *Greek History (Griechische Geschichte)* and cited by Dr. Hultzsch, B. C. 250 is the last year when these five Greek kings may be supposed to have been all alive, while the list supplied by Dr. Vincent A. Smith leads one to specify B.C. 258 as the last year.

¹ *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Introduction, pp. xlv-liv.

H. K. Deb

Against the received opinion that all the Fourteen Rock Edicts, at least the Rock Edicts II and XIII, referring to or mentioning by name the five contemporary Greek kings, were engraved in the thirteenth or fourteenth regnal year of Asoka, that is, much earlier than the Pillar Edict VII, which is expressly dated in the twenty-eighth regnal year (excluding the year of consecration) or in the twenty-seventh (including the year of consecration), Mr. Harit Krishna Deb, praised as a 'young Bengali scholar,' raises a contention seeking to establish a negative thesis that the Rock Edicts II and XIII could not have been promulgated prior to Pillar Edict VII. His contention apparently rests on a supposed omission which appears to him to be significant to the extent of forming a strong argument for his thesis. What is this omission? He finds that the Pillar Edict VII, which contains a resumé of the various measures adopted by Asoka up till the date of its promulgation, does not make any mention of philanthropic works and propaganda of *dharma* carried out in the realms of the five Greek kings and stated in the Rock Edicts II and XIII respectively.

Bhandarkar

Against the European scholars' unanimous view that out of the Fourteen Rock Edicts, two at least, namely, the Rock Edicts III and IV, which are expressly dated in the thirteenth regnal year (twelve years from the day of consecration), were engraved much earlier than all the Seven Pillar Edicts, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar raises a doubt amounting to a contention and a thesis. He seems to think that the dates mentioned in the Rock Edicts III and IV are dates of the different events alluded to, and not of the actual engraving, since there are other dates mentioned in other edicts of this series, such as Rock Edicts V, VIII and XIII, which are unquestionably the dates of some prior events in recollection of the Buddhist emperor: (1) horrors of the war of *Kalīṅga* that he experienced in his eighth regnal year (including the year of inauguration); (2) pilgrimage to *Sambodhi* that he undertook in his tenth regnal year; (3) appointment of *Dharma-mahāmātras* that he made in his thirteenth regnal year. He feels absolutely sure that the first six Pillar Edicts were inscribed in the twenty-sixth regnal year of Asoka, while the twenty-seventh regnal year is the date of incision of the Pillar Edict VII. He does not

only urge Mr. Harit Krishna Deb's negative evidence for questioning the soundness of the accepted earlier view that the Rock Edicts II and XIII were inscribed much earlier than the whole set of Seven Pillar Edicts but goes a step further when he tends to suppose that the Rock Edicts concerned were issued in the twenty-eighth year, that is, just a year after the publication of the Pillar Edict VII. He is compelled at last to infer that the Rock Edicts II and XIII, in fact, the whole set of Fourteen Rock Edicts came to be engraved after the Seven Pillar Edicts were incised. But how long after? He would say that as soon as the Pillars were engraved, Asoka took up the work of incising the Minor Rock Edicts, which, in its turn, was followed by that of the Fourteen Rock Edicts. He maintains that at the time when the Pillars were engraved the idea of inscribing the *dharmalipis* on *parvatas* or *rocks* did not occur to the mind of Asoka. In the Sahasrām and Rūpnāth epigraphs (taking them to be typical of the Minor Rock Edicts) Asoka orders that edicts should be inscribed wherever a *stone-pillar* or a *parvata* is found, which shows that the idea of inscribing on *rocks* or *pillars* was new to him at that time, as otherwise there would be no propriety in his issuing that order. Assuming the greater probability of the supposition that Asoka's twenty-eighth regnal year corresponds to 251 B.C., it can be suggested that he probably ascended the throne in 279 B.C. The Carmichael Professor, with his usual frankness, confesses that the factors examined by him are more or less uncertain, and cannot therefore enable him to fix the date of Asoka's accession to the throne with any accuracy. He is however at one with previous scholars in holding that the Separate Rock Edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada were engraved along with the Rock Edicts and as a substitute for the Rock Edict XIII.¹

The views criticised

Here several questions arise. Is it that the Minor Rock Edicts, as premised by Dr. Hultzsch, Dr. V. A. Smith and Dr. F. W. Thomas, are the earliest of Asoka's epigraphs, or is it that these, as presumed by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, are posterior to the whole set of the Seven Pillar Edicts and prior to all the Fourteen Rock? Is it that the two Separate or Detached Rock Edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada, as

¹ *Asoka*, pp. 45-48, 265-269.

assumed by all these scholars, were engraved along with and as a substitute for the Rock Edict XIII of the other versions? Is it that the philanthropic works recorded in the Rock Edict II and the propaganda of *dhamma* recorded in the Rock Edict XIII, as made out by Mr. Harit Krishna Deb, are not at all referred to in the Pillar Edict VII which is expressly dated in the twenty-seventh or twenty-eighth regnal year of Asoka? Is it that the dates mentioned in the Rock Edicts III and IV, as pleaded by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, are not dates of their actual engraving? Is it at all reasonable to doubt that the whole set of the Fourteen Rock Edicts was promulgated in the thirteenth and fourteenth regnal years of Asoka (leaving out of account the year of coronation)? Lastly, is it true that the so-called Queen's Edict, that is, the Minor Pillar Edict recording a gift from Asoka's second queen, as supposed by Dr. F. W. Thomas, Dr. V. A. Smith and Dr. Hultsch, could not have been inscribed earlier than the first six Pillar Edicts appearing on the same Kauśāmbī or Allahabad-Kosam Pillar and must have been inscribed during the closing period of Asoka's reign?

Chronological position of Minor Rock Edicts

To be frank, I do not quite follow what Dr. Hultsch, in agreement with Dr. V. A. Smith and Dr. F. W. Thomas, means by saying that the Minor Rock Edicts must be considered the earliest of Asoka's inscriptions because they speak of inscriptions on Rocks and Pillars as a task which is not as yet a *fait accompli*. The point which is apparently in his favour is that in these edicts the expression '*iya ca aṭṭhe*' (Rūpnāth) has been used instead of '*iyam ca lipi*' 'and this inscription', or '*etāye ca aṭṭāye iyam lipi*' 'and for this purpose this inscription', occurring in the Separate Rock Edicts at Dhauri and Jaugaḍa; instead of '*iyam dhammalipi*' or '*iyam dhammalipi*' occurring in the Pillar Edicts; instead of '*ayi dharmadipi*' occurring in the Shāhbāzgarhī text of the Rock Edict XIV. In the Minor Rock Edict I one reads:—

(a) Edict proper: "Etiya aṭṭhāya ca sāvane kaṭṭe" (Rūpnāth).

(b) Direction: "Iya ca aṭṭhe pavatisu lekhāpetavāla-ta hadha ca athi s[i]lāṭṭhabhe¹ silāṭṭhabhasi lākhāpetavaya-ta" (Rūpnāth).

¹ Bühler's reading *silāṭṭhubha* yields a sensible meaning, namely, 'a stone-mound,' *ṭhubha* being = *Ardhamāgadhī*, *ṭhubha* or *ṭhubha*. See

"Iṃaṃ ca aṭṭhaṃ pavatesu likhāpayāthā ya[ta] va athi
hetā silāthaṃbhā tata pi likhāpayathā ti" (Sahasrām).
"And cause this purpose (matter or message) to be
engraved on rocks, or wherever there are any stone-
pillars there also cause it to be engraved" (Sahasrām).

I am unable to see how these materially differ, except for the blessed term *dhammalipi*, from the statement and direction in the Pillar Edict VII, where one reads :—

(a) Statement : "Se etāye athāye iyaṃ kaṭe."

"Satavisativasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhammalipi
likhāpāpitā ti".

"For this purpose this has been done."

"This edict of dhamma has been caused to be inscribed
by me when I was consecrated twenty-seven years."

(b) Direction : "Iyaṃ dhammalipi ata athi silāthaṃbhāni vā silāphala-
kāni vā tata kaṭaviyā."

"This edict of dhamma, if here are stone-pillars or
stone-tablets, is to be made (inscribed) there."

It is not true to say that the Minor Rock Edicts were not expressly intended to be engraved as inscriptions, signified by the word *lipi* or *dhammalipi*, because the concluding section of some of them differentiated as Minor Rock Edict II, ends with the statement "*likhita lipikareṇa*" (Brahmagiri).

I cannot but admit that in the great majority of the Fourteen Rock Edicts Asoka distinctly says that he caused this or that *dhammalipi* to be engraved. Because he has expressed himself somewhat differently, e.g., stating '*mayā idaṃ āṇapitaṃ*,' 'this has been ordered by me' (Rock Edict III, Girnar Text), or '*vāṇā idaṃ lekhāpitaṃ*,' 'by the king this has been caused to be engraved' (R. E. IV, Girnar), are we to suppose that these two edicts, in which the word *lipi* or *dhammalipi* does not occur, were the earliest of Asoka's inscriptions?

As regards the Minor Rock Edicts, I find that they were not intended to be inscribed precisely in their present form. Asoka did not send the final draft but only a private instruction to his agents, e. g., son and *Mahāmātras* in charge of his government at Suvarṇagiri, suggesting to whom and by whose command it should be forwarded, what facts

my paper on '*Stupa and Tomb*,' ante, pp. 16 ff. But the Sahasrām text corroborates the correctness of Hultzsch's reading and rendering '*silāṭṭhāṇe*,' 'a stone-pillar.'

should be emphasized, what message should be conveyed, what purpose should be kept in view, how the draft should be prepared, whereupon the drafted text should be inscribed, etc. If the king had sent the final draft, as in the case of the Pillar Edict VII, there was no reason for him to say "and by this text" (*etina ca vayanenā*). If the whole of it, as it was sent, were meant to be inscribed in the Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, Bairāt and Maski copies, his agents would not have omitted the preamble like the one in the Siddāpur and two other Mysore texts, as well as the concluding words of the Minor Rock Edict II. The preamble is :

"[S]uvannagiritte ayaputasa mahāmātāṇaṃ ca vacan[e]na
I[si]lasi mahāmātā ārogīyaṃ vataviyā hevaṃ ca vataviyā."

The above remark is in some way applicable to the Separate Rock Edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, in which one comes across the expression '*īyaṃ līpi*' instead of '*īyaṃ dhaṇṇmalīpi*', and reads in the introductory statement :

"[Dev]āṇampiya[sa] [va]cānena Tosaliyaṃ mahāmātā
nagalaviyohālaka [ā] [hevaṃ] vataviyā (S. R. E., I, Dhauli).

"Devāṇampiya vacānena Tosaliyaṃ kumāle mahāmātā
ca vataviyā (S. R. E., II, Dhauli).

"Devāṇampiye hevaṃ āhā [:] Samāpāyaṃ mahāmātā
nagalaviyohālaka he[va]ṇi vataviyā (S. R. E., I, Jaugaḍa).

"Devāṇampiye hevaṃ āha [:] Samāpāyaṃ mahāmātā
lajavacanikā vataviyā (S. R. E., II, Jaugaḍa).

Here in the Jaugaḍa texts the expression '*Devāṇampiye hevaṃ āha*,' with '*lajavacanikā*' in addition, has apparently been supplied by the man in charge, doing the work of editing, as a means of causing the instruction to be inscribed *verbatim*.

The remark holds true also of the Pillar Edict VII which really ends with the statement—'*satavisativasūbhisitena me īyaṃ dhaṇṇmalībī likhāpāpātā ti*,' and it is the man in charge who incorporated, instead of leaving out, Asoka's private direction, with the introductory '*etaṃ Devāṇampiye āhā*' perhaps supplied by him. The recorded direction is :—

"Iyaṃ dhaṇṇmalībī ata athi silāthambhāni vā silāphalakā
āni vā tata kaṭaviyā ena esa cilaṭhitike siyā".

The self-same remark applies with a stronger reason to the Schism Pillar Edict at Sārnāth, in which also simply '*līpi*' has been employed instead of '*dhaṇṇmalīpi*' and the section containing the king's private directions has been caused to be inscribed along with and inseparably from the edict proper which, as evidenced by its two other copies

at Kausāmbī and Sāmpci. was meant to be concluded with the words ' *anāyāsasi āyāsaiy'e.*'

Here the most important point to be noticed is the omission, in all the copies of the Minor Rock Edicts but Rūpnāth and Sahasrām, of the king's two directions as to the rocks or stone-pillars whereupon the message should be inscribed and as to the text to be prepared.

Thus I fail to derive from the line of argument suggested by Dr. Hultzsch any real chronological data for accepting his view in favour of regarding the Minor Rock Edicts as the earliest of Asoka's inscriptions, or for endorsing Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's opinion in favour of cataloguing the Minor Rock Edicts as posterior to the Seven Pillar Edicts and prior to the Fourteen Rock.

Dr. Hultzsch's second reason is that the Minor Rock Edicts must have been the earliest because they contain the first elements of Asoka's *dhamma*, which are more fully developed in his Rock and Pillar Edicts. Is it true at all? The copies of the Minor Rock Edict I, as determined by the Rūpnāth text, 'have zeal (*parākrama* or *prakrama*) for their subject.' Asoka returns to the same subject, as Dr. Hultzsch puts it, in the Rock Edict VI, 'which dwells on the necessity of exertion (*utthāna*) or zeal (*parākrama*) in conducting public business.' Here one must not lose sight of this grand distinction between the two edicts in spite of the fact that they harp on the same subject 'zeal' or 'exertion.' In the Minor Rock Edict I Asoka states what grand result he achieved, while in the Rock Edict VI he simply states how promptly and at all times he transacted public business. Would it not have been most preposterous on Asoka's part to proclaim in the very early part of his reign, as early as the twelfth year from the day of his coronation, that no sooner he commenced work with strenuous zeal than he attained the grandest possible success in it, the success in mixing or bringing together the gods and men who were so far unmixed in India, that is, stood apart. Was it such an easy task as he might fulfil by exerting himself for a year or a little longer, the task of bringing together in a joyous situation of active work the heaven and earth, the princes and people, the state officials and public, the gifted teachers and common masses, as the two terms 'gods' and 'men' imply? The additional matter of the copies of the Minor Rock Edict, as determined by the Brahmagiri text, inculcates certain precepts of conduct which one might have treated as the first elements of Asoka's *dhamma* repeated, emphasized or elaborated throughout his Rock and Pillar Edicts. But here, too, one must judge well the whole matter before deciding once and for all whether the

edict represents the prologue or epilogue, the opening or concluding words, the first inspiration or last lesson of a grand epic in the simplest prose. For here Devānaṃpiya Piyadasi concludes his teaching by saying ' Esā porāṇā pakittī dighāvuse ca esa hevaṃ esa kaṭṭi-viye' (Brahmagiri).

"This is the ancient nature (eternal moral order, good old rule). This conduces to long life. Thus this should be done."

Indeed, the rune of the full text of the Minor Rock Edict, comprising what is generally known as the Minor Rock Edict I and what is known as the Minor Rock Edict II, is apt to remind the reader of what is traditionally cherished as the last word (*pacchima-vacana*) of the Buddha who is represented as saying at the last moment of his life: "Handa dāni bhikkhave āmantayāmi vo, vāyadhammā saṅkhārā, appamādena sampādettha"¹ "Now, I charge ye, O Bhikṣus, the creations are subject to decay, diligently perform (your duties)".

Regarding the Second Bairāt Minor Rock Edict, miscalled Bhābrā or Bhābrū Edict, Dr. Hultzsch thinks that the references to a few Buddhist tracts suggest that Asoka, after his visit to the Saṅgha and before starting on tour (in his tenth or eleventh regnal year), was engaged in studying the sacred literature, a fact that goes to place the inscription in his twelfth regnal year. In this edict Asoka seriously recommends a selection of seven tracts, prepared by him out of the whole body of teachings of the Buddha for the constant study and meditation of many who were monks and who were nuns, as well as those who were upāsakas and upāsikās—Buddhist householders, men and women. It is hardly more than a year that Asoka became intimately associated with the Saṅgha and studied the sacred literature. Is it likely that he ventured in the very first stage of his study to think himself competent to make a grand selection of the texts that were worthy of being singled out as those which would go to make the good faith long endure, with the sincere conviction that his recommendation would be both acceptable and profitable even to the large body of monks and nuns who were the real repositories of Buddhist learning? The preliminary statements go to show that he was not unconscious of the height of feeling his impertinence might have aroused in the Buddhist Saṅgha, and that he would not have ventured at all to bring

¹ Sumaṅgala-Vilāsini, I, p. 16; quoted from Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta, VI, 10.

forward his recommendation if it were not the ripe result of a life-long study, of a life-long thought, of a life-long experience.

Are Minor Rock Edicts presupposed by R. E. XIV?

In support of his view in favour of placing the whole set of Minor Rock Edicts earlier than that of the Fourteen Rock, Dr. Hultzsch suggests that the former is clearly presupposed by the Rock Edict XIV set up by Asoka as an epilogue to the whole series of inscriptions and rocks including the detached ones at Dhauri and Jaugada. In the Rock Edict XIV Asoka says that at the time when it was engraved several other edicts had already been inscribed, some of which he caused to be written 'in an abridged form,' some 'of middle size,' and some 'at full length.' Dr. Hultzsch is inclined to think that by the words 'in an abridged form' Asoka must have referred to the Rūpnāth and cognate Minor Rock Edicts including the one miscalled the Bhābrū. I do not understand why Asoka must have done so. For among the Fourteen Rock Edicts themselves, apart from the two Separate Rock, there are some that are short, some that are long, and some that are of medium length. Of the preceding Rock Edicts presupposed by No. XIV, six at least, viz. Nos. II, III, VII, VIII, X and XI, may be mentioned as examples of those that are short. In bringing the above suggestion Dr. Hultzsch ought to have considered the fact that six preceding Rock Edicts out of a total of thirteen are found to be much shorter than the extant Rūpnāth text of the Minor Rock which appears without the concluding section of the Brahmagiri copy, and shorter also than the Bhābrū, as will appear from the subjoined table of words contained in the edicts in question :—

Edict			Number of words
R. E. II (Girnar)	...	...	70
R. E. III "	...	...	56
R. E. VII "	...	...	41
R. E. VIII "	...	...	52
R. E. X "	...	...	68
R. E. XI "	...	...	61
M. R. E. (Rūpnāth)	...	...	112
Bairāt M.R.E. II (Bhābrū ?)	...	...	93

References to descendants as data for dates

It can, I believe, be easily shown by examining a special line of evidence that the Minor Rock Edicts were really not engraved earlier

than the Fourteen Rock considered apart from those separately inscribed at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. Let one compare, for instance, the ways in which Asoka's sons and other descendants and successors find mention in the Rock Edicts on the one hand, and in the Minor Rock Edicts on the other, and judge what results therefrom :—

“Putrā ca potrā ca prapotrā ca Devānampriyasa Priyadasino rāṇo vadhayaśanti idaṃ dhammacaraṇaṃ āva saṃvaṭṭakapā” (R. E., IV, Girnar).

“The sons and grandsons and great-grandsons of King Devānampriya Priyadasī will increasingly promote this practice of morality as long as the present world system does not reach its termination.”

“Ta mama putā ca potā ca paraṃ ca tena ya me apaçaṃ āva saṃvaṭṭakapā anuvatisare” (R. E., V, Girnar).

“My sons and grandsons and those that shall be my descendants after them, as long as the present world system continues shall conform thereto.”

“Tathā ca me pajā anuvataṃtu” (R. E., V, Kālsī).

“And likewise my progeny should abide by.”

“Ayaṃ dhammalipi lekḥāpitā kiṃti ciraṃ tiṣṭheya iti tathā ca me putrā potā ca prapotrā ca anuvataṃ savaloka-hitāya” (R. E., VI, Girnar).

“This *dhammalipi* has been caused to be inscribed in order that it (the stated purpose) may long endure, and that likewise my sons and grandsons and great grandsons may conform thereto for the benefit of the whole world.”

“Etāye cā aṭṭhāye iyaṃ dha[m]malipi likhitā kiti putā papotā me a[su] nava [m] vijay[a] na vijayataviya” (R. E., XIII, Kālsī).

“And for this purpose this *dhammalipi* has been inscribed in order that my sons (and) grandsons that shall be will not rejoice over a new conquest (like the one made by m. in Kalinṅga).”

Are these, I would ask, utterances of a man who had sons, grandsons, great grandsons, and the infinite line of remoter progeny, or those of an inspired young enthusiast who had at the most a few sons capable of growing up into manhood, or had at least clearly before his eyes the prospect of an unbroken continuity of his line? The cited texts do not certainly go to prove that Asoka had any sons and grandsons at the time when they were engraved. But undoubtedly they set forth what the young enthusiast and reformer would naturally

desire, that the heirs of his flesh and throne and glory, if there were any, should behave properly in respect of things cherished by him as great, good and noble. In the preamble of the Minor Rock Edict I, on the other hand, one has :—

“Suvarṇagiriṭe ayaputasa mahāmātāṇaṃ ca vacanena
Isilasi mahāmātā ārogiyaṃ vataviyā hevaṃ ca vataviyā”
‘Brahmagiri’.

“It is from Suvarṇagiri that by command of Lord the King’s son as well as of the Mahāmātras, the Mahāmātras at Isila are to be informed (observing the customary rules of civility by way of an enquiry about their health) thus.”

If in this quoted text Asoka meant by *ayaputa* the prince who was his own son, there can be no doubt that at the time when the Minor Rock Edicts were promulgated, he had a son who was grown up enough to be able to participate in the work of administration. Four points are clear from the wording of the direction given : (1) the command is intended to be issued to the *Mahāmātras* at Isila directly from the Prince Royal and *Mahāmātras* in charge of his government at Suvarṇagiri ; (2) the Prince Royal and *Mahāmātras* at Suvarṇagiri are entrusted almost with an independent charge ; (3) there is doubt as yet if the Prince Royal was of proved ability so far as to be made the absolute head ; (4) the king has still reason for fear that the *Mahāmātras* at Isila might not obey their command, as it had not come directly from him, if it was not communicated in cordial spirit. The mood displayed is one of a reigning king who has made up his mind to remain gradually away from the scene of governmental affairs after committing their charges to his sons and high officers (cf. *lajūkas* made *atapati* later on, P. E., IV), and anxiously watches how far the new experiment is being successful. It is therefore expressly enjoined that they must observe the proper rules of civility. The king himself carefully observed these rules in addressing himself to the Buddhist *Samgha* (Bhābrū Edict).

*Are Minor Rock Edicts later or earlier than Separate Rock and are
Separate Rock Edicts later or earlier than Rock and Pillar ?*

Following the same line of argument it might be shown that the Minor Rock Edicts were all engraved somewhat later, and certainly not earlier, than the two Separate Rock Edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, as well as that the Separate Rock Edicts themselves were promulgated

not only later than the Fourteen Rock but later also than the so-called Queen's Edict and the P. E. VII. Just as the Minor Rock, so the Separate Rock Edicts, generally distinguished as the Provincials' and the Borderers', bear testimony to the fact that at the time of their engraving, the Royal Princes (*Kumālas*) were discharging governmental duties, being placed in charge of apparently four viceroalties : (1) one stationed at Suvaṃṇagiri together with the *Mahāmātras* ; (2) one stationed at Tosali together with the *Mahāmātras* ; (3) one stationed at Ujeni together with a body of officials (*vaga*) ; (4) one stationed at Takkhasilā together with the *Mahāmātras*. It is in the two Separate Rock Edicts that the king declares for the first time that in his fatherly heart he fostered all his subjects like his own progeny (*save munise pajā mama*), as well as that he would desire that all the neighbouring tribes, whom he had the power to crush at any moment he liked, should believe that he had the same solicitation for them as for his own subjects. This sentiment befits only a man who is a father of many children. In the same Separate Rock Edicts the king frankly expresses his inclination to chastise or admonish the Royal Princes and *Mahāmātras* rather than punish or crush the rebels. Here again the sentiment expressed is precisely like that of a long experienced head of a college who finding the teachers to be in the wrong, feels the need of training them up in the higher method of moral discipline rather than chastising the body of students under them and openly speaks out his mind, half in jest and half in shame, knowing it fully well that they will not misunderstand his feeling. There can be little doubt that these Separate Rock Edicts were inscribed as substitutes at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, in the newly conquered Province of Kaliṅga, for the Rock Edicts XI-XIII, particularly for the Rock Edict XIII. There is indeed an echo of some of the contents of the Rock Edict XIII. But where is the evidence to prove that the Separate Rock Edicts were engraved along with the Rock Edict XIII of the other versions ? From their position on the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa rocks it is clear that they were inscribed after the set of Fourteen Rock Edicts had been inscribed. The traces of hidden references to them in the Rock Edict XIV are a mere imagination of Dr. Hultzsch and other scholars read into the text. " My sons, grandsons that shall be"—this is the manner in which the king's descendants have been referred to in the Rock Edict XIII. From this reference it is not even certain that he had at the time any son, and what to speak of his participation in administrative work. Dr. Hultzsch sees a point of contact between the Provincial's Edict on one side and the Rock Edict III on the other in the mention of the 'quinquennial tours

for inspection' introduced in Asoka's twelfth or thirteenth regnal year. But here also is a point of difference which is of chronological importance, namely, that the Provincial's Edict refers to the 'triennial tours' side by side with 'quinquennial'. The 'triennial tours' apparently introduced as an innovation were meant not so much to distinguish between the two systems, one applying to the central or home provinces supposed to be under the direct control of the king and the other to the outlying provinces governed by his viceroys and *Mahāmātras* as between himself and the Royal Princes acting as viceroys. I can emphasize this point of difference as a test of chronology because it is quite clear from Asoka's unequivocal statement that there was a period of his reign when only the system of 'quinquennial tours' was applied uniformly in all his dominions (*sarvata vijite*). The Pillar Edict VII clearly presupposes the one on the Kauśāmbī Pillar in which by the king's own command the *Mahāmātras* in all places are directed to see that the mango-grove or park or almshouse made on the strength of his second queen's donations was recorded as :

[Dānaṃ] dutiyaye deviye ti Tivālamātu Kāluvākiye” :

[This is a gift] of the Second Queen, namely, of Cāruvākī, the mother of Tivara (the Quick One)."

This Queen's Edict, issued between Asoka's twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh or twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth regnal years, anyhow not earlier than other Minor Pillar Edicts, such as those inscribed at Rummindei and Nigāli Sāgar in the twentieth or twenty-first year of his reign, goes to show that at the time of its incision the king had at least two queens, the second of whom was Cāruvākī, and that by this particular queen he had a son whose pet name was Tivala (one of quick intelligence). From this edict it is not at all conclusive that Asoka's son Tivala was then so grown up as to be able to act as a viceroy. The manner in which Asoka refers to his sons in the Pillar Edict VII unmistakably shows that up till his twenty-seventh or twenty-eighth regnal year his sons were not sufficiently grown up to be entrusted with vicerealties. For here the king says :—

“Dālakānaṃ pi ca me kaṭe aṇṇānaṃ ca devikumālānaṃ ime dānavisagesu viyapaṭā hohaṃti ti” (P. E., VII).

“These (*Dharmamahāmātras* and similar high officers) are appointed by me (with this express object) that they shall be employed in the distribution (or disposal) of the alms (or gifts) of (my) boys and princes born of this or that queen.”

In the parallel text in the Rock Edict V, where the king states

the various purposes for which he had appointed the *Dharmamahā-mātras* for the first time in history, in his thirteenth or fourteenth regnal year, no separate mention of the boys and princes (*dālakas*, *kumālas*) has been made. There is already a suggestion that perhaps by *aṃṇāna devikumālas* in Pillar Edict VII Asoka meant the sons of his father by the queens other than his mother, that is, not his brothers but half-brothers, collectively referred to as *bhātā* in the Rock Edict V, and as distinguished from his own sons (*dālakas*). But it must be borne in mind that the Rock Edict V just refers to the 'closed female apartments' (families in Indian sense) of Asoka's brothers, and does not necessarily imply that his brothers were all or any one alive at that time. At all events, the contexts yield us no clue to the connexion of *bhātā* in the Rock Edict V with *devikumālā* in the Pillar Edict VII. On the other hand, in the Pillar Edict VII, as also in the Queen's Edict, by *devi* or *devis* Asoka definitely meant only his own queen or queens. When an Indian king mentions his boys (*dālakas*) contrasting them with *aṃṇāna devikumālas* in a context where by *devis* he meant his queens, it is very natural to think that by his 'boys' he meant his sons by the ladies of his harem other than his queens, and by *devikumālas* the princes who were his sons by this or that queen. The other suggestion that can be offered is that by *dālakas* the king meant his little boys¹ and by *aṃṇāna devikumālas* his sons by his queens who were a little grown up. In this connexion one has the following information from literary traditions. First, the Pāli legends of Asoka tell us that on his father's death he seized the throne of Magadha after having killed all his ninety-nine half-brothers. As soon as he became king, he made his only brother by the same mother, called Prince Tiṣya (Tissakumāra), the vicegerent, but the latter joined the Buddhist Order in the fourth year after his coronation. In the same year his nephew and son-in-law Agnibrahmā was ordained. His son Mahendra, by a Vaiśya lady whom he married at Ujjayini while he was a Viceroy there, also followed the example of Tiṣya in Asoka's sixth or seventh regnal year. The only posthumous son of the king's elder half-brother became a Buddhist novice at a very early age. The Sanskrit Avadāna legends would seem to be of much greater historical importance in this respect because (1) these also attest that Asoka's own brother Vītaśoka (Pāli name Tissa), who

1 Cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 370: "tasyāḥ (=of King Vindusāra's Queen Consort) putro jātaḥ...kiṃ kumārasya bhavatu nāma? sā kathayati : asya dārakasya...Aśoka iti nāma."

alone among Vindusāra's other sons remained alive after Asoka had become in the fullest sense the King of Magadha, joined the Buddhist Order ; (2) these agree with the Queen's Edict in referring to Asoka's two queens, the first of whom was Tiṣyarakṣitā and the second Padmāvati, the mother of Kuṇāla, a pet name corresponding to Tivāla of the inscription ; (3) these record that Prince Kuṇāla, whose official name was Dharmavardhana, was born as soon as the 84,000 topes were erected, an event that took place, according to the Ceylonese Chronicles, in the seventh or eighth year of Asoka's reign, better, seven years after the king's conversion to Buddhism, which could not have taken place, according to the evidence of the edicts, till after the Kalinga war, finished in Asoka's eighth or ninth regnal year ; (4) these go to show that at the time of incision of the Pillar edict VII in Asoka's twenty-seventh or twenty-eighth regnal year Kuṇāla's age was not more than 13 or 14 years (discussed *passim*) ; (5) these also show that up till the time of incision of the Pillar Edict VII, Kuṇāla was not sent out to Takṣaśilā but some years after that time, the vicerealty at Taxila entrusted to some prince being for the first time referred to in the Separate Rock Edict I ; (6) lastly, these supply a text which is nothing but an echo of one in the Pillar Edict VII as will appear from the following quotation :—

“Tato rājāsokaḥ pañcavarṣike paryavaṣite sarvabhikṣūṇ
tricitvareṇa ācchādya cattvāri śatashasrāṇi saṃghasya ācchā-
danam dattvā pṛthivīm antaḥpuram amātyagaṇam ātmānaṃ
ca Kuṇālaṃ ca niṣkṛtavān” (Dīvyāvadāna, p. 405).

If this line of argument leads to any conclusion of chronological value, it is not only that the Separate and Minor Rock Edicts were inscribed a few years later than the Pillar VII and Queen's Edict, but that the Pillar VII and Queen's Edict themselves were inscribed a few years later than the Fourteen Rock. It also follows that the Minor Rock Edicts must have been inscribed somewhat later than the Separate Rock because the latter set of edicts shows that up till the date of its publication the king's own command (*lājavacana*) continued to be the seal of royal authority for the edicts when these reached the *Mahāmūtras* at Samāpā, although these high officers evidently stood in the same relation to the Royal Prince and *Mahāmūtras* at Tosali as that in which the *Mahāmūtras* at Isila did in relation to the viceregal authority at Suvarṇagiri.

Objections met

In placing the Separate and Minor Rock Edicts later than Pillar VII one has to meet the objections that arise from the arguments of

such scholars as M. Senart, Dr. Thomas and Dr. V. A. Smith : (1) that the words '*bahune janasi āyatū*' in the Pillar Edict VII can be traced only in the Separate Rock I, and as such the former presupposes the latter ; (2) that the words '*dhammasāvane kaṭe*' in the Pillar Edict VII recur only in the Minor Rock I and as such the former presupposes the latter ; (3) that the Minor Rock Edicts, precisely like the Fourteen Rock, are found only in the outlying parts of Asoka's empire and as such the former set of inscriptions was intended to supplement the latter during the same period of the Buddhist emperor's reign. But comparing the Seventh Pillar and First Separate Rock Edicts one can see that the words '*bahune janasi āyatū*' in question occur in the Pillar Edict VII in connection with the *Dharmamahāmāitras* and similar special high officers, while in the Separate Rock Edict I these have been used in connection with the Royal Prince and *Mahāmāitras*, that is to say, the Pillar Edict VII presupposes the Rock Edict V, and not the Separate Rock Edict I. Similarly comparing the Seventh Pillar and First Minor Rock Edicts one can show that the words '*dhammasāvane kaṭe*' in question occur in the former in connection with *dhammavadaḥhi* (= *dhammacaravadaḥhi* in R. E. IV, *dhammavadaḥhi* in R. E. V.) and in the latter in connection with *aṭhavadḥhi*, the particular *aṭha* (purpose) being identified with the king's wish to make '*palakama*' or '*seal*' itself long enduring. Rather the plural use of '*dhammasāvana*' in the expression *dhammasāvanāni sāvāpitāni*, qualified by *vividhāni*, goes to prove that proclamations or readings of *dhamma* of different kinds were caused to be heard on many an occasion, and therefore there is no reason to suppose that the Pillar Edict VII contains a specific reference to the Minor Rock, or that no *dhammasāvana* was done after the date of incision of the Pillar Edict VII. Rather from the contents it is evident that to Asoka the expression *dhamma lipi lekḥāpana* conveys virtually the same meaning.

Optimism in M. R. E. I—a test of chronology

One must consider that the Rock Edicts VI and X, which dwell upon the same subject-matter '*palakama*,' bring out the king's feeling of diffidence making the reader hear almost a cry of despair through it, while in the first Minor Rock Edict the king conveys an unqualified message of hope by the example of the greatest possible success attained by him in his own life in the past :

"Dukaraṃ tu idaṃ aṇasa agena parākramena (R. E. VI, Girnar),

"Dukaraṃ tu kho idaṃ chudakena va janena usaṭena va
añātra aṇa parākamena savam paricajitpā" (R.E., X, Gīrnar,
cf P. E., I : dusaṃpaṭipādaye añāta agāya.....usāhena.)

"Kāmaṃ tu kho khudakena pi pakamamīṇeṇa vipule
svage sakye ārādhetaṇe" (M. R. E., I, Siddāpur).

Asoka is so much carried away by the joy which is the ripest fruit of his knowledge of success that he seems to completely forget that when he started his mission of the *dharma*, the *pakama* was but a means to an end for him. The result is that at last for him the means becomes the end, and he blesses it with the fullness of his heart (*cilāṭhī-tike ca palakame hotu*). I do not see the reason why the Minor Rock Edicts should be taken to occupy the same place in the south as the set of Fourteen Rock does in the east, west and north-west, nor do I understand how they can do so. Bhagavanlal Indraji has already discovered a fragment of the Rock Edict VIII that clearly points to the existence of another copy of the whole set of Fourteen at Sopārā in the Thānā District. This opinion would perhaps have been sound if all the copies of the Minor Rock Edict I had been found in the south (Hyderabad and Mysore). But, as a matter of fact, one copy (Sahasrām) is found engraved in Shahabad District, Behar, one (Bairāt) in the Jaipur State, Rājputānā, and one (Rūpnāth) in the Jabbalpur District, Central Provinces. Would it not be more prudent, I ask, to anticipate the discovery of yet another copy of the set of Rock Edicts in the south?

Written in the sense of drafted—how far correct?

Regarding the chronology Prof. Bhandarkar has produced only a mouse, where an elephant was the expectation. If I have understood him aright, he is quite prepared to take Asoka at his word. Asoka, in his Pillar Edict VI, says that when he was consecrated twelve years, he caused the *dhammalipi* to be written (of course, for the first time) for the good and happiness of the world :

"duvāḍasa vasa-abhisitena me dhammalipi likhāpitā
lokaṣā hitasukhāye" (P.E. VI).

Prof. Bhandarkar believes that Asoka actually did what he says, and that some of the Rock Edicts, notably Nos. III and IV, are the real examples of the *dhammalipi* caused to be written then, that is, in the twelfth year after his coronation. In the same way some of the Rock Edicts, notably No. V, might be cited as an example of the *dhammalipi* caused to be written in the thirteenth year after Asoka's

coronation. Prof. Bhandarkar would draw a distinction between '*likhāpita*' or 'caused to be written' in the sense of *drafted* and the same in the sense of permanently *incised* on a hard material like a 'rock' or a 'stone-pillar' or a 'stone-tablet' (*pavata*, *silāthambha*, *silāphalaka*). For there are some clear instances where certain events, which had occurred earlier, came to be recorded later, e.g., (1) the conquest of Kālīṅga that was made in the eighth year after Asoka's coronation was recorded, at least four or five years later, in the draft of the Rock Edict XIII; (2) the pilgrimage to *Sambodhi* that Asoka undertook in the tenth year after his coronation was recorded in the draft of the Rock Edict VIII made a few years later; (3) the *dhammalipi*, that had been caused to be written in the twelfth year after Asoka's coronation, came to be mentioned in the Pillar Edict VI, written in the twenty-sixth year. He maintains that there is no definite evidence as to the Rock Edicts (or, better, Rock Inscriptions as he would call them) being incised in the same year in which they were caused to be written in the sense of *drafted*. As to the Pillar Edicts, he finds no reason to doubt that the first six of them were caused to be written in the sense of *incised* in the twenty-sixth, and the seventh one was engraved in the twenty-seventh year after Asoka's coronation. For, in the first place, the Pillar Edict VII, distinctly stated to have been written when Asoka was consecrated twenty-seven years, contains at its end the king's order to inscribe this inscription on the '*stone-pillars*' (*silāthambhāni*) or '*stone-tablets*' (*silāphalakāni*), wherever there were any, in order to ensure its permanency; and secondly, in this inscription Asoka distinctly says that he had '*pillars of the dhamma*' (*dhammathambhāni*) made but does not refer to any '*rocks*' (*pavatas*). It was not till after the seven Pillar Edicts had been incised and until the day of incision of the Minor Rock Edict I that the idea of inscribing the inscriptions on '*rocks*' (*pavatas*) struck the mind of the king, because in the latter inscription Asoka orders that it should be written in the sense of *inscribed* on the *rocks* and likewise on the '*stone-pillar*' if it was there. To be logical, if this order be suggestive of the fact that the idea of inscription on the '*rocks*' was then new to Asoka, then his order in the Pillar Edict VII must also be suggestive of the fact that the idea of inscription on the '*stone-pillars*' was new to him at the time when the Pillar VII was incised. As Prof. Bhandarkar denies the conclusion, he denies also the premiss. As I have sought to show, the materials for engraving find mention in the body of directions which were not intended to be inscribed and yet have actually been inscribed in

such edicts as Sarnāth Schism Pillar, Queen's, Pillar VII and Minor Rock I. As regards the Minor Rock and Schism Pillar Edicts, in which the king's order also refers to the text whereby these should be promulgated (*etiṇā ca vayanenā, hemeva vayanjanena vi vāsāpayātha*), one must understand that his agents were desired to prepare the drafts on the suggested lines. These directions, whether actually inscribed or not, are unavailing as data for chronology because these are common presuppositions of all the edicts.

Dhammathambhas in P. E. VII : their distinction from silāthambhas

By *dhammathambhas* in his Pillar Edict VII Asoka does not appear to have referred to them as materials for engraving his inscriptions but as monuments of Buddhist art, the 'pillars of religion' as distinguished from 'the pillars of royal victory' (*vijayastambha*).¹ It is evident from the inscriptions at Rummindei and Nigāli Sāgar that these isolated monolithic pillars with crowning animal figures, religious symbols and reliefs were set up when Asoka came on pilgrimage to Buddhist holy places. These very pillars, as appears from the accounts of Asoka's pilgrimage in the Divyāvadāna, were the *cātyas* with which the royal pilgrim marked the sacred spots as a matter of favour to the future visitors.² In directing his officers to have the edict inscribed on the 'stone-pillars' that were there, Asoka, if his language has any meaning, did not intend specifying his *dhammathambhas* to be used as materials.

'Sīlāphalakā' in Pillar Edict VII and 'pavata' in Minor Rock I denote substantially the same material for inscription

I am unable to detect any substantial difference between these two orders : (1) one, as in the Pillar Edict VII, directing that the edict should be inscribed on the 'stone-pillars' (*sīlāthambhā*) or 'stone tablets' (*sīlāphalakā*), the pillars being mentioned first according as it was a record on a pillar ; (2) the other, as in the Minor Rock Edict I, directing that the royal message should be inscribed on the 'rocks' (*pavata*) or 'stone-pillars' (*sīlāthambhā*), the rocks being mentioned

1 Cf. *dhammavijaya* contrasted with *vijaya* ; *dhammamahāmātā* with *mahāmātā*, etc.

2 Divyāvadāna, pp. 389-97 : " Atha rājā...ayaṃ me manoratho ye Bhagavatā Buddhena pradeśā adhyuṣitās tān arceyaṃ cihnāni ca kuryāṃ paścimsyaṃ janatāyaṃ anugrahārthaṃ.

first according as it was a record on a rock. By a 'stone-tablet' one is to understand a 'boulder' or 'detached block' in a rocky mountain that might be used as a tablet for engraving an inscription. By a 'pavata' one is not to understand the whole mountain or range of hills but a rocky part of it where 'stone-tablet-like' material was available. How can it be suggested, I wonder, that the idea of inscription on the 'rocks' did not strike the mind of Asoka till after the incision of the Pillar Edict VII, if Prof. Bhandarkar admits, as he has admitted, that the first two Hill Cave Inscriptions at Barābar were inscribed when Piyadasi was consecrated twelve years, the date of incision of the inscriptions being the same as that of dedication of the cave-dwellings? The second inscription records that the second cave belonged to the Khalatika mountain or hill range (Khalatika-pavatasi). The name "Hill Cave Inscriptions" has been devised by the epigraphists for the convenience of reference; it does not imply that the inscriptions in question were inscribed on the 'caves' (*kubhā*). The inscribed votive records are Rock Inscriptions, and nothing else. If this is so, how can it be doubted that the Rock Edicts, Nos. I-IV, expressly recording on the 'rocks' in their two versions at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa (R.E. I) that they were caused to be written when the king was consecrated twelve years, were not inscribed in the twelfth year after his coronation and certainly not later, and also not earlier because, according to the king's own statement in the Pillar Edict VI, the *dharmālipi* was caused to be written for the first time in history when he was consecrated just twelve years? None can detect in these four edicts any recorded event that happened later than the twelfth year of his reign. I take these four edicts together as I find that they are placed consecutively, one below the other, in the same internal arrangement or context. The opening words of the series contain the statement:—

"Iyaṃ.....sī pavatasi Devānaṃpiye[na].....jin[ā] likhā..." (R.E., I, Dhauli).

"Iyaṃ dharmālipi Khapiṃgalasi pavatasi Devānaṃpiyena Piyadasinā lājinā likhāpitā" (R.E., I, Jaugaḍa).

In the Rock Edict III the king says that he inaugurated the quinquennial tours when he was consecrated twelve years. The concluding words in the Rock Edict IV, being connected with the reference of material in the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa texts of No. I, yield the following clear statement:—

"[.....sī pavatasi] duvādasa-vasāni abhisitasa Devānaṃpiyasa Piyadasine lājinēyaṃ likhite" (R.E., IV, Dhauli).

"[Khapiṃgalasi pavatasi].....(R.E., IV, Jaugaḍa).

*Fourteen Rock Edicts engraved not later than the fourteenth and
not earlier than the twelfth year of Asoka*

The reference of material in the Rock Edict I continues through the remaining numbers of the series of Fourteen, viz., Nos. V-XIV, as determined by the versions other than those at Dhauli, Jaugaḍa and Bombay-Sopārā. When exactly this series was closed is still a problem, though it was certainly started in the twelfth year after Asoka's coronation. The omission of Nos. XI-XIII at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, either on a prudential consideration of their unsuitability, particularly that of No. XIII, for the newly conquered province of Kaliṅga in which Dhauli and Jaugaḍa were situated, or through the oversight of the scribes, and the allusion of some such fact in No. XIV, naturally leads one to understand that these ten edicts were sent out for engraving in at least three instalments : (1) the first one of six edicts, Nos. V-X ; (2) the second one of three edicts, Nos. XI-XIII ; (3) the third one of just one edict, No. XIV. The recorded fact, in No. V, of appointment of the *Dharmamahāmātras*, made for the first time when the king was consecrated thirteen years, shows that the second instalment was not inscribed earlier than the thirteenth year after his coronation. The historian finds here no other chronological data than the absence of a definite mention of Asoka's sons, the *dālakas* and *kumālas*, in No. V, a fact which goes so far as to create a presumption in favour of an early date of its incision. Coming to the second instalment one finds that when No. XIII was engraved, the five contemporary Greek kings were still alive or reigning, the Greek kings who are collectively referred to as 'Antiyoka and his neighbours' in No. II which is shown to have been inscribed in the twelfth year. The latest year till which these five Greek kings may be supposed to have been all alive, that is to say, the latest year in which the Rock Edict XIII may be supposed to have been engraved, is, according to Beloch's Greek History, B.C. 250. The fixing of the regnal year of Asoka to which B.C. 250 corresponds depends chiefly on the date of demise of the Buddha. The Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma and Siam place the Buddha's demise in B.C. 544-43. The so-called Chinese 'Dotted Records' suggest B.C. 487-86 as a date for the same event. But by far the most acceptable suggestion is the one that comes from Dr. Geiger (translation of the Mahāvamsa, Introd.) and from my friend Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri (Political History of India), namely, that the real date is B.C. 484-83. The former has arrived at this conclusion after testing the Pāli traditional succession of the kings

of Magadha and Ceylon and that of the contemporary Buddhist *theras* in the light of Prof. Wijesinha's investigations showing that B.C. 484-83 was known in Ceylon to be the year of the demise up to a certain late date, and the latter in the light of his hypothesis that the Buddhists of Ceylon confused in later times the year of the Buddha's demise with that of Bimbisāra's accession ($544-43-60=484-83$). If, then, B.C. 484-83 be the year of the demise, and if it be that Asoka's coronation took place 218 years after it, it follows that B.C. 250 corresponds to the king's eighteenth or seventeenth regnal year, and by no means later. The detection of another Buddhist confusion, viz., that, as regards the date of Asoka's first conversion to Buddhism, between the two different years of Asoka's coronation and conquest of Kāliṅga, enables me to suggest that the dates of engraving of the last two instalments of the Rock Edicts could not be later than the time when the king was consecrated fourteen years. The Pāli accounts, e.g., those in the Ceylonese Chronicles and Vinaya Commentary, place Asoka's first conversion to or sincere admiration for Buddhism in the very first year of his reign from the date of his coronation, without taking any cognizance of the horrors felt on reflection on the scene of carnage at the time of the Kāliṅga war waged when the king had been consecrated eight years. These horrors, as stated in the Rock Edict XIII, prepared the king's heart for response to the call of the *dhamma*. The Pāli accounts place his real conversion or deepest conviction in the fourth year, and the completion of erection of the monastic centres of pilgrimage, art and learning (i.e., *dharmarājikas* or *stūpas* as in the Avadāna legends) in the seventh year after his coronation. Asoka's own statement in his Pillar Edict VI as to the first publication of his *dhammalipi* in the twelfth year after his coronation brings out the same fact, namely, that his real conversion leading him into action did not take place until the fourth year from the day of his first conversion. This fact is clearly attested in detail by his two significant statements in the Minor Rock Edict I : (1) that when he was a mere Buddhist *upāsaka* for more than two and half years, he did not exert himself much ; (2) that it was when he became intimately associated with the Buddhist Church for a year or a little longer (but less than two years) that he earnestly began work. By adding up these two periods one gets an interval of about four years. Moreover, the king's statement in his inscription on the Nigāva Pillar as to the enlargement of the *stūpa* of the Buddha Koṇḍagamana when he was consecrated fourteen years tallies with the Pāli account that the erection of *vihāras* or *dharmarājikas* was not completed until the third year from his real and the

seventh year from his first conversion. The Avadāna legends, displaying as they do a hazy notion of the horrors of an action creating a living hell for the good people, record that the completion of erection of the *dharmarājikas* synchronised with the birth of Kuṇāla, the son of Asoka by his second queen Padmāvati. As I have shown, the young prince Kuṇāla, and his mother Padmāvati are likely the persons mentioned under different names in the Queen's Edict as Tivāla and his mother Kārūvāki the second queen. Anyhow, Kuṇāla of the Avadāna, who was sent afterwards to Taxila as his father's representative, was just thirteen or fourteen years old when the Pillar Edict VII was engraved. The same prince must then have been just in his mother's womb when the Rock Edict XIII was engraved with the king's prospective statement: "My sons (and) grandsons that shall be." And he was not perhaps in his mother's womb when the second instalment of the Rock Edicts was incised with the mention of an event dated in the thirteenth year from the king's coronation. The Rock Edict XIV closed the first series of Rock Edicts and marked the consummation of the first period of arduous work on new lines which commenced in the twelfth year and ended in the fourteenth. It is referring to this first series of Rock Edicts, and this alone, that the king says in No. XIV that though, when it was engraved, many *dharmmalipis* had been written, many yet remained to be written, and regrets that it was not possible to have his *dharmmalipis* inscribed everywhere as his dominions were wide by far. Is it not conclusive from such frank statements as these that the first series of *dharmmalipis* on the 'rocks,' intended to fix the outer lines of his dominions, is earlier than the Seven Pillar Edicts that stand in the interior? Mr. Harit Krishna Deb's contention needs no refutation. It is to be treated rather as an acrobatic feat than a sober scholarly argument. There is no reason why the humanitarian works once stated to have been carried out in the realms of the five Greek kings (R.E. II) and success of propaganda of the *dharmma* once stated to have been attained (R.E. XIII) should be referred to once more in the Pillar Edict VII, the object of which is to give only a resumé of the various methods and measures adopted for propagation of the *dharmma*. It needs no mention that without the Rock Edicts, particularly Nos. II-V, as presuppositions, the greater portion of the resumé in the Pillar Edict VII remains unexplained.

Quinquennial system as a test of chronology

Asoka inaugurated the quinquennial tours for official inspection

when he was consecrated twelve years (R.E. III). The Avadāna legends say that he himself followed this system in making public gifts and large money-grants to the Buddhist *Samgha*. The internal evidence of his edicts or inscriptions shows that they were issued or engraved at the interval of five years. From the engraving of the first instalment of *dhammalipis* (R.E. I-IV) and dedication of the first two inscribed caves at Barābar to the Ājivikas up to the engraving of the last instalment of *dhammalipis* (R.E. XIV) and enlargement of the *stūpa* of Koṇāgamana, one is to calculate three years (12th-14th year after coronation, 230-232 or 231-233 B.E.). After five years from his fourteenth or fifteenth regnal year he dedicated a third inscribed cave-dwelling at Barābar and set up the inscribed pillars at Rummindei and Nigāli Sāgar when he was consecrated twenty years. It is to this period (19th-21st year after coronation, 237-39 or 238-40 B.E.) that the erection of the *dhammathambhas* as monuments of Buddhist religion and art must be assigned, the inscribed ones, such as the copies of the Schism Pillar Edict at Sarnāth, Kauśāmbī and Sāmet recording matters relating to Buddhism. According to Buddhist traditions in Pāli, the Schism Pillar Edict should exactly belong to this period (*i. e.*, shortly after 236 or 237 B.E.). It is not unlikely that the Queen's Edict, presupposed by the Pillar Edict VII and referring obviously to Tivala or Kuṇāla as Asoka's little son by his second queen, also belongs to this period. The next period of engraving commenced in the twenty-sixth and ended in the twenty-seventh year after coronation (244-45 or 245-46 B.E.) during which the seven edicts were permanently incised on some of the *dhammathambhas*, the Pillar Edict VII being inscribed one year later than the first six of the series, when Tivala-Kuṇāla was about thirteen or fourteen years old. If Asoka still adhered to his quinquennial arrangement, as he says he did (S.R.E., I), the fourth period of engraving commenced in the thirty-second or thirty-third year after coronation (251-52 B.E.) during which the Royal Prince Tivala-Kuṇāla (officially known as Dharmavardhana) sent to Taxila as his father's representative for stopping the frontier troubles was aged eighteen or nineteen years. The two Separate Rock Edicts, hinting at the frontier troubles and referring to the viceroynalties of three Royal Princes at Tosali, Ujeni and Takhasila, must be relegated to this period, that is, to the thirty-second or the thirty-third year¹. If Asoka reigned for thirty-six or

¹ The assigned date of S. R. E. I can be ascertained from the legends of Asoka in Buddhist literature. It appears from the legends

thirty-seven years after his coronation and continued his quinquennial arrangement, the last period of engraving must have commenced in the thirty-seventh or thirty-eighth year (255 or 256 B.E.). The Minor Rock Edicts, referring to the viceroyalty of a fourth Royal Prince at Suvarṇagiri and hinting at an independent charge being given, must be taken to belong to this period. The enigmatic expression 'vyūthenā 256' in the Minor Rock Edict I shows that this edict belonged to this period, and this alone.

Riddle of "vyūthenā 256" solved: Meaning of "vivāsā" "vivuthā"

In issuing the Minor Rock Edict I Asoka sent the following three orders as to how it should be disposed of by his agents :

- (1) "Iya ca aṭṭhe pavatisu lekḥāpeta vālata hadha ca athi s[i]lā-
ṭhubhe silāth...ṇibhasi l[a]khāpetavaya—ta" (Rūpnāth).
- (2) "Etinā ca vayanenā yāvataka tupaka ahāle savara viva-
setavāyu ti" (Rūpnāth).
- (3) "Vy[u]ṭhenā sāvane kaṭe 256 sata vivāsā ta"

Put in plain terms, the first order is :—

- (1) "Get this message inscribed on rocks or stone-pillars."

In plain words, the second order is :—

- (2) "Set it up by this text everywhere within your jurisdiction."

The interpretation of the third order depends on the significance of these four : (a) *vyūthenā* with its variants *vyūthēna* (Brahmagiri), [*v*]yuthēna (Jaṭiṅga), *vivuthēna* (Sahasrām); (ii) 256 with *vyūthēnā*'s variant before and nothing after it (Brahmagiri, Siddāpur, Jaṭiṅga), with *vivuthā* [i] before and nothing after it (Sahasrām); (iii) *sata* without any variant; (iv) *vivāsā-ta* with its variant *vivuthā ti* (Sahasrām). These are the various suggestions offered by the previous scholars from time to time :—(i) *vyūthenā* = Pāli *vivuthēna*, *vyūttḥēna*, Sk.

of Asoka in the Divyāvadāna that almost in the same year Tiṣṇarakṣitā, a passionate woman who was placed in the position of the queen consort caused the Bo Tree at Bodhi Gaya to be destroyed and tempted her step-son Kuṇāla into sin, and about the same time Kuṇāla was sent to Taxila as a viceroy. According to the Mahāvamsa (chap. xx), Asoka's first queen consort Asandhimitrā died thirty years after his accession, i.e., twenty-six years after his coronation; Tiṣṇarakṣitā (Pāli Tissarakkhā) was placed in the position of the queen consort four years later (in Asoka's thirtieth regnal year), and she caused the great Bodhi Tree to be destroyed three years after that (in Asoka's thirty-second or thirty-third regnal year).

vyuṣṭena, *vyuṣṭena*, from *vi*+*vas*, 'to dwell' (Pischel); 'by the departed' (Bühler); 'by the illumined' (Oldenberg); 'by the messenger, missionary' (Senart); 'by the wanderer' (Fleet); 'by Asoka on tour' (Thomas, Hultzsch); 'by *vyuṣṭas*, a class of officers proclaiming a proclamation' (Bhandarkar); 'by the missionaries' (Smith).

(ii) 256 denotes 'the number of years that have elapsed from the departure of the Teacher, i.e., the Buddha' (Bühler); 'a date after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha' (Fleet till 1910); '256 nights spent abroad by Asoka on tour' (Thomas and Lévi, explaining in the light of the Sahasrām '*duve sapamṇā-lāti sata*', *lāti* taken=*rātri*); '256 nights spent in worship' (Fleet 1911), '256 nights spent in prayer' (Hultzsch); '256 individuals or missionaries' (Bhandarkar, Smith), 'the number of messengers or missionaries' (Senart); 'two hundred individuals increased by fifty-six, *lāti* being a mistake for *sata*' (Bhandarkar, Bühler, interpreting Sahasrām text).

(iii) *sata* (?) = Pāli *satthā*, 'Teacher', 'the Buddha' (Bühler); = *sattvāḥ*, 'beings' (Senart, Pischel); 'men' (Bhandarkar); 'souls, officials' (Pischel's posthumous note); = *smṛtaḥ*, 'enun-
ciated, mentioned' (Lévi); = *śānta*, 'the tranquil' (Fleet); = *satra*, 'halting place, stage' (Thomas).

(iv) *vivāsā-ta* = 'illumination' (Venis); 'wander' (Fleet); 'spent on tour' (Thomas, Hultzsch); 'set out on tour' (Bhandarkar); the variant *vivuthā* = 'have gone forth' (Bhandarkar); 'have gone forth on mission' (Senart); 'have passed' (Bühler); 'have appeared in the world illumined' (Oldenberg); 'have departed' (Lévi); 'dispatch edict' (Fleet).

In view of the apparently wide discrepancy between the texts one must be cautious in establishing an interpretation on the basis of a single word occurring in any particular text. It goes without saying that though differently worded, the texts are intended to convey the same idea. I find that in three of these texts, viz., Brahmagiri, Siddāpur and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara, the reading is practically the same. These three texts are simply worded '*vyuthena 256*.' The Sahasrām text inserts an explanatory clause '*duve sapamṇā lāti-satā vivuthā* *te*' between '*vivuthena*' and '*256*'. In the Rūpnāth text '*vyuthenā 256*' is followed by '*sata vivāsā-ta*'—evidently a similar explanatory clause. The occurrence of '*sata*' can be explained as a curious instance where the scribe intended to express the number also in words but had not done it carefully. '*Vivāsā*' is likely the same word

in another form as 'vyuthā', 'vyuthā', 'vyūthā' or 'vivuthā'. I cannot agree with Prof. Bhandarkar and Dr. V. A. Smith in suggesting that 'vyūthā' supplies a gap in the Pillar Edict VII. This edict has nowhere a context with which 'vyūthā' can fit in. There can be little doubt that 'vyūthā' stands in the same relation to the third order as that in which 'vayajānenā' does to the second, or that *vyūtha* is but a Prakrit form of Sk. 'vyūṣṭa'.

The Sanskrit Lexicons explain 'vyūṣṭa' as being a synonym for 'dawn' (*prabhāta*). The word 'in the sense of 'dawn' is used in the Śiśupālavadha (XII. 4). Dr. Shama Sastri in his instructive paper (Report of the Second Oriental Conference, Calcutta, pp. 35—43.) on Vyūṣṭi draws his readers' attention to several texts in the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas and Śrauta-Sūtras where 'vyūṣṭa', 'vyūṣṭi' and 'vyūṣa' are used as synonyms, and used not merely in the sense of earlier morning but decisively in the sense of a periodical early morning suggestive of a new year's day'. In the Varāha Śrauta-Sūtra, as will appear from the following verse quoted from its Akulapada, khaṇḍa III, *vyūṣṭi* is represented as the well-dawned period or fourth *yāma* of night-time, 'upavyūṣa' as the well-dawning period or third *yāma*, 'nīṣi' as the dead dark period or second *yāma*, and *pradoṣa* as the fairly clear period or first *yāma* :

"Prathamō yāmaḥ pradoṣas syāt, dvitīyo nīṣir ucyate,

Tṛtīyōpavyūṣo jñeyah, caturtho vyūṣṭa ucyate."

As Dr. Sastri has ably shown by citation of passages from the Rg-Veda, particularly one from I. 113. 3, where the pathway of the night-and-dawn (*nakṣoṣā*) in the year (*sumekā* explained in a Brāhmaṇa passage as *saṃvatsara*) is said to be the same and yet alternately pursued by them, that in interpreting these passages one is not to think of ordinary 'nights' and 'dawns' but of the longer nights of the *dakṣiṇāyana* by the former, as well as of the longer days of the *uttarāyana* by the latter, the 'dawn' as a symbol of the longer days breaking on the summer solstice. I cannot but agree with Dr. Sastri when he suggests on the evidence of the Jaina Sūryya Prajñapti and Kauṭīliya Ārthaśāstra that in ancient India the official year commenced on or was counted from the summer solstice, which was therefore treated as the new year's day, eagerly awaited by all and solemnized with special rites. These brilliant suggestions from Dr. Sastri enable me at once to translate and interpret the explanatory clauses in Asoka's Sahasrām and Rūpnath texts as follows :—

"duve saṃannā lāti-satā vivuthā ti" (Sahasrām).

"two hundred and fifty-six nights dawned earlier", i. e., "two

hundred and fifty-six years reckoned from the summer solstice when the night is shorter than the day," Asokan *vivuthā* being equated with Vedic [*vi*]ukthya.

"[*duve sapaṁna*] sata vivāsā ta" (Rūpnāth).

"two hundred and fifty-six longer dawns," which is to say, "two hundred and fifty-six years reckoned from the summer solstice when the day is longer than the night, Asokan *vivāsā* being equated with Vedic *vyuṣā*."

As to '*vyuṣā*', Dr. Sastri observes rectifying his previous interpretation in his translation : "In the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya (II. 6) it is used as the name of a particular division as the royal year, the month, the half month, and the day. Again in II. 7 Kauṭilya uses the word in connection with the examination of revenue accounts. He says that the receipts, expenditure and the net revenue shall be verified under certain heads in '*vyuṣā*'..... new year's day.....will suit the context admirably well ; for the accounts are ordered to be submitted at the close of the month of *Aṣṭādha* (II. 7) for examination on the *vyuṣā* or new year's day. The enumeration of seasons with *Śrāvana* in the rains is a proof that *Śrāvana* was the first month of the year at the time of Kauṭilya."

I welcome Dr. Sastri's opinion but at the same time feel that the two passages in the Arthaśāstra illustrating the use of '*vyuṣā*' must be represented somewhat differently. I find that in the first passage (II. 6) one has the clear definition of the two terms '*vyuṣā*' and '*kāla*.' The former is defined as 'the regnal year, month, fortnight and day,' which is the same as to say, "the date stated in term of the regnal and official years, the regnal year being counted from the day of coronation of the reigning king, and the official year commencing on the summer solstice." The latter is defined as 'the seasonal divisions of the official year beginning in the rains.'

"Rājavarṣaṁ māsaḥ pakṣaḥ divasaśca vyuṣtam."

"Varṣā-hemanta-grīṣmāṇāṁ tṛtīyasaptamā divasonaḥ pakṣāś ṣeṣaḥ pūrṇaḥ prthag adhimāsaka iti kālaḥ." Arthaśāstra, p. 60.

In the second passage (II. 7) Kauṭilya teaches how the revenue accounts should be verified in respect of receipt, expenditure and net revenue entered under such headings as '*vyuṣā*,' '*deśa*,' '*kāla*,' and the rest.

In Pandit Ganapati Sastri's edition of the Arthaśāstra and its Commentary (p. 138) one reads :—"Rājavarṣaṁ ā rājaraṅgyābhiṣekād-ārabdhaḥ samvatsaraḥ, māsaḥ, pakṣaḥ, divasaśca vyuṣtaṁ, rājavarṣādi-catuṣṭayaṁ vyuṣṭasaṁjñam ityarthah. Etacca amuka-rājavarṣe amuka-

māse, amukapakṣe, amuka-divase, amuka-puruṣeṇānitam etāvad dhanam, adyāmukapurusaṃyaitāvad dattam iti rityā nibandhapustakādīṣu lekhyam iti boddhavyam."

The quoted extract makes it clear that '*vyuṣṭa*' is used in the sense of the date of entry stated in term of the regnal year and in that of the month, fortnight and day as in the official year. The regnal year signifies the succession of official years in which each current year in relation to those that are past is specified by an ordinal affixed to it, and the ordinal is to be determined by the number of years counted from the day of coronation of the reigning king. The months, half-months and days really belong to the seasonal divisions of time within an official year from the summer solstice.¹ There is nothing to prevent specifying the official years in succession in term of a current era lengthened by adding to it the regnal years. Considered in this light, Asoka's third order in Rūpnāth may be interpreted thus:—"In making the inscribed matter public, please see that it is attended with the date 256 (in term of the current Buddha-era)."

Table of dates of the edicts

Thus the discussion of chronology may be closed by stating its results in the subjoined table :—

Edict	Years after coronation, years after parinirvāṇa.	B. C.
Barābar Hill cave I—II	12, 230-231	254-253
Rock I—IV	" " "	" "
Rock V—X	13, 231-232	253-252
Rock XI—XIII	14, 232-233	252-251
Rock XIV	" " "	" "
Barābar Hill cave III	19, 237-238	247-246
Rumminder and Nigāli } Sāgar }	20, 238-239	246-245
Schism Pillar at Sarnāth } Kausāmbi, Sāmcī }	21, 239-240	245-244
Queen's (?)	" " "	" "
Pillar I—VI	26, 244-245	240-229
Pillar VII	27, 245-246	239-238
Separate Rock I—II	32, 250-251	234-233
Minor Rock I—II } Second Bairāt (Bhābrū) }	37, 255-256	229-228

1 With reference to an Asokan pillar in the town of Ne-le in the

The proposed excursions will remain incomplete without an excursus on the meaning of some of the disputed Asokan words and expressions. My object in the excursus is to indicate how still some new light can be thrown on the significance of such words and expressions as 'nijhapayisaṃti' (P. E. IV), 'nijhati' (R. E. VI), 'vaca' (R. E. VI), 'vacabhūmika' (R. E. XII), 'anusamāyāna' (R. E. III, S. R. E. I).

I NIJHAPAYISAṃTI (P. E. IV).—Dr. Lüders has rightly explained it as meaning "will make (the authorities) reconsider" on the authority of the Jātaka-verse 334 (IV. p. 495) :

"Aparādhakā dūsakā heṭhakā ca
labhanti te rājino nijjhapetuṃ,
na maccuno nijjhapanaṃ karonti."

But it must be noted that in the gloss the word has been explained somewhat differently in the two connexions : (1) in the case of Yama, the king of death as "*balikammavāsena khamūpenti pasīdenti*", "cause to pardon, please to relent by virtue of sacrificial offerings"; (2) in the case of earthly king as *sakkhīhi attano niraparādhabhūvaṃ pakāsetvā pasādetvā*, "causes to reconsider his case by proving his own innocence by depositions of witnesses called in his favour, persuades to release (by payment of ransom etc.)." In both connexions the word carries the idea of persuasion. Cf. Jātaka (VI. p. 516, verses 1924, 1926) : "*nijjhāpetuṃ mahārājaṃ*", explained in the gloss as "*niddosabhūvaṃ jānāpetuṃ*", "*niddosabhūvaṃ nijjhāpane*".

NIJHATI (R. E. VI).—It occurs as a part of the idiom : *tūya athūya vivādo nijhati va saṃto parisūyaṃ*, "in that matter a division or adjournment takes place in the council" (V. A. Smith) ; "there is any

suburb of Pāṭaliputra Fa-Hien says (Legge, p. 80) that it bore an inscription recording in which year, month and day the town was built. But so far as the written records of Asoka hitherto discovered go, he has nowhere mentioned the dates in term of the year, month and day. It is in the Kuṣāṇa records that the dates have been stated for the first time in the term of regnal year, and in that of the month and the day of an official year, cf. "*Devaputrasya Kaniskasya saṃ 5 he 1 di 1.*" The specification of the date in term of the regnal year and the month, half month and day of an official year, as enjoined in the Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra, is a convention which is met with for the first time in the earliest Sanskrit inscription of Rudradāman (A.D. 150) : "*Rudradāmano varṣe dvīsaptatītame (72) Mārgaśīrṣabhulapratipadāyāṃ.*" The convention once established was adhered to in the later Sanskrit inscriptions.

division or rejection in the council' (Bhandarkar). *Nijhati* = "meditation, reconsideration, adjournment or appeal" (Woolner); "adjournment" (Lüders, Thomas); "amendment" (Hultzschn); "casting away, rejection" (Jayaswal, taking *nijhati* = *nikṣapti*). I suggest "mutual understanding, coming to an agreement", and hold that the right passage to be cited is the one from the Aṅguttara-Nikāya, Part I, Paṭiṣāvagga, p. 66: "Yassaṃ paṭiṣāyaṃ bhikkhū adhikaraṇaṃ ādiyanti dhammikaṃ vā adhammikaṃ vā te taṃ adhikaraṇaṃ ādiyitvā na c'eva aññamaññaṃ saññāpentī na ca saññhattiṃ upagacchanti na ca nijjhāpentī, na ca nijjhattiṃ upagacchanti, etc". Here *nijjhatti* is used almost as a synonym for *saññatti*; cf. the Jātaka VI. p. 528, verse 2007; "*nijjhattā Sīvayo sabbe*", "all the Śīvi people have come to understand or to an understanding," "*nijjhattā ti saññhattā*" in the gloss. In the Manoratha-Pūraṇi (Aṅguttara-Commentary) the terms *saññatti* and *nijjhatti* are explained thus: "*saññāpentī ti jānāpentī*", "*nijjhāpentī ti pekkhāpentī*", according to which *saññatti* is "making the matter known", and *nijjhatti* "making the matter understood or considered."

3. *NIJHATI* (P.E. VII).—It is one of the twofold means whereby Asoka sought to make his mission of the *dhamma* effective, the other being *dhammaniyama*. *Nijhati* is said to be the more essential or valued of the two means. It means "deep meditation" (Bühler and Senart, cf. Sk. *nīdīdhyāsana*); "deep thought, self-control" (Laddu, Sk. *nīdhvapti*, quoting '*nijjhattibala*' 'power of control' from the Paṭisambhidāmagga); "reflexion" (Thomas); "conversion" (Hultzschn); "wholesale prohibition" (Bhandarkar); "casting away, rejection" (Jayaswal); "deliberation" (Lüders). '*Nijjhatti-bala*' does not mean the 'power of control', cf. Aṅguttara, iv, p. 223: "*ujjhattibalā bālā, nijjhattibalā paṇḍitā*". '*Ujjhatti*', as explained in the Commentary, implies 'an obstinate adherence to one's own statement, side or opinion (*yaṃ asuko idaṃca idaṃca āha maṃ so āha na aññanti evaṃ ujjhānaṃ*)'; '*nijjhatti*' implies 'a sober consideration of facts' (*atthānatthā-nijjhāpanaṃ*), 'making one understand by placing facts and reasons' (*atthañca kuraṇaṃ ca dassetvā saññāpanaṃ*). This last sense stands nearest to Asokan meaning. But I feel that in Asokan context one has to devise an interpretation contrasting '*nijhati*' with '*dhammaniyama*', the latter carrying with it the idea of 'regulation' or 'compulsion'. 'Persuasion' or 'appeal' suits well, Asoka's appeal being not so much to 'reason' as to 'human heart' or 'good sense.' The triple means of persuasion adopted by him consists of personal examples, religious and artistic demonstrations, and statement of essential principles of conduct.

4. *VACA, VRACA* (R. E. VI).—It means "the latrine," "the closet"

(Bühler, *vraca* = *varcag ha*); "the mews" (V. A. Smith following Jayaswal who rightly equates '*vraca*' with Sk. '*vraja*,' cf. '*vraceya*' in the sense of '*gacheya*' R.E. VI); "the stables" (Bhandarkar); "the cow-pen" (Hultzsch); "the road" (Vidhusekhar Bhattacharyya). I suggest "the recreations primarily by way of musical entertainments." '*Vaca*' or '*vraca*' is mentioned as one of the six occasions where the king was supposed to be attending to his personal comforts and enjoyments and inaccessible to the public, strictly observing privacy. These occasions are: (1) *bhuñjamānāsi* (while eating); (2) *orodhanamhi* (while in the midst of the ladies of the harem); (3) *gabhāgāramhi* (while in the bed-chamber and in the company of the queen); (4) *vacamhi*; (5) *vinītamhi* (while driving in a procession); (6) *uyānesu* (while sporting in the pleasure). These are the 'blessings of city-life' (*nagara-sampatti*) and 'enjoyable things' (*upabhogarasa*) whereby, in the Jātaka, V, pp. 505-7, a king, forgetful of his former state of glory, is appealed to. Combining Nos. (5) and (6) into one category, the Jātaka enumerates them as:—(1) *bhojana* (food) = *bhuñjamāna*; (2) *kileśa* (passions) = *orodha*; (3) *sayana* (bed) = *gabhāgāra*; (4) *nacca-gīta-vāḍita* (song, dance, music) = *vaca-vraca* (?); (5-6) *uyāna-nagara* (park and city) = *vinīta-uyāna*. Comparing the two lists and noting the points of agreement I cannot but think that '*vaca*' is connected with musical entertainments and similar pastimes.

5. VACABHŪMIKĀ (R. E. XII).—This denotes a body of officials mentioned after '*Ithijhaka-mahāmātā*', 'the *Mahāmātras* as censors of women' (R. E. XII). They represent the "overseers of cowpens" (Bühler); "Inspectors of cowpens" (V. A. Smith); "Officials connected with the cattle-herds" (Bhandarkar). I differ. There is no doubt that '*Vacabhūmikā*' = Sk. '*Vrajabhūmikāḥ*', 'those in charge of *vrajabhūmi*.' The term '*vrajabhūmi*' is explained in the Śabdakalpādruma as meaning '*kelikadamba*' 'sportful amusements in a collective sense', or, symbolically, 'the *Kadamba* tree where Kṛṣṇa amuses himself with the *Gopīs* or *Vraja-Kāminīs*, who are experts in singing, dancing, music and other pleasing arts'. The word '*yātrā*,' denoting in Bengali a kind of musical performance, is the same word in meaning as *vraja* √gāmane (to go). In some edition of Subal Chandra Mitra's Bengali Dictionary, '*Varcā*' is said to denote a kind of '*abhinaya*' (dramatic performance). Asoka's '*Ithijhaka*' (*Striyadhyakṣa*) corresponds no doubt to Kauṭilya's '*Gaṇikādhyakṣa*', 'Superintendent of courtezans', *ithi* or *ithi* being = *nāṭakitthi* or *nāṭakastrī*, i.e., the courtezans as dramatic actresses, as female dancers, singers and musicians. The functions of the Superintendent of Courtezans in the Arthaśāstra include

also the supervision of the courtezans following the pleasing arts as a profession. *Vajja-vihāra* means (*svaira-vihāra*). The 'dance, song and music' corresponding to '*vaca*' are but typical examples of '*visṇka-dassana*' which as explained in the Pāli Brahmajāla-Sutta comprises all the various pleasing arts (*kelis*). I therefore suggest that Asoka divided the functions of Superintendents of Courtezans and placed some of them in charge of these Superintendents and some in that of the newly appointed *Vacabhūmikas*, the Superintendents of Recreations and Amusements.

6. ANUSAṂYĀNA (R. E. III, S. R. E. I).—It means 'a tour for official inspection (Bühler); "circuit" (V.A. Smith, Bhandarkar); "complete tour" (Hultsch); "official transfers" (V. A. Smith in agreement with Jayaswal). The credit of making a right hit on a Pāli passage in the Aṅguttara, I, pp. 59-60 illustrating the use of *anusambyāna* is due to my friend and pupil Mr. Charan Das Chatterjee, Lecturer, Lucknow University, who drew my attention to it. The passage is:—

"Yasmiṃ samaye corā balavanto honti rājāno tasmiṃ samaye dubbalā honti : tasmiṃ samaye rañño na phāsu hoti... paccantime janapade anusaññātum." "At the time when the thieves are powerful, the kings then become weak : at that time it is not easy for the king to go into the frontier districts for *anusambyāna*."

One can see that the passage itself has used *anusambyāna* in the sense of going for inspection of outdoor works, duties in the outer regions. But this is not enough. The technical meaning of the word, corresponding to the Asokan, is fully brought out in the Commentary where one reads:—

"Paccantime janapade anusaññātun ti—gāmāvāsa-karaṇatthāya, setu-atthāya, pokkharāṇi-khaṇāpanatthāya, sālādīnaṃ karaṇatthāya paccantime janapade anusāsītum pi na sukhaṃ hoti."

From this it is clear that '*anusambyāna*' signifies "going on tour into the interior of the districts for erecting (monastic) residences in the villages, constructing the bridges, excavating the tanks, putting up the halls and doing similar works, and also for the purpose of governing (or instructing)." Asoka introduced a quinquennial arrangement in the case of the officials under the direct control and a triennial arrangement in the case of the officials under the Royal Princes for carrying out these works of public utility. A passage in the Arthaśāstra, III, 10, shows what was in the background of Asoka's system:

'*Taṭṭhaka-setu-bandhānāṃ navapravartane pāñcavārṣika parihāraḥ. Bhagnotsṛṣṭānāṃ cāturvārṣikah. Samupārūḍhānāṃ traivārṣikah.*'

B. M. BARUA

Principles of Hindu Taxation

II

Canons of Taxation

In about the period which roughly covers Kauṭilya, Manu and the Mahābhārata, a number of general rules or canons was accepted in substance and formed the basis of taxation. They represent the same principles as the famous canons of Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations*¹ which are followed today by all economists with verbal differences here and there, the subject-matter closely corresponding in both the sets of canons. Considering the widely different economic circumstances under which they were produced, it is remarkable that the Eastern and Western canons agree so much as to matter and method. To all intents and purposes, they were only rules for the guidance of the state ensuring justice between the payer and the payee. When taken collectively, the Eastern maxims of taxation yield that sound economic exposition which is neither far, nor different from what holds good in the modern world. They furnish similar results when they are analysed and point to the same objective in their operation. Mr. Jayaswal has only put some of them together without any reference to the underlying economic principles. The guiding ideal is that —“it is not the heavily taxed realm which executes great deeds, but the moderately taxed one, whose ruler, not sacrificing the power of defence, manages administration economically”².

1st Canon.—“A subject is bound to pay revenue to his king, inasmuch as the king ensures the safe protection of all these things (of the cultivators and traders)”³. This is Gautama’s dictum which is supported by Manu in his saying that “tax should be levied (by the king) having protected the people with weapons”⁴. The Mahābhārata follows it up and allows taxation on the condition of protection⁵ and enjoins heavy

1 Bk. V, chap. II.

2 Mbh., xii, 41, 22, quoted in Mr. Jayaswal’s *Hindu Polity*, p. 166.

3 Gautama Saṃhitā (Dutt’s Translation), X, p. 678.

4 Manu Saṃhitā, IX, 119, p. 648.

5 Āpad-dharma Parva, 139, p. 1031.

(forced) taxation on the rich¹ who are expected to yield more for the protecting work of the state². "Prosperous people should be gradually taxed in increased proportion"³, i.e. in proportion to their income. This is but the first canon of Adam Smith which runs as follows,—"Every subject ought to contribute to the revenue a sum proportionate to the income which he enjoys under the protection of the state"⁴.

IInd Canon.—The Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛitā lay down positive injunctions that tax must be levied according to Śāstra. The laws of Manu lay down, "the king should take tax every year in accordance with Śāstra"⁵ while the Epic declares, "taxing according to reason.....is a means to preservation"⁶. Thus "the king ought to receive taxes from the people following Śāstra"⁷. The word 'Śāstra' (law) and 'reason' imply the well-known fixed rate and other incidents and exclude uncertainty and arbitrariness. It is in line with Adam Smith's second canon which says that "taxes ought to be certain, not arbitrary. The time of payment, the quantity to be paid ought to be clear and plain to the contributor and every other person"⁸.

IIIrd Canon.—"In proper time, place, form, and strength (quantity) taxes should be extracted by the righteous king"⁹. The highly condensed form of this maxim compares well with the following 3rd canon of Adam Smith: "Every tax ought to be levied in the time and in the manner in which it is most convenient for the contributor to pay"¹⁰. Further it is pointed out by the Mahābhārata that taking tax in a lumpsum at a time is equal to oppressing people¹¹.

IVth Canon.—"Tax should be levied after consideration of the income and expenditure of the people"¹². "Nothing must be done to cause exhaustion by taxation"¹³. In other words this is equal to what Manu says by way of caution—"one's own root should not be destroyed by giving up taxes and duties nor that of others (subjects) by excessive

1 Ibid., 129, p. 1023.

2 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 88, p. 998.

3 Ibid.

4 Fawcett's Pol. Econ., p. 197. 5 Manu Smṛitā, VII, 80, p. 365.

6 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 58, p. 978.

7 Ibid., 71, p. 987.

8 Fawcett's Pol. Econ., p. 197.

9 Śānti Parva, 88, 2, p. 211, quoted in Jayaswal's 'Hindu Polity', p. 166

10 Fawcett's Pol. Econ., p. 198.

11 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 88, p. 998.

12 Ibid., 120, p. 1017.

13 Ibid., 87, p. 997.

taxation"¹. In the illustration of this principle, the fourth canon of Adam Smith is covered sufficiently, viz., that "every tax should be so contributed as both to take out and keep out of the pockets of the people as little as possible over and above what it brings into the public treasury of the state"². In Mill's opinion "it means apportioning the contribution of each person towards the expenses of government so that he shall feel neither more nor less inconvenienced from his share of the payment"³. The ancient Hindu economists also saw to the prosperity of the people and the fact that on it rested the sound policy of taxation. "Just as the calf can bear burdens strengthened by milk...so the people when they are prosperous" (unexploited)⁴. "Milk the cow but do not bore the udders"⁵ says the Epic.

Two more minor canons follow from the above. These are mentioned here, although Adam Smith has nothing like them. They are minor in the sense that they may be worked out from the principles already noticed.

Vth Canon.—"The king should *imperceptibly* realise tax from the people without harming them (in the least)"⁶. In his 'Hindu Polity', Mr. Jayaswal has explained it to signify that "taxation should be such that it may not be felt by the subject"⁷. The Epic has used in this connection the metaphors of the works by the bee, the gnat, the leech, and milking, and all for the purpose of showing that the process must not be felt to be troublesome⁸. The point to be observed is that no pain nor harm should be caused to the people by sudden demands.

VIth Canon.—"The king should tax *little by little* like the bee collecting honey from flower"⁹. At another place the condition laid down for such an act is the increasing prosperity of the realm¹⁰. It evidently aims at the raising of the rates of taxation. Manu adds to it the phrase, 'without harming the capital money of the subjects' and is followed by Śukra¹¹.

1 Manusmṛhita, vii, 139, p. 380 ; cf. Arthaśāstra, p. 74 (Shama-sastry's trans.). 2 Fawcett's Pol. Econ., p. 197.

3 Prin. Pol. Econ., p. 484. 4 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 87, p. 997. 5 Śānti Parva, 88, 4, quoted in 'Hindu Polity', p. 167.

6 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 88, p. 998. 7 Hindu Polity, p. 166.

8 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 88, 120, pp. 998, 1016.

9 Ibid., 120, p. 1016.

10 Hindu Polity, p. 166.

11 Manusmṛhitā, vii, 129, p. 376 ; also Śukra-Niti, p. 81.

Industrial Taxation

From the fourth canon is deducible the methods of industrial taxation which are given below. They are but special applications of the fourth canon in its operation on industrial products. The principle remaining practically the same, the form is a little different due to the sphere in which it acts. The keynote may be said to be in the language of Kauṭilya—"Just as fruits are gathered from a garden as often as they become ripe, so revenue should be collected as often as it becomes ripe. Collection of revenue or of fruits, when unripe, shall never be carried on lest their source may be injured causing immense trouble¹. Kāmandaka and Śukra have also endorsed it by saying that taxes should be raised like "the gardener who collects flowers and fruits having duly nourished the trees with care"²; "a florist both tends and sprinkles water on his plants and culls flowers from them"³. This is the "principle of replenishment or recuperation" according to Prof. B. K. Sarkār⁴.

In the Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛhitā are found special treatments of the rules regarding the levying of tax on articles of trade, and industrial and art products. They are taken up separately because of the highly technical matter involved.

(1) As to trade :—

- (a) "It is the duty of the king to fix rules (i. e. rates) of taxation on the traders, having considered their sale and purchase, increase and (expenses on) the way, food and clothing"⁵.
- (b) "The king should take taxes from the merchants on their articles after proper enquiry as to the prices of sale and purchase of commodities, the distance over which they are brought, the expenses on the way for carriage and for safe-guarding them from thieves and robbers, and calculation of profit on total expenses"⁶.

1 Arthaśāstra, p. 307.

2 Śukranīti, p. 81. The exact antithesis of gardener is the charcoal-maker who obtains everything after burning wood. Śukra's illustration is for putting down heavy taxation (Śukranīti, p. 147).

Cf. Prajāgara Parva, 33, p. 452.

3 Nitisāra, p. 61.

4 Pol. Theo. and Inst. of Hindus, p. 186.

5 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 87, p. 997.

6 Manusmṛhitā, vii, 127, p. 378.

(2) As to Industry :—

- (a) "Rules of taxes ought to be made so that the fruit (profit) may be enjoyed both by the king and the worker... ..but never without properly examining the work as well as its fruits. Neither profit, nor execution of work, is possible without a cause (i. e. incentive). Covetous extraction is undesirable as it would at a time destroy trade, agriculture and the kingdom"¹.
- (b) "On consideration in every possible way the king should fix the (rate of) tax, so that both sides, viz., he and the seller (producer) may get real fruits (profits) of their respective works"².

(3) As to art-products :—

"The production, gifts, advances (to workers) and development of those who live by artistic work should be specially noticed in fixing the rule of tax on them"³. It is to be noted in this connection that a late writer like Śukra speaks of "maintaining artists according to need"⁴.

Import and Export Regulations

Mr. Jayaswal has shown from Kauṭilya the rules on importation and exportation of goods. Dr. Shamasastri's articles in the *Indian Antiquary*,⁵ threw some light on the subject and are very useful. Bad and injurious imports are discouraged while certain things are not at all allowed to go out of the country. The following principles are of great importance⁶ :—

- (a) Imports harmful to the state and luxuries (fruitless) are to be discouraged by taxation⁷.
- (b) Beneficial imports should be made free of import duties⁸.
- (c) Articles which are rare in the country and those which would be seed for future production should be allowed in free⁹.

1 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 87, p. 997.

2 Manusamhitā, vii, 128, p. 378.

3 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 87, p. 997.

4 Śukranīti, p. 164. 5 Vol. xxxiv. 6 Hindu Polity, p. 168.

7 Arthaśāstra, II, 21, p. 112 ; Hindu Polity, p. 168.

8 Ibid,

9 Ibid.

- (d) Certain commodities should not be exported, while their imports are to be encouraged by not being taxed at all, viz., weapons and armours, metals, military vehicles, rare things, grains and cattle¹.
- (e) Foreign favourites and private manufactures of wines and liquors were taxed on the principle of compensation with reference to state manufactures².

Excise Duty

Kauṭilya has a compensating charge for liquor of private and foreign manufacture. Mr. Jayaswal says,—“foreign favourites and private manufactures in wines and liquors were taxed on the principle of compensation with reference to state manufactures”³. The countervailing duty in such cases kept the prices equal. The Arthaśāstra has laid down,—“Those who deal with liquor, other than those of the king, shall pay five per cent as toll” and the superintendent.....“shall fix the amount of compensation (vaidharaṇa) due to the king (from local and foreign merchants for entailing loss on the king’s liquor traffic)”⁴.

Extra Taxation

This involves great constitutional issues, signifying consent on the part of the people in consideration of extraordinary circumstances such as war, danger, famine, and disease. It is intimately connected with the doctrine of resistance and revolution in the case of illegal taxation. That the people were consulted and often had to be coaxed for raising revenue for special purposes is plain and clear from the ancient political writings, although the exact limits are not available from them. The important principle, on which such taxation is based, is the will of the people towards the realisation of an object of common welfare and interest, and it comes out most conspicuously in the case of extra taxation.

While the Epic offers the general advice of “taxing pleasingly and peacefully,”⁵ it allows extra tax in times of danger and difficulty. “In

1 Arthaśāstra, II, 21, p. 111; Hindu Polity, p. 168.

2 Arthaśāstra, II, 25, p. 121; Hindu Polity, p. 169.

3 Hindu Polity, p. 169.

4 Arthaśāstra, p. 121.

5 Rājadharmānuśāsaṇa Parva, 120, p. 1017.

times of danger the king can (for the purpose of protecting the people) take unsanctioned things without enraging the people"¹. Raising money by force is not forbidden in times of danger"². Manu allows special rates of taxation to meet such untoward necessity. "In danger one-eighth and in grave danger one-fourth" is his standard³. Kauṭilya enjoins "revenue by demand in financial trouble" and the rates of one-third and one-fourth of grains⁴. He also advises public "subscriptions" as another means⁵. Śukra follows Manu and points out roundly that "the ruler should realise his share of revenue according to Prajāpati's system, but in times of danger and difficulty according to Manu's system". "When preparing to destroy the enemy he should receive from people special grants of duties, fines, etc."⁶. He adds that the amount so gained should be returned in proper time. This is like the modern national debt.

But this does not mean that the people had no voice over such extra taxation. In fact the king had to approach them for such a purpose, showing such special items of the budget as "building walls, paying officers and workers and other charges"⁷. Even in case of religious needs the money was to be the willing gift of the people. "Sacrificial rites should be undertaken by the king with the money lovingly given by prosperous subjects without being oppressed"⁸. Specimen of royal speeches illustrate, how far and in what way, the king had to appeal to the people for money grants, whether against danger or for religious needs.

The Mahābhārata gives the following,—"The king desiring money should appeal to the people showing the danger (ahead): 'See, in the country there is fear from the enemy, but it will shortly disappear like the flowering bamboo. The enemies having combined with the robbers have for their own destruction aimed at attacking my kingdom. Now I pray for money from you, gentlemen, since this serious danger has appeared. When the present difficulty will be got rid of, I shall return your money to you. If the enemy forcibly takes your money you will never get it back and your family and children will be destroyed in case of their attack. Who will then

1 Āpaddharma Parva, 132, p. 1023.

2 Ibid.

3 Manusamhitā, x, 120, p. 648.

4 Arthaśāstra, pp. 301, 302.

5 Ibid., p. 303.

6 Śukranīti, pp. 27, 138.

7 Rājadharmāunśāsana Parva, 87, p. 998.

8 Anuśāsana Parva, 61, p. 1236.

enjoy your wealth ? You are like my children and I become highly pleased to see your prosperity. I am, therefore, appealing to you for funds at this time of distress. Do you put a stop to this trouble to the state by subscribing funds according to your might. Money should not be considered dear in times of danger"¹.

The Dīgha Nikāya also supplies the king's appeal for a sacrifice. Mr. Jayaswal has given this form of demand :—"I intend to offer a great sacrifice. Let the gentlemen (Venerable ones, according to Rhys Davids) give their sanction to what will be to me for weal and welfare"². If the people gave their sanction, the king was to prepare and perform the sacrifice and the country had to pay a tax for it³.

Śukra also furnishes an example of the king's procedure against danger in approaching the people for money-grants. It seems to be an imitation of the Epic both in form and thought, and does not yield anything new. Its interest, however, is in the fact that the idea is preserved even down to the late age of Śukra. He advises that "in times of danger the king should call on the wise men, the preceptors, brothers, friends, servants, relatives and councillors, and humbly consult their wishes in the proper manner"⁴. The royal speech is to be like the following,—"I shall do away with the danger if you give me your counsels. You are my friends and not servants. I have no other sources of help besides you all... I shall remember the benefit rendered by you and pay back the remainder after getting rid of the trouble"⁵.

The reference here is to the raising of subscriptions and loans or National Debt. The noticeable difference between the Epic and Śukra is that the appeal in the former is to the people in general and is more detailed and emphatic, while in the latter it is merely like a gist and is limited to those who are closely attached to the king as his immediate associates and relatives. It shows some decay of the democratic attitude and a tendency to centralisation.

Kinds and Rates of Taxes

From the above account it is clear that there were several sources of revenue which in their turn characterised the taxes paid to the

1 Rājadharmānuśāsaṇa Parva, 87, pp. 997-8.

2 Dīgha Nikāya, Kūṭadanta Sutta, sec. II ; Hindu Polity, p. 94.

3 Ibid. 4 Śukraniti, p. 265.

5 Ibid., p. 265.

state. They rose from the uses of articles by the tax-payers or the people in general. That the people were the very ultimate source of revenue was a fact recognised probably long before varieties of taxes came into vogue. As early as the immediate post-Vedic period it was realised that the burden of taxation fell quite naturally on the common masses. Hence the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa declared that both "Brahmā (priesthood) and Kṣatra (ruling power, nobility) depend upon the people"¹. In the Saṃhitā period "the Vaiśya is described as tributary to another"². The Mahābhārata and the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya entertain the same view, the former holding that "the king is always dependent on others", i.e. the subjects³ and the latter stating expressly that "finance and army depend upon the people"⁴. The economic existence of the state is analysed backwards and is shown to be closely connected with the business side of the life of the people including, as far as it could, trade and commerce, as they were in those ancient days. It is to be remembered that "the measure and price of property should be subject to taxes" and not property itself of the people according to the rule of Vasiṣṭha⁵.

In the Vedic period *bali* or tribute is most prominently mentioned⁶. Prof. Basu has pointed out that it meant religious offering as well, e.g. tribute to Indra, the king of gods. "The word 'bali' has frequently been used to signify offerings to gods but 'balihṛt' (tax-bearing) could not but have meant tribute to the king"⁷. Nothing is mentioned in the R̥g Veda as to the rate of this tax. Perhaps the time was not quite mature. Zimmer has therefore remarked that "fixed taxes the people did not pay the king; they brought to him voluntary presents". He compared this with the old Germanic conditions mentioned in Tacitus, Germania 15.⁸ But a passage in the Atharva Veda gives a clue which can be used advantageously for explaining the situation. The Atharva Veda has it—

"When yonder kings, who sit beside Yama, divide
Among themselves the sixteenth part of hopes fulfilled"⁹.

1 Śat. Br., XI, 2, 7, 16. 2 Camb. Hist. of India, p. 128.

3 Mokṣadharmā Parva, 321, p. 1151. 4 Arthaśāstra, p. 393.

5 Vasiṣṭha Saṃhitā, XVII, p. 803, (Dutt's Trans).

6 R̥g Veda, V, 1, 10; VIII, 100, 9.

7 Indo-Aryan Polity, p. 79. 8 Altindisches Leben, p. 166.

9 Atharva Veda, III, 291, vol. I, p. 124 (Griffith's trans.). Also cf. the four ṛṇas or debts well-known in Sanskrit literature.

Griffith says that it is for "immunity from taxation in the next world"¹ by means of sacrificial rites. It is certainly a reflex of the condition in this sublunar world and beautifully suggests, by the phrase "hopes fulfilled", the precarious harvesting prospects in an agricultural country like India. The same Veda explains further,—

"The wealth which husbandmen aforesaid, digging like men
Who find their food with knowledge, buried (as seed-corn),
This to the king, Vivasvat's son, (Yama) I offer,
Sweet be our food and fit for sacrificing :"²

As regards the Buddhist time, Fick also has observed that "so far as I have seen, the Jātakas contain no fixed rule concerning the nature of these taxes nor concerning the amount of the king's share"³. But it is to be remembered that the Buddhist tradition had parallel to itself the dictates of the law-books. The Voltairic taunt of the Buddhist monk Āryadeva at an unknown Frederick is a remarkable example proving the dependence of the king on the sixth portion of the produce of the people⁴. Again although the Jātakas have no reference to such a rule, the Mahāvastu mentions this time-honoured and classical proportion from the very foundation of the state⁵. All this may be due more or less to Hindu influence, but nothing but time seems to account for the increased rate from the Vedic to the Buddhist time. The 'Cambridge History of India' following V. A. Smith points out one-sixth to one-sixteenth rate in the Buddhist time⁶. The Greek account based on Megasthenes shows one-fourth of produce in addition to rent and ten per cent charges on sales⁷.

In the period of the Law-Books exhaustive details are furnished by Gautama, Viṣṇu, and Manu, including both direct and indirect taxes. Gautama gives the following scale,—“Cultivators should pay a tenth, eighth or a sixth part of their producea fiftieth part of profit on animals and gold; a twentieth part of the profit on trade and a sixth part of that made on fruit, honey, flowers, medicines and bulbs”⁸.

¹ Atharva Veda, iii, 291, vol. I, p. 124.
vol. I, p. 309.

² Ibid., vi, 116,

³ Fick's Social Organization &c., p. 116,
(Dr. Maitra's trans.).

⁴ Cf. Catuṣṣatikā, p. 461.

⁵ Mahāvastu, Senart's ed., vol I, pp. 347-348.

⁶ Cambridge History of India, p. 199; V. A. Smith, J. R. A. S.,
1897, 618ff.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 410, 418. ⁸ Gautama Saṃhitā, X, p. 678, (Dutt's tr.).

Viṣṇu's procedure is similar with slight differences here and there,— "One sixth of paddy, similarly in respect of all food grains ; two per cent on animals, gold and clothes ; one sixth of meat, honey, clarified butter, medicinal herbs, scents, flowers, fruits, timbers, leaves, deer-skins, earthen vessels (baked), unbaked vessels, and bamboo works ; one tenth profit on indigenous articles and one twentieth of that on imported articles". Confiscation of goods is enjoined on non-payment¹.

Manu has the following rates,— "One sixth or eighth or twelfth part of paddy or grains after due consideration of the strength of the soil, needs of cultivation and extent of labour ; one-fiftieth of animals and gold ; one-sixth of the profits on the sale of the seventeen kinds of goods, viz., trees, meat, honey, clarified butter, scents, plants, vegetables, juice, flowers, fruits, leaves, roots, grass, wicker-work, earthen vessels and those of leather, and stone articles².

The Mahābhārata recognises without much particularisation,— "One-sixth part of grains and custom duty"³, one-tenth of paddy, one fiftieth of animals and gold⁴. It also adds things needed for the personal use of the king⁵, as well as import and export duties and fines and forfeitures⁶. Thus the Epic adds to the law-books something which is not there.

This is a decided advance but does not stand on par with what is to be found in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra⁷. The following details show the highly technical and particularised treatment never found elsewhere within the limits of Indian political literature. The kinds of taxes noticed in the Arthaśāstra are roughly indicated, their subdivisions being left out :—"Revenue from forts, country-parts, mines, buildings, gardens, forests, cattle, roads, imports, exports and port-towns, and special taxes⁸.

Something of the rates may be seen here like the above :—

"Taxes that are fixed (piṇḍakara), that are paid in form of one sixth of the produce (ṣaḍbhāga), provisions for the army (senābhakta), taxes that are levied for religious purposes (bali), tributes from

1 Viṣṇu Saṃhitā, III, p. 820 (Dutt's trans).

2 Manusāṃhitā, VII, 130-132, p. 378. 3 Śānti Parva, 71, p. 987.

4 Ibid., 67, p. 984.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., 71, 10 ; Jayaswal's Hindu Polity, pt. II, p. 162.

7 Ind. Ant., XXXIV (1905).

8 Arthaśāstra, pp. 65, 111-119, 156, 303.

vassal kings and others (kara), special collection on the birth of a prince (utsaṅga), taxes from margins (pārśva), compensation for damages (parihṛinaka), presentation to the king (aupayanika), taxes on lands below lakes, tanks, etc. built by state (kauṣṭheyaka)¹.

Kāmandaka mentions eight sources of revenue purely in imitation of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra—"Agriculture, communications (to facilitate commercial traffic), entrenchment of strong-holds for soldiers in the capital (for protecting merchants), construction of dams and bridges across rivers, erection of enclosures for elephants, working of mines and quarries, felling and selling timber, and the peopling of uninhabited tracts—these eight-fold sources of revenue the sovereign should ever enhance"².

Śukra allows—"Śulka (duty) from market-places, streets, and mines, and from usury, the king's share being the thirty-second part, or the twentieth or sixteenth part,—similarly one third, one fourth, and half from places irrigated by tanks, rivers, etc. ; one sixth from barren and rocky soils ; half of gold, a third of silver, one fourth of copper, one sixth of zinc, and iron, half of gems, glass, lead, after expenses have been met" .

Although there is hardly any uniformity in the rates of taxation in any period or in the different authors of different periods, they are interesting in the sense that they disclose how revenue used to be collected by the ancients and how they calculated the proportions. Many other points of economic importance are inlaid in these dry lists of things and materials, and the charges on them, but they do not concern political philosophy proper or the theories regarding taxation.

It is noteworthy that, even if no *permanent settlement* was available in the days of yore, the rates were looked upon as pretty fixed on a vague average. This can be easily understood from a dictum of the Mahābhārata—important as it is in more senses than one—where a king is called a "*nṛbāṇṣa*" (a mean injurer of men) who raises tax higher than what it used to be in the reign of previous monarchs, i.e., in the past³. Śukra has also the remark that "people do not like new taxes" generally⁴. Of course no rule could have been laid down on a thin basis like the above, but it was certain that even in taxation a rough

¹ Arthaśāstra, pp. 112, 113.

² Nitīsāra, p. 60.

³ Śukranīti, pp. 147, 148. Cf. Sarkar's Pos. Background of H. Socio., p. 116.

⁴ Udyoga Paryā, 42, p. 462.

⁵ Śukranīti, p. 89.

customary calculation had sufficient influence on the minds of the people. An extreme 'nṛṣaṅsa' could thus through greed and headiness upset the balance of the state. The whole question really involved the change of rates from past ones to the immediate demands¹.

Tax rendered in the shape of labour was a common method of payment countenanced in the law-books and other political literature as parallel to payment in kind. The king was empowered to have manual work in turn from all artisans and labourers or those who had to live by labour². It is not certain what status these people had in the state. Most probably the principle was not to touch their earning, either because it was very small or for the purpose of encouraging their respective vocations. Nothing can also be said with certainty as to what was exactly meant by insisting on payment by labour, although it had its positive utility and object for the time. Yet it ought to be considered as a special kind of tax, but its rates would not be different and various enough to be traced out here, Manu's standard being one day per month and Śukra's one day per fortnight³.

Spiritual Tax

Spiritual tax is uniquely and essentially a Hindu conception rising out of the intimate relation and reciprocity between the king and the people. It is evidently connected with the various aspects of kingship. Although it has no material value nor any economic significance, yet it is closely associated with the policy of the state in its largest issues, in determining the character of the people. Hopkins has pointed out that "the royal tax is not only in kind, material, but also spiritual"⁴. In all probability, this idea comes from the natural expectation of having a share of the prosperity of the people, first material, then spiritual; the first is tapped by taxation as usual, and the second holds good in theory only. Certainly the king is the partaker of the fame and dignity of his people, and this may be extended to the sphere of the spiritual as well.

In the contract theory of the Mahābhārata, this tax is mentioned

¹ This is also connected with the causes of revolution; see *I.H.Q.*, I, pp. 696ff.

² Gantama Samhitā, X, p. 679; Manusamhitā, VII, 138, p. 380; Rājdharmānuśāsana Parva, 76, p. 990; Arthaśāstra, pp. 140, 142; Śukranṭi, p. 148. ³ Manusamhitā VII, 138; Śukranṭi, p. 148.

⁴ Ethics of India, p. 138.

last of all together with the other kinds of taxes. It is instituted with the contract itself and in fact is a part of it. So it is said—“You will get one-fourth of the religious merit of those religious works which we shall perform being protected by your prowess”¹.

This share and its exact proportion are both repeated more than once in the Epic, showing that it was well accepted at the time.² An important reservation is also mentioned, so as to make the theory of spiritual taxation operative in both ways. In case of bad protection, i.e., misrule, one-fourth of the peoples' sin would also go to the king as his portion³. If he has the share of the merits, let him also have an equal share of the demerits, almost like the fisherman's reward in the fable going to the gate-keeper as his dues. The real meaning is that the king is responsible for the moral and spiritual decay of the kingdom in his charge.

Some of the law-books have the same idea as to the king's share in the merits and sins of the people⁴. The whole theory is more canonical than political and economic.

Exemptions and Exceptions

Over and above the general methods of taxation dealing with principles and rates, there were necessary exceptions according to the nature of time and circumstances. A type of exception or exemption, if it may really be so called, to the general rule already seen, was that the rich were heavily taxed from the Vedic time down to the age of Śukra⁵. On the other end of the scale, remissions were allowed as special cases unavoidable and unforeseen. The Brāhmaṇas as a class were generally free from all payments. A short survey will elucidate the conditions underlying all such exceptional procedures.

The Mahābhārata emphatically forbids taxing when there is no rain and the crops have not grown. Poor men, children, and women are exempted from taxation evidently on the ground that they could not earn anything. The following lines from the Epic bear out the

1 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 67, p. 984.

2 Ibid., 72, 75, pp. 988, 990.

3 Ibid., 72, p. 988.

4 Gautama Saṃhitā, XI, p. 681; Viṣṇu Saṃhitā, III, p. 820; Yājñavalkya Saṃhitā, p. 55.

5 See supra, also R̥g Veda, I, 65, 4, p. 90; Śukranīti, p. 138.

point—"If on account of drought people cultivate (their lands) by drawing water from wells (dug for the purpose), it will not be right for the king to tax them then. The king should carefully protect the poor, the old, the blind, and children. No tax should be taken from women who are not in a position to pay. Tax on the slender means of the poor destroys the glory of the king and the state. Sin visits the king in whose kingdom children wistfully look at good food which they cannot get to eat¹. Surely the hungry looks of the poor burn mankind².

Manu has a qualifying statement in this respect, advising very slight and light taxation in case of the poor—"From the poor subjects, even those who live by selling vegetables, the king should take a little tax"³.

And there is also a slight hint as to the maintenance of the poor, helpless and those without any qualification (capacity for earning)⁴. It is no wonder that Śukra considers Manu's scheme to be meant for the times of danger⁵, Vasiṣṭha is similarly for taking a very small tax from artisans, but leaves free the aged, the widows, unmarried girls, and students⁶. Further he adds that—"There is no duty on livelihood gained by wit, nor on infants, nor on an emissary, nor on what is gained by begging, nor on the residue of a property left after a robbery, nor on a śrotriya, a religious mendicant, and religious sacrifice"⁷.

Gautama remits duties when things are sold at a lesser price⁸ and so does Śukra when things are unsold⁹. Vasiṣṭha omits tax on rivers, grass, forests, mountains, and places for cremation¹⁰, and Kauṭilya in a number of cases, the most prominent among them being—"Living in tracts of low or middle quality, acquiring uncultivated land, being a learned man, an orator, charitable and brave, having no subsistence, emergent occasions"¹¹.

All these go to show that the ancient law-givers and politicians tried to meet the demands of their times in respect of poverty and

1 Anuśāsana Parva, 61, p. 1236.

2 Ibid., 51, p. 1231.

3 Manuśaṃhitā, VII, 137, p. 380.

4 Ibid., IX, 311, 636.

5 See supra, pp. 136, 137.

6 Vasiṣṭha Saṃhitā, XVII, p. 804.

7 Ibid.

8 Gautama Saṃhitā, X, p. 679.

9 Śukranīti, p. 147.

10 Vasiṣṭha Saṃhitā, XIII, p. 804.

11 Arthaśāstra, pp. 52, 216, 302, 492.

other economic conditions including failure, partial and otherwise, of business and similar incidents. The balance between economics and politics was maintained as clearly as possible, since both are so related as to react mutually at all times and under all circumstances.

Brāhmanical Privilege

The question of the Brāhmaṇa's immunity from taxation, coming down from the days of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa¹, deserves special attention and careful treatment, for it is a point which has been often suspected to be economically unsound and partial in principle². Soma Deva Suri in his *Nitivākyāmṛta* is not willing to make any the least allowance on any ground like Kauṭilya who has even the hermit's tax³. But it has a value or economic importance, although it is by no means absolute. It is admitted everywhere in Hindu Politics and is accepted as such,⁴ having at the same time that reservation which preserved the rule but stopped and obstructed abuse. In fact it really turns on and is conditioned by actual and proper Brahmanical functions and duties and is in this sense somewhat like the "Utilities" mentioned by Mill⁵.

The orthodox canonical writers explain the Brāhmanical privilege by the idea of exchange. The Brāhmaṇa's gift of religious merits, probably including teaching, writing, and other cultural (philosophical and scientific) activities, was supposed to take the place of taxes. So Viṣṇu says supported by Manu—"He (the king) shall not collect revenue from Brāhmaṇas, for they give virtue as tax unto the king"⁶.

"The śrotriya's daily religious work, when properly supported by king, gives prosperity to the state, and wealth and long life to the king himself"⁷.

"It is said that the Brāhmaṇa first made the Vedas known, the

1 Śat. Br., v. 3. 3. 12ff ; v. 4. 2. 3ff ; S. B. E., xLI, pp. 72, 95.

2 See Dr. N. N. Law's *Ancient Ind. Polity*, p. 150.

3 *Nitivākyāmṛta*, vii, cited in *Hindu Polity II*, p. 33 ; *Arthaśāstra* p. 26.

4 Gautama Saṃhitā, X, p. 679 ; Vasiṣṭha Saṃhitā, XVII, p. 803 ; Viṣṇu Saṃhitā, III, p. 820 ; Kājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 71, p. 988 ; Mokṣadharmā Parva, 132, p. 1024 ; Manusāṃhitā, VII, 133, p. 379 ; *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 52, 302 ; Śukranīti, pp. 263, 269 (indirectly).

5 Mill, *Prin. of Pol. Econ.*, p. 29. 6 Viṣṇu Saṃhitā, III, p. 820.

7 Manusāṃhitā, VII, 136, p. 380.

Brāhmaṇa saves (one) from misfortune. Therefore, the Brāhmaṇa shall not be made to pay taxes"¹.

But the heterodox thought of the Mahābhārata qualifies the above assertion by adding that—"Those Brāhmaṇas, who are not śrotriyaṣ (i. e. strictly pious) nor have the household fire going, should be taxed by the king and set to work without pay"².

Moreover, even a later work as the Devibhāgavata recommends the same drastic procedure with regard to a Brāhmaṇa who does not discharge his duties, i. e. does not do the function for which he is meant in society. As a matter of course the Brāhmaṇa has his own well mapped out social duty. Disregard of this brings him within the operation of the rule in the Devibhāgavata and the Harivaṃśa which runs as follows :—

"The king ought to consider as Śūdra that Brāhmaṇa in his kingdom who is devoid of the Vedas (i. e., Vedic knowledge) and is unlearned (not merely educated) and therefore fit to be taxed (like the other castes) and set to ploughing the land"³.

"But a Brāhmaṇa who has no touch with Vedic learning, should be forced to do the works of a Śūdra by all righteous kings.....he is to be counted a non-Brāhmaṇa"⁴.

Even the great champion of Brāhmaṇism, Manu, advises royal support of Brāhmaṇas after the proper examination of their works and conduct⁵. A comparison with Mill's statement will bring out the underlying principle :—

As to the "Utilities fixed and embodied in human beings the labour being in this case employed in conferring on human beings qualities which render them serviceable to themselves and others. To this class belongs the labour of all concerned in education, not only school-masters, tutors, and professors, but.....*moralists and clergymen as far as productive of benefit*, physicians as far as instrumental in preserving life and physical and mental efficiency, the labour of various trades, sciences and arts.....and all labour bestowed by any person throughout life in improving knowledge or cultivating the bodily or mental faculties of themselves and others"⁶.

1 Vaṣiṣṭhasaṃhitā, III, p. 753

2 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 76, p. 990.

3 Devibhāgavata, p. III.

4 Harivaṃśa, Viṣṇu Parva, p. 29.

5 Manusāṃhitā, VII, 133.

6 Mill's Prin. of Pol. Econ., p. 29.

The regulations about taxing Brāhmaṇas, therefore, yield to the general rule of unproductive labour. Reading between the lines it becomes clear that no one was allowed to lie fallow, that is labour from all in some shape or other was necessary for social good and the up-keep of the state. The Brāhmaṇa could not be allowed to cause economic loss to society and state. He had to be useful in some way, either by plying his own legitimate vocation or by doing other works. That the state had the power of forcing the highest caste to be really and directly productive in default of all the utilities for which it was left free to itself shows great advance in sound economics. Certainly it needed to be perceived and worked out before it could be promulgated as a principle and enacted as law.

J. N. C. GANGULY

Hindu Politics in Italian

III

Machiavellism

1

It is clear that Machiavelli looms large in Italian thought. The Italian writers are, moreover, frank enough to admit that *Machiavellismo* is an eternal phenomenon. According to them it is a synonym for political science, the science of practical life. In *Machiavellismo*, as they understand it, is of course to be included the philosophy of Hindu *arthaśāstras* and *nītiśāstras* as well.

The authors have tried to indicate not only the parallels and resemblances of a general character but very often even the verbal identities. The attempts must be regarded as in the main quite successful.

But it may be noted that for purposes of comparison such literal analogies or identities are not always necessary and as a matter of fact not possible. It is enough if the conspicuous trends of thought can be proved to be the same or similar. All that is wanted is the discovery of the "nearest approaches" or closest neighbours. For, after all, no two individuals can ever be exact duplicates, and no two systems perfect doubles of each other. Students of comparative philosophy are not unaware that even where a verbal identity exists

there may exist a profound distinction in the personality. Without a proper orientation to these limitations the establishment of equations between the tenets of thinkers can but degenerate into a puerile play with words.

Of the three great ancient and mediæval European types of political theory, Aristotelian, Thomist and Machiavellian, it is certainly the Machiavellian that the *artha* and *nīti* literature approaches the most in fundamental particulars. Hindu thought is secular like the political philosophy of Aristotle, but A's categories are the philosophical correlates of the city-state. Thomas Aquinas discusses the problems of a larger territorial entity and also of the monarchy exactly as the Hindu thinkers do, but he is the embodiment of theocracy which is absent in the Kauṭilyan theorisings. Machiavelli treats of secular, untheocratic or rather aggressively anti-theocratic, as well as larger and wider than urban, national interests; and although at heart a lover of democracy as in *Discourses*, he considers monarchy to be the best adapted to the conditions of Italian life in his time. Naturally, therefore, the student of Hindu political theories is likely to find greater points of contact with M. than with other thinkers.

It need be remembered, however, that almost every philosophical system contains concepts and categories, some of which are virtually universal or at any rate have remained universal up till now. In spite of the differences in the Hellenic, Patristic, Machiavellian and other atmospheres a great deal of doctrines happens to be common to one another. Thus considered, the doctrines of Hindu political philosophy may safely be referred indifferently, by way of interpretation or suggestive allusion, once to Aristotle, at another time to the Stoics, Schoolmen and Church Fathers, and then again to all the "moderns" from Machiavelli to Treitschke¹, especially on such questions as justice, law, authority etc.

The attempts at explaining the doctrines of different philosophers in the background of one another are very valuable in the history of science. In the first place they serve to throw light on the evolution

¹ See the chapter on "The Peers and Cognates of Śukra" in my *Pos. Back. Hind. Soc.*, Vol. II, Part I (Allahabad, 1921), where incidentally, Machiavellism has been sought to be placed in its proper sociological perspective. It will be noticed that some of the noblest sentiments ever expressed in political philosophy come from Machiavelli.

of the human mind. And secondly, simply as attempts at referential interpretation, they help forward the establishment of cultural perspectives. Altogether, a host of surprising identities and resemblances can be discovered between the most diverse bodies of thought, so far as the categories are concerned, and sometimes also in the realm of realities or substantial aspects of thought.

But a caution is noteworthy. The categories of thought in the world's philosophical literature have varied very little through the ages. Identities can be discovered even between Treitschke's *Politik* and Aristotle's *Politica*. For one thing, both consider the state to be the greatest and the highest instrument of human well-being. Treitschke, again, the Prussian Protestant, is as far removed from the Patristic conception of the Kingdom of God as Aristotle the Pagan could be from the Pauline world-view. And yet it would be popularising an absurdity if one were to treat Aristotle and Treitschke as representatives of one and the same philosophical system, or to believe that Treitschke is only preaching to Bismarckian Germany what Aristotle had done to the ancient world on the eve of the Hellenistic epoch.

To avoid such absurdities and childishnesses in comparative studies it would be necessary, not only so far as the present investigation is concerned, but also in regard to other cases, to postulate the position that almost every philosophical equation or parallelism is to be understood as valid within more or less wide limits. Such limits are then taken for granted by the present reviewer while accepting the Italian researches in Hindu *Machiavellismo* as substantially sound and reasonable.

2

By the light of these Italian contributions to the subject of Indian Machiavellis it would be interesting to inquire how Indian scholars are oriented to Machiavelli himself or to Machiavellism as a creed.

Two Indian publications each dealing with political theory have recently tried to handle the question of Machiavellism in Indian thought. These are *Les Theories diplomatiques de l'Inde ancienne et l'Arthasāstra* (Paris, 1923) by Kalidas Nag¹ and *History of Hindu Political Theories* (Calcutta, 1923) by U. Ghoshal.

¹ Half of Nag's text deals with literary history in the course of which certain constitutional terms are discussed and a few political

Some of the moralisings in the *nīti* and *artha* literature have been put together by Nag on a page (112) of his book. And he says, "*Dans cette conception éthique Kautilya est bien loin de Machiavel avec lequel il a été comparé de façon superficielle*" (In ethical concepts Kautilya is far removed from Machiavelli with whom he has been compared in a superficial manner).

But, which Machiavelli does Nag have before his mind's eye when he makes the above statement? Is Machiavelli a mere name to be execrated by those who have the least acquaintance with the person and by men like Frederick the Great and Metternich who in their lives were perhaps more Machiavellian than Machiavelli ever was as a human being? Is it not possible from the Machiavellian literature to quote an array of fine phrases and idealistic truisms?

Machiavelli is the author not only of *Prince* but of *Discourses on the First Ten Books of Livy's History of Rome* and *History of Florence* as well. He is, besides, the writer of a socio-political report on French affairs (*Ritratti delle cose della Francia*) which he prepared while he was

passages reproduced at length. He speaks of the "spiritual communism of the Brāhmaṇas" and does not hesitate to bring in the relations of the "Roman Emperors" with the "Roman Church" while dealing with the primitive, tribal conditions as depicted in Vedic literature (pp. 18-19). An appendix gives a list of political terms such as are found in the inscriptions (pp. 123-132). This item represents a valuable attempt and is perhaps the first of its kind, but nothing has been done to set the theories and the inscriptions in the perspective of each other.

Altogether the work is archæological and antiquarian in character. Its chief value lies in the service it has done to French thought by translating some of the old Sanskrit texts, especially the *Arthasāstra*, on the *saptāṅga* (pp. 65-74) and on the subject described in the title, namely, *maṇḍala* or international relations (pp. 74-111), the topic of Narendra Nath Law's *Inter-state Relations in Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1920). The constant references to the *Mahābhārata* and the *nīti* texts form a noteworthy feature.

There is no attempt to interpret the categories in the light of "laws of peace and war." Although a book on *diplomatie*, the contents do not betray any orientation to the problems of *droit des gens* (law of nations) or even to political science generally. With Machiavelli, as a consequence, Nag does not come to close quarters.

a political agent at the court of Louis XII, something like Megasthenes' *Indika*. A treatise on war, *L'Arte della Guerra*, also comes from Machiavelli's pen. He was, moreover, a poet, a writer of love-poems.

As for M's purely political writings, it is curious that people should single him out as the embodiment of tyranny, vice and vileness. As Ferrari observes in his brochure entitled *Machiavelli* (1849), the Florentine diplomat owes his bad name to the Catholic church and the Jesuits who considered him or rather his thoughts to be their mortal enemy. The reasons for this hatred are obvious.

M. was an advocate of the secularization of the state. He turned out therefore to be the inspirer of political movements against the Papacy among the ruling heads of Protestant countries (cf. Henry VIII of England). He was indeed another Luther and thus another enemy of the vested interests of the theological *status quo*.

But Catholicism has not been able to crush M. The Protestants in every country hailed him as a prophet. It may be added that the "nation-makers" of the times in their attempts at establishing the "new monarchy" found a great spiritual support in the ideas of M. Machiavellism is really the first clear formulation of "nationalism", "nationality-principle," and so forth in European history.

To quote Ferrari, again, "under Richelieu the admiration for M. became more easy, under Louis XIV more natural". And in the eighteenth century Voltaire counted him amongst the "greatest inventors in the art of politics."

In a recent publication entitled *Le piu belle pagine di N. Machiavelli* (The most beautiful pages of N. M., Milan, 1925) by Prezzolini, there is recorded a number of opinions on M. by various thinkers and famous persons. We see that no less a democrat and revolutionist than Jean Jacques Rousseau considered M. to be "an honest man and a good citizen." And Vittorio Alfieri, the great Italian dramatist of the epoch of the *Risorgimento* observes: "The *History of Florence* and *Discourses* breathe in every page grandeur of spirit, justice and liberty, which cannot be read without feeling enkindled in oneself the same sentiments".

The source of Nag's prejudice regarding M. is not evident. For, only the name Machiavelli has been mentioned by him and nothing else.

However, Machiavelli, we are to understand, is postulated to be the veritable Devil. And as a contrast Kautilya is even credited (p. 113) with *principes très liberaux* (very liberal principles). And these principles are said to raise his diplomacy quite above "*des intrigues cruelles et sordides*" (cruel and sordid intrigues).

If so, it is strange that Nag should take the pains to devote three pages of his peroration (119-121) in order to explain why it is that the entire *artha* literature,—Kautilyaism, so to say, came to be condemned and repudiated, as he believes, by the Hindu mind from Aśoka down to Mallinātha? He thinks that *l'esprit hindou est porté à s'écarter du réel ou à l'idéaliser* (the Hindu spirit tends to avoid the real or idealize it). *En général*, it is said to reject the philosophy *qu'il trouve cruelle* (which it finds cruel.)

What evidences N. possesses for his surmise about the alleged *esprit hindou* need not be inquired into for the time being. But if it is true that Kauṭilya is liberal, ethical, in one word, anti-Machiavellian why was it necessary, accepting N's contentions for the moment, that all through the ages for over 1600 years his teachings should be condemned by the Indians just because of immorality, cruelty and what not? N. proves in the same breath that Kauṭilya is anti-Machiavellian as well as Machiavellian. A piece of self-contradictory thesis, which might have been avoided only by sticking to the actual data and not being inclined to "*s'écarter du réel*". If Indian culture had to defend itself, its purity, spirituality and lofty ideals from the ravages of Kautilyaism, this commodity must certainly have been the opposite of liberal and humane.

One may argue, however, that it is quite conceivable that a man should be both Machiavellian and anti-Machiavellian, supposing that Machiavellism implies immorality, inhumanity and cruelty. But then this will have to be understood in the manner that Winternitz does in his essay on "Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra" in the *Calcutta Review* (April, 1924). "Just as Kauṭilya," says W., "occasionally pays his respects to morality, you will find in all proclamations of the great political leaders of our days that the most abominable things are always done in the name of justice, humanity and civilisation." But of course N. does nothing of the kind. His Kauṭilya is quite liberal and humane and yet at the same time worthy of nothing but moral censure and expulsion from the *dharmarājya*.

It has to be added that one does not become anti-Machiavellian simply because of moralisings. It is nothing inconsistent to find moralisings in Machiavellism. Moralism and Machiavellism can pull on very well together. Writers on world-conquest can also speak of democracy and self-determination and lecture on the virtues of a Shakespearian "model king" Henry V, or the *rājaraṣṭram* of Kauṭilya.

To a student of the objective history of political philosophy Nag's

arguments would appear to be fallacious on three vital points. First, the list of moralisms in the *artha* and *nīti* literature does not disprove that Kautilyaism is Machiavellism. In the second place, his assumption that there is such a thing as the "Hindu spirit" and that this Hindu spirit is "in general" used to such and such things and opposed to such and such other things is as false and erroneous as unfounded in history. And thirdly, there is no plausible reason for believing that every Hindu writer down to Mallinātha who cited words or phrases from *artha* literature, or for that matter Indian tradition as a rule was bent on minimising, deprecating and cursing it. A history of actual Indian political institutions and international relations would expose the hollowness of this interpretation.

But without going into the history of institutions we may examine N's thesis on the strength of his own documents.

Evidence against Nag has been furnished by himself. If Indian tradition is to be found anywhere it is certainly in the *Mahābhārata* to which he devotes a whole chapter. And what is the atmosphere of this work, described as having evolved during a thousand years *depuis l'époque de Pāṇini jusqu' dans les Purāṇas et le Harivaṃśa* as the result of cumulative literary co-operation of the people (p. 30)? *Bien laïque et même parfois laïque avec exagération* (secular and even often secular with vengeance), says he (p. 33). *La véritable diplomatie des Kṣatriya sous une couleur brutale* (the veritable diplomacy of the Kṣatriya of a cruel dye) is to be found, as he believes, in the lecture of Kaṇika quoted by him (pp. 33-39). These principles are said to contain *l'expérience de la science realiste*. The *Mahābhārata* *revèle une atmosphère étouffante de cruauté et d'intrigues de cour* (reveals a suffocating atmosphere of cruelty and court intrigues).

Evidently, then, Kautilyaism was not repudiated by the alleged idealistic spirit of the Hindu "people". Not only the sinister side but the "scientific" or dialectic aspect of *artha* philosophy is equally well represented in this "fifth Veda". N. himself quotes Nārada's lecture or rather *questionnaire* put, as it is, in a topical manner (pp. 40-42). Thus, so far as the folk-tradition is concerned, N. contradicts himself in toto.

So after all, if it is really true, that the *artha* sciences lost their independence and got swallowed up (*disparition*) in the epic (p. 119), they did not really disappear from the Hindu mind. Rather, as N. believes that the *Mahābhārata* (p. 32) is *une littérature des masses* (a literature of the masses) and possesses a *germe démocratique*, Kautilyaism became really the philosophy of the teeming millions. This is the exact opposite of "atrophy" (119).

N. believes that Kāmandaka while summarizing the Kautilyan philosophy has suppressed *des elements caracteristiques* (p. 120). Not at all. As a summary, no paraphrased edition could be more faithful to the original in spirit. An Italian student of Kāmandaka had found this Hindu thinker genuinely Machiavellian even before he knew of Kauṭilya. This indicates all the more that *Kāmandakī-nīti* can pass for a genuine report on Kautilyaism.

The alleged spiritualitarianism of the Hindus did not militate against the success and popularization of *artha* and *nīti* literature. "*La partie positive*" (the positive portion) of Hindu philosophy did not sink into oblivion, as N. wants his readers to believe.

As N. has a false hypothesis, the traditional superstition of orientalists, to substantiate, he has chosen even to misinterpret Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśam* and rob this great work of its legitimate worth.

If anything, this epic is the embodiment of the exaltation of humanism. Kālidāsa was a *pucca* imperialist and chauvinist, an *avatār* of materialistic energism, an idealizer of the fullness of life.

The men and women of *Raghuvamśam* are not sheep and goats. The poet glorifies the achievements of *āsamudra-kṣītīśūnām ānūkarathavartmanām*. They are "lords of the lithosphere from sea to sea," aye, "commanding the skies by chariots of air".

One of them, Raghu, knows how to throw out such a challenge as the following to his adversary: *Na khalv anirjītya Raghum kṛtī bhavūn* (Not without overpowering Raghu can you pose as a successful person, a world-champion, so to say).

But in N.'s literary criticism, *lui aussi accentue la note morale en faisant l'esquisse poetique du bon roi et du mauvais roi* (Kālidāsa also accentuates the moral note while rendering a poetic account of the good king and the bad king).

The statement, innocent as it looks, is quite objectionable in its context. N. seeks here to make out that the "moral" note is a speciality with Kālidāsa and that it does not exist in the *artha* and *nīti* literature. He evidently forgets that *rājaraṣi*, the king-saint (cf. the "philosopher-king" of Plato) is an orthodox Kautilyan commodity and that the distinction between the "king as god" and "the king as demon" is almost a universal category in Hindu political thought, exactly as in the Christian politics of the mediæval Fathers. Kālidāsa could have got enough morals even in Kauṭilya.

Kālidāsa, perhaps a comrade of Kāmandaka (?), is here as elsewhere but Kauṭilya in verse (within the limits of art). The *divvijaya* ("world-conquest") of the Raghus, the prototypes of the Gupta emperors, is

a part of his grand theme. And he executes his task in the same nationalistic manner, with the same glow of idealism, romantic abandon, and love of human endeavour as Virgil, the nationalist poet of the early Roman Empire, who took the story of the mythical Aeneases in order to sing of and idealize the world-conquest of his contemporaries almost poetising, so to say, the patriotic prose of Livy's *History of Rome*.

To understand Kālidāsa without reference, nay, as a contrast, to Kautilyaism, as Nag seeks to do, is like appreciating Virgil as an antithesis to or disparager of Livy. It would be almost an attempt to prove that Kālidāsa was writing of imbeciles for an asylum of incurables. No, Kālidāsa was not versifying an expurgated, 're-pectable' edition of Kauṭilya. Kālidāsa and Kautilyaism were not antipodes, partial or complete. Their relations were those of Milton and Cromwell, to cite better known instances, although, from a 'modern' and slightly different sphere.

Hariṣeṇa, the writer of the martial eulogy on Samudragupta's "world conquest" certainly knew how to exult over the actual military exploits of his hero. There is a vital Kautilyan touch in the inscription which bears the eulogy. And that atmosphere was not unknown personally either to Kāmandaka or to Kālidāsa. If there is such a thing as the "spirit of the age", it was dominated by the living *viṇigīṣu* of the Kautilyan dialectic.

The successors of Kālidāsa in literature (p. 120), Bhāṭavi, Māgha and Bhaṭṭi, are said to have transformed the *Arthaśāstra en maximes morales et en bon mots qui ne sont plus ni de la science ni de l'art* (into moral maxims and sententious sayings which constitute neither science nor art). Perfectly natural, this is just as it should be. When Shakespeare cites Cicero and Seneca, we do not get in his dramas treatises on Stoic philosophy. Similarly if the *Cāṇakyaśataka* (or the hundred sayings of C.) be the only Kautilyan literature, which may have been known to the Tamil poet, Tiruvalluvar, one can well understand it without having to admit that Kautilya was being 'rejected.' It is but 'reminiscences' in words or phrases, and echoes often distant, in sentiments, in any case, nothing more than allusions that one as a rule expects in poets, dramatists and novel-writers when they have to deal with cultural tradition.

There are references to Tibet in Sudermann. But one does not study his plays to discover if Sven Hedin's *Trans-Himalaya* has been bodily incorporated in them. And if one is disappointed, one does not say that Sudermann, nay, Germany, has 'rejected' Sven Hedin.

It is but the "artist's method" in the exploitation of history and

philosophy that we see in the writings of Kālidāsa and other poets. Milton's 'classicisms' are mainly of this allusive character.

Not every poet of France, again, in the nineteenth century—nor even Victor Hugo in all his writings—has cared to idolize Napoleon. But this does not mean that *Code Napoléon* is defunct or that Napoleonomism has ceased to be a word to conjure with among those Frenchmen whose business it is to cultivate the Napoleonic arts and crafts. N.'s fallacy consists in his making much capital out of silence, which, everybody knows, proves nothing.

Bāṇa in his *Kādambarī* may have described the Kautilyan philosophy as *marapātma* (pervaded by the spirit of death). But he does not 'reject' it. His *Harṣacarita* is an execution in the Kautilyan style, a romantic biography quite in tune with the glories of militarism and the ambitions of *vijigīṣu*.

According to N. it was only a few commentators of the Middle Ages, for instance, Medhātithi and Mallinātha, who continued to study the original text of *Arthaśāstra*. He is unconscious that he has here admitted a tremendous argument against himself. For it proves that Kauṭilya was a living force, at any rate, in the academies even in the fifteenth century.

The moral propaganda of Aśoka such as is found in the Edicts is then cited by N. as the "first official and effective protestation" against Kautilyaism. But how much of the Aśokan Edicts embodies the real "public law" (*droit public* or *droit constitutionnel*) of the Maurya empire? Fine phrases are to be found in Frederick the Great's *Anti-Machiavel* and Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations* as well. Moralizing rulers are not unknown in Europe.

Where is the evidence to prove that the Maurya empire even during the forty-one years of Aśoka's reign was being actually administered on methods *opposed* to those indicated in *Arthaśāstra*? Here, of course, the question of the date of the Kautilyan literature is to be held in abeyance for the time being. It is assumed that the Kautilyans were at work during the third century B. C. The few terms that have been collected by N. from the Asokan inscriptions (pp. 123-124) indicate positively that Kautilyaism, at least on the formal side, was not unrecognized by the moralizing Emperor.

Besides, at any rate, a single swallow does not make a summer. If the lectures of Aśoka happen to be pacifistic, the inscription of Harihara regarding Samudragupta is nothing but "positive" "*realistique*", militaristic. And certainly Samudragupta is not a negligible quantity in an encyclopædia of *le' spirit hindou*.

After quoting the pious wishes of Aśoka, the author remarks that although as Buehler points out in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. XLI) and the *Epigraphia Indica* (vol. II) that the *artha* and *mīti* institutions were inherited by Aśoka together with the Maurya empire, the Emperor took care to Asokanize them. The process of Asokanization consisted, as it appears, in the distribution of the word *dharma* (duty, piety, humanity, etc.) right and left in the midst of the inscriptions.

On this Asokanizing N.'s comment, which at the same time concludes the volume (p. 121), is as follows : "History will say if India has lost or gained by making this choice. But the fact is that India has rejected the way pointed out by Kauṭilya-Cāṇakya to enter that of Dharmāśoka." This comment is as valuable as the one that a student of European philosophy might make in regard to "Western history" after reading a few pages from the Stoic, Early Christian and Neo-Platonic philosophers.

The previous discussion has already made it clear that N.'s position is untenable. But now since he is speaking of "history", let history speak.

Samudragupta has already been mentioned. The other Guptas were equally un-Asokan. They knew the *voie montrée par K. C.* (way shown by Kauṭilya-Cāṇakya) to administer sound doses of drubbing to the Huns. Both Harṣavardhana and Pulakeśin were Napoleonic in worldly ambitions and adventures. The Gurjara-Pratihāras, Rāṣtrakūṭas and Colas were equally great world-conquerors such as would have gratified the Kautilyan professors.

Then there was Dharmapāla, a Buddhist, who had the word *dharma* attached to his very name perhaps even from birth. And which 'way' did he choose? Not that of Dharmāśoka, as it seems. For he came with his Bengali legions all the way up to Kanauj and overran the whole of Northern India establishing his flag on the Himalayas and in the Deccan. Dharmapāla did not believe that Buddhism implied *ahiṃsā* (non-killing) and pacifism.

People with historic sense would then admit that whatever else may have been 'rejected' by the people of India, it was certainly not Kautilyaism.

What now is the verdict of history? History says that the Hindus lived and moved on the earth exactly as other human beings of flesh and blood lived and moved in other parts of the world. In the tug of war that must have ensued between the Indian Kauṭilyas as in that between

the others, the lesser yielded the palm to the bigger. But Kautilyaism first, Kautilyaism second, Kautilyaism always has remained the motto of the Hindu as of other pillars of the state.

It may of course be readily admitted without lengthy dissertations that open cases of inhumanity and depravity created reactions against certain officials and perhaps also literary texts in the minds of one or more thinking sections of the community. But a general disparagement of the *artha* and *nīti* philosophy as such, during periods of Hindu India is *prima facie* inconceivable.

Nag has tried to write an impossible thesis. From top to bottom it is a tissue of inconsistencies so far as there are any philosophical or sociological interpretations in it. And he has succeeded only in proving, against himself, that Kautilyaism is an inveterate trait of the Hindu genius, and that this Kautilyaism is nothing but Machiavellism.

(To be continued)

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Two Seals from Cutch

The two seals, made of brass, published here, were found in 1897 by the late Dewan Bahadur Ranchodbhai Udayram, once the Dewan of Cutch State, during his search for antiquities in Cutch. They are at present in the possession of his son Mr. Kanaylal R. Dave in Bombay.

Excepting the coins of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta, and a fragment of an inscription¹ engraved in characters of the Gupta period (which gives us no connected or useful information) we have no records of the Gupta period found in Cutch. The present seals bearing characters of the Gupta period, will, therefore, be found interesting though they in no way give us information bearing on the political history of the province. They are, as will be seen below, private seals belonging to Brāhmaṇas learned in the four Vedas. It is well known to archæologists that a large hoard of such private seals was discovered in the excavations at Bhīṣā and Basārḥ.

The FIRST SEAL was found in the ruins to the north of the village Viñjhāṇā in Cutch. It is circular in shape, its diameter measuring 1½ inches. Above the inscribed portion, which consists of one line and in fact of one word only, the figure of Brahmā is engraved. He is shown holding a *mālā* in his right hand and a *gourd* in his left hand. On either side of the figure there is an ornamental design.

1 *Ann. Rep. Arch. Sur. W.C.* 1905-6 ; p. 55 ; 1919-20, p. 5.

The characters used in the inscription, which measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, are Brāhmī of the 8th century A. D. The letters show rounded forms and not angular as in the other seal described below. The only point of orthography which requires to be noted is the doubling of the consonant immediately following *r*. The medial vowel *i* is expressed in two ways,—in one the stroke meant for *i* after being turned a little to the left is stretched below in a perpendicular line as in *pi* in *piśāca*, and in the other it is stretched to the left in a horizontal direction as in *rvvi* in *cāturvvidya(sya)*.

The inscription on this seal reads (1) Śrī Piśācacāturvvidya [sya]

“(This seal is) of (a brāhmaṇa) named Piśāca, who is learned in the four Vedas”. His name is certainly very curious. As a brāhmaṇa, it is but natural that he would have on his seal the figure of a Hindu god, and secondly as the brāhmaṇa seems to be a devotee of Brahmā, the figure of that god is engraved on his seal.

The SECOND SEAL was discovered in the ruins of the village Pāṭagaḍh at a distance of six miles to the east of Lakhpat in Cutch. It is oblong in shape, measuring $1\frac{1}{8}$ by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Above the inscribed portion, which here consists of three lines, the figure of Nandin is engraved in the middle, in a sitting posture and facing to the left. On one side of the Nandin is shown the figure of a bow without a string and on the other side (in the rear) is engraved the figure of a gourd. The figure of the Nandin denotes that the brāhmaṇa was a devotee of Śiva and the gourd denotes that he who used the gourd was a Sanyāsin. I am not able to explain the presence of the bow. Below these figures are two lines, one continuous and the other dotted.

The characters used in this inscription also are of the eighth century A. D., but, as already remarked, they have distinct angular forms. A consonant following *r* is doubled as in °*nirggata* (1. 1) and in °*rvvidya* (1. 3). The inscription reads thus :—

(1) ṣu (su) manomukhavo (vi) nirggata

(2) vī (vi) dheyapuraśrī (śrī) cātu

(3) rvvidyasya

The arrangement of the words in this inscription seems to be wrong. It ought to be, I think, thus :—

vidheyapuravinirggataśrī sumanomukhacāturvvidyasya

The inscription shows that the seal is that of a Caturvedi-Brāhmaṇa named Sumanomukha, (who) came from Vidheyapura.

The town Vidheyapura seems to be identical with Yaudheyapura named after the Yaudheya tribe.

Indian Literature Abroad

(*In China*)

III

Giles, in his introduction to '*The Travels of Fa-hsien*' (Cambridge, 1923), says, "What indeed must have been the cogent influence of that faith (Buddhism) which could impel several of its ministers to undertake, and one to carry through for the Faith's sake, a supremely dangerous expedition, in the glow of which the journeys of St. Paul melt into insignificance? For Fa-hsien, the hero of this adventure and the recorder of his own travels, practically walked from China across the desert of Gobi, over the Hindukush, and through India down to the mouth of the Hooghly where he took ship and returned to China, bringing with him what he went forth to secure—books of the Buddhist canon and images of Buddhist deities". In Ceylon "after repeated search he obtained a copy of the Disciplines according to the school of the 'Faith Prevailing', also copies of the long Āgamas on ecstatic contemplation, and subsequently of a collection of extracts from the canon, all of which China was without." The difficulties of the way and the danger of losing his books and icons are well known. After reaching China, he handed over to the monks of Nanking the Sūtras and the Vinayas he had collected (*Fa-hsien*, p. 81).

The publication of Fa-hsien's travels caused a tremendous stir in the hearts of young and devoted Buddhists, and hundreds of Chinese left their home and followed Fa-hsien's footsteps to visit the land of the Blessed One, and to procure the sacred Buddhist books and images. We shall, however, see the result of this visit in the course of our study.

"The fourth century was a period of confusion in China, caused by a hopeless division of the country and by intrusion of invaders from the north. Yet Buddhist missions proceeded to cover the greater part of the land, and many of the contending rulers welcomed missionaries from Central Asia. One of these men, Fo-t'u-cheng, who came in 310 to Lo-yang from a 'western country', laboured not as a translator but as a social worker. It is said that he was 'well-versed in magic formulae and saved many people from diseases and sufferings by his supernatural attainment.' No fewer than 893 monasteries and sanctuaries were established by him, and his 'disciples' numbered 10 000. But his significance in Chinese Buddhism

Fo-t'u-cheng
and Tao-an.

lay perhaps more on his having educated one of the most powerful thinkers, Tao-an, than in his actual works; though he laboured mostly in the north, his influence was later propagated to the south by his disciples".¹

This Tao-an² was a very able man and he helped a large number of Buddhist scholars. He was a contemporary of Dharmanandin and wrote an account of him.

Dharmanandin was a man of Tokhāra or Tokhristan. A monumental work of Dharmanandin's still exists in Chinese. It was his translation of *Ekottarāgama* in 50 fasciculi of fifty-two chapters. The text, which was presumably written in vulgar Buddhist Sanskrit, consisted of 2,50,000 ślokas, in verse or an equivalent number of syllables in prose; and there are 555 short Sūtras beginning with 'Evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye etc'. (Nanjio, 543). A contemporary preface to this work says that it was composed in 384-385 A. D. Nanjio in his Catalogue gives a summary of the contents with a literal translation of 52 chapters.

I have already referred to the political disintegration of China, and the lack of power of the Central Imperial Rule. The Former T'sin Dynasty, founded by Fu-Chien, had its capital at Chang-an. Fu-Chien was a patron of Buddhism and during the short period of 44 years (350-394 A. D.) when he and his successors ruled, six Indian śramaṇas translated 15 Sanskrit books. Most of these translators came from modern Afganistan, which was then a great centre of Indian culture and formed a part of India.

The Former T'sin Dynasty was destroyed by the Later T'sins, who retained their capital at Chang-an, so that the Indian culture continued to flourish under the new sovereigns, who became famous as the patrons of Kumārajīva. Kumārajīva was an Indian living in Eastern Turkisthan. We have already mentioned that Central Asia and Eastern Turkisthan were inhabited by Indians and we shall have occasion to go into a detailed history of those places in a subsequent study. Kumārajīva's forefathers were ministers of a certain prince in India. Kumārajīva's father had forsaken this office and went to Kucha, where he married Jivā, a sister of the king of that country. Kumārajīva was born of this wedlock. He became a monk in his seventh year.

Kumārajīva, an Indian, living in Turkisthan.

1 Anesaki, *E.R.E.*, vol. 8, Missions (Buddhist).

2 Giles, *Chinese Biog. Duty.*, sv. Tao-an.

Two years after, his mother Jivā became a nun and she took her son to Kubha, where he became the disciple of Bandhudatta, a cousin of the king of Kubha. They went back to their native place of Kucha in 352 A. D., where he remained until 383, spending thirty years of his sojourn there and prosecuting his theological studies. He followed the school of Sarvāstivādins for some time under the instruction of Vimalākṣa mentioned above. But he became a Mahāyānist after getting instructions of Sūryasoma. In 383 when Kucha was captured by the Chinese General of Fu-Chien, he was carried off to China as a prisoner and from 401 onwards he laboured at Chang-an for about ten years. His fame as a scholar had preceded him; he established his reputation as a saint by overcoming a temptation thrown in his way by his Chinese captors, and was received by the T'sin Court with great honour. He was appointed Kuo-shih (Rājyaguru) or the Director of Buddhist study and lectured in a hall specially built for him. He is said to have had three thousand disciples. He translated 98 works in 421 fasciculi and fifty extant translations are still ascribed to him¹. Pelliot says that "Kumārajīva is one of the greatest translators of Chinese Buddhism, though his mother-tongue was certainly neither Sanskrit nor Chinese". But an Indian by descent and education, he was familiar with all the twists and turns of Sanskrit; in Kucha he had to learn Chinese and Kuchari dialect.

Kumārajīva found, on examination and comparison, that the Chinese translations made hitherto were neither accurate nor elegant, and he himself undertook the task of revision. This work occupied him for the rest of his life-time, and was the joy and pride of his declining years. Indian monks always translated Sanskrit books with the help of some Chinese scholars, who could not always comprehend the subject-matter and translated the Sanskrit words with imperfect synonyms. The translations were generally mere paraphrases of Sanskrit books and therefore sometimes wholly unintelligible to Chinese readers. To produce them in a form more accurate and complete was the task undertaken by him at the desire of the king. More than eight hundred priests were called to assist, and the king himself, an ardent disciple of the new faith was present at the conference holding the copies in his hand as the work of correction proceeded.

¹ Nanjio, App. II, 59; also Lövi, *Le "Tokharien B," J. A.*, 1923.

More than three hundred volumes were thus prepared¹. Few foreigners have yet gained any distinction in writing Chinese but Kumārajīva obtained it, and to this date his translations are considered to be one of the best specimens of Chinese style. Kumārajīva translated various recensions of Prajñā-pāramitās. The *Pañcaviṃśati Prajñā-pāramitā* was a very popular book. It had been twice translated into Chinese and it was again done into it by Kumārajīva, along with *Daśa-sāhasrikā Prajñā-pāramitā*, which had been thrice translated before. *Vajracchedikā*, another equally important Buddhist philosophical book, was rendered into Chinese for the first time. The greatest work of Kumārajīva's was his translation of the *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā Śāstra* which he did between 402 and 405 in 100 fasciculi. The Sanskrit text of this Sūtra consisted of 100,000 ślokaś in verse or a corresponding number of syllables in prose. But Kumārajīva translated only the first chapter in 34 fasciculi, and gave the abstract of the remaining 39 chapters. This book is the commentary on some of the sections of the *Pañcaviṃśati Prajñā-pāramitā* by the great Nāgārjuna; it was now for the first time made accessible to the Chinese readers. It is not possible to describe here the fifty books translated by Kumārajīva. His versatile genius extended over almost all the branches of Buddhist learning. Among the more important books, the following may be mentioned :—

- (1) *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīkā*, Nanjio, 134.
- (2) Smaller *Sukkhāvastī-Vyūha*, Nanjio, 200.
- (3) *Sarvāstivāda Prātimokṣa**, Nanjio, 1160.
- (4) *Sūtrālaṅkāra Śāstra*, Nanjio, 1182.
- (5) *Madhyamaka Śāstra* (Jap. Churon).
- (6) *Śata Śāstra* of Āryadeva, Nanjio, 1188 : Vasubandhu's commentary on the Sūtras (Jap. Hyaku-ron).
- (7) *Dvādaśa-nikāya Śāstra* by Nāgārjuna (Jap. Jūni-mon-ron), Nanjio, 1186.

The last two books were composed by Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva to clear up the confusion arising in men's minds regarding the distinction between entity and non-entity. They gave an exposition of the teachings of Buddha and his life with special emphasis on the 'Twelve Nikāyas' that led to the inmost shrine of Perfect Enlightenment. They

¹ Edkins' *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 90.

² *Le Prātimokṣa Sūtra des Sarvāstivādins*, texte Sanscrit—M. Louis Finot avec le version chinoise de Kumārajīva, traduite en français par M. Ed. Huber—J. A. 1913, pp. 465-558.

regarded the *Avatamsaka*, the *Āgamas*, and the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka* as marking three periods in Śākyamuni's ministerial career, and considered the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka* as the crown of Buddha's personal teachings.

The *Sukhāvati-Vyūha* has a far-reaching consequence on the history of Buddhism as it is one of the scriptures of the Jodo or Pure Land sect of Japan and China.

The smaller *Sukhāvati-Vyūha*, brought to China by Kumārajīva soon after 400 A. D., was translated by him into Chinese. This shorter

translation corresponds with a few omissions to the Sanskrit text, which has been published by Max Müller.

'It is taught in this Sūtra that if a man keeps in his memory the name of Buddha Amitābha one day or seven days, the Buddha together with Bodhisattvas will come and meet him at the moment of his death in order to let him be born in the Pure Land (Sukhāvati), and that this matter has equally been approved by all the other Buddhas of the Universe'. Another important branch of work was undertaken by Kumārajīva; it was the writing of biographies of the three great Bodhisattvas Āśvaghōṣa, Nāgārjuna, and (Ārya) Deva. I believe this is the first attempt on writing biography of saints, which art was afterwards greatly perfected in Buddhist literature. He also wrote a book called *Shih-hsiang-lun* as the Śāstra on the characteristics of Reality especially for Yao Hsing, the king, who revered him as a god².

In China and Japan Kumārajīva's version of the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka* is very popular, and Buniyo Nanjio, in his preface to the same work, says that *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka* is almost

worshipped by the followers of Tendai in both countries and Nichiren in Japan. They are used to repeat the seven characters *na-mu-myo-ho-ren-ge-kyo* i. e. *Namaḥ Saddharma-Puṇḍarīkāya Sūtrāya*, as their formula. This Sūtra is said to have been rendered into Chinese six times, but three of these translations were already lost by 130 A. D. when *Khai-yuen-lu* was compiled by Ch'-shang in the T'ang Dynasty. The dates of these six versions are about A. D. 255, 270, 286, 335, 400 and 601 respectively. The first two and the fourth are lost. The remaining three were translated by Dharmarakṣa, Kumārajīva, and Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta respectively. Nanjio has given a detailed comparison of these three versions in his

1 Lloyd's *Wheat among the Tares*, p. 167.

2 Giles, *Chinese Biog. Dicty.*, No. 1017.

Catalogue. The version of Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta is the latest and agrees more closely with the Sanskrit text. Besides these, two incomplete versions of 223 and 335 A. D. are mentioned by Ch'-shang in his Catalogue, but they were lost already in 730 A. D. But Kumārajīva's version for its elegant and idiomatic Chinese has been most popular ever since.

Bodhisattva Vasubandhu wrote a commentary to this book called *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka-Sūtra-Śāstra*. It was translated by Bodhiruci and Ratnamati after it had become widely known through Kumārajīva's translation (Nanjio, 1232, 1233). There are as many as 19 books written in Chinese by the Chinese monks on *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*, and besides there are Japanese commentaries such as Hokke-gi-sho, well known in Japan (Nanjio, *Saddharama-Puṇḍarīka*, Intro.). This book has been translated into English by H. Kern in the Sacred Books of the East and long ago into French by E. Burnouf. It has been of late edited by S. Lévi.

The *Brahmajāla Sūtra* (Fan-méng-ching), which has always been considered in China as the chief code of law of the Mahāyāna schools, was introduced into China by Kumārajīva. The book in translation is only two fasciculi, but it is stated by Sang-chao, a disciple of Kumārajīva, that this work is the twelfth chapter on the *Bodhisattva-hṛdaya-bhūmi*; it is a Sanskrit work of 120 fasciculi and 61 chapters (Nanjio, 1017; Tokyo ed. xvi, 1-9). But the rest of the work was never put into Chinese garb at all, nor has the original work ever been unearthed by European indologists.¹ The Pāli *Brahmajāla Sutta* in the Dīghanikāya has nothing in common with the Chinese code of law except the title. But we have found the Chinese version of the Pāli text in the 14th chapter of the *Dirghāgama Sūtra* under the title *Fan-tung-ching* "Sūtra of Brahma's movements" which in Sanskrit would likewise give *Brahmajāla Sūtra*.

No commentary to it seems to have been written in Sanskrit but there is a commentary to it by Chi Chie, a Chinese monk of the 16th century.²

Kumārajīva rendered into Chinese another important Sanskrit Sūtra, a work which had inspired in a later age many Chinese monks to write on it. It was *Śūrāṅgama Samādhi* (No. 399) in three fasciculi, the sequel of which also occurs in Tibetan Kanjur. Kumārajīva transliterated the

1 De Groot, *T'oung Pao*, 1898.

2 Courant, *Catalogue du Livres chinois*, vol. II, p. 606.

name as *Shih-lêng-yen-sam-mei* as *Sūtra* (hero) *aṅga* (limb) and *samādhi*.

Sūtrāṅgama
Samādhi.

Another recension of this *Sūtra*, but of much larger size, was done into Chinese in 10 fasc. by Pāramiti and Mikaśakya (No. 446) in the T'ang dynasty. The importance of the book can easily be gauged from the fact that three commentaries to it by Chinese monks were written in the Sung dynasty. In 1165 A. D. Hsien Kwei compiled these commentaries (No. 1818) and arranged one after the other under each sentence or passage of the *Sūtra*. This arrangement greatly helps us to study at once the text from three commentaries. I believe Kumārajīva was responsible, as he was for many others, for the introduction of this *Sūtra*, which became so popular in the centuries to follow him.

It is to Kumārajīva that we owe the first introduction of the master minds of Indian Buddhism into China, viz., Aśvaghōṣa, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva and Vasubandhu. These are the four great patriarchs of Buddhism, who established Mahāyāna on a sound basis of philosophy. Aśvaghōṣa is the twelfth patriarch of the Buddhist church. One of his greatest works is the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*.¹

It is a collection of pious legends after the model of the Jātakas and Avadānas which are narrated in prose and verse in the style of Sanskrit poetics. Many of these legends of old are known to us, such as the story of Dīrghāyus, of king Śivi. Others already show more of the spirit of the Mahāyāna or at best a reverence for the Buddha which is more Mahāyānic in its tendency. In two of the stories of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* a part is played by king Kaniṣka. But it is much to be deplored that up to now, we have only Chinese translation of Kumārajīva,² as the Sanskrit text so far has not been discovered. Not only is it a literary work of importance, the merits of which are apparent in the translation, but also of great significance for the history of Indian literature and culture inasmuch as it mentions the epics of the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, it combats the philosophical doctrine of the Sāṅkhya and Vaiśeṣika schools just as forcibly as it opposes the

¹ This should not be confused with Asaṅga's *Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṅkāra*, which has been translated from Sanskrit into French by S. Lévi.

² *Sūtrālaṅkāra* of Aśvaghōṣa translated by Kumārajīva (French translation by Ed. Huber).

religious views of the Brahmins and the Jains and refers in a variety of ways to the scripts, the arts, and painting.¹ From the Chinese translation of *Sūtrālanākāra*, Huber was able to trace three stories to the *Divyāvadāna*².

Besides translating the *Sūtrālanākāra*, Kumārajīva translated a biography of the Bodhisattva Aśvaghōṣa (Nanjio, 1460), and thereby popularized the legendary life of the patriarch among the Chinese. Aśvaghōṣa (*Ma-ming*, horse-neighing) was born of a Brahmin family in Benares, and received his education at Pāṭaliputra. He had a sound Brāhmanical education before he embraced Buddhism. He was a great force in the country and many a legend is connected with his life. He was a great musician, a poet and a dialectician. His epic *Buddha-carita* has been mentioned elsewhere, which was introduced into China almost within ten years of the appearance of Kumārajīva's biography.

Nāgārjuna³ the fourteenth patriarch was also introduced in China by Kumārajīva. Nāgārjuna was a great and versatile writer and was the founder of the Madhyamaka philosophy. The principal work of this school is Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamaka Śāstra*. Ts'ing-mu

Nāgārjuna.

(Nilanetra) wrote a commentary, *Prāṇyamūla-śāstra-ṭīkā* (Nanjio, 1179), which was translated by Kumārajīva into

Chinese in 409 A.D. Nāgārjuna wrote several important Śāstras, among which the most compendious volume on Abhidharma was his *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā-śāstra* (Nanjio, 1169), which was a commentary on the *Pañcaviṃśati-Śatasūhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Nanjio, 1 b). This is the first book translated into Chinese explaining the Madhyamaka philosophy. Kumārajīva also gave a Chinese version of Nāgārjuna's life, which is full of miracles and legends (Nanjio, 1461).

A disciple of Nāgārjuna, and as great as his master, was Āryadeva⁴ (Deva, Kāṇa-Deva). He too was introduced to the Chinese reader by

Āryadeva.

Kumārajīva. Deva's *Śata-Śāstra* with Vasubandhu's commentary (Nanjio, 1188) was rendered into Chinese in

304 A.D. Traditionally Deva is the fifteenth patriarch and was an inhabitant of Southern India (some say Ceylon). He lived in

1 Lévi, *J. A.*, 1908, pp. 77ff. translated by Nariman, p. 36; also Anesaki, *ERE.*, vol. 2, p. 159.

2 *BEFEO.*, 1904, pp. 709-726.

3 Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 77.

4 Sogen, *Systems of Buddhist Thought*, Cal. Univ., 1912, pp. 187-194; also Edkins, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

the third century A.D. Āryadeva's life was also made known in China by Kumārajīva.

The wonderful service done by Kumārajīva, for introducing these master-minds in Chinese, cannot be gainsaid. The subtle and critical mind of the Chinese Confucianists and Taoists wanted critical and philosophical writings from the pen of Indian Buddhists, and the introduction of the philosophies of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva was the right thing for the hour. The real intellectual Buddhism was offered to China by Kumārajīva ; after him, as we shall see, hundreds of Abhidharma works of various schools of thought were introduced.

About the same time while Kumārajīva was preaching in the North China, there arrived by sea-route Buddhahadra (Shantung), who has been mentioned above as the first translator of the *Avataṃśaka* (Nanjio, 87). By the purity of his life, his great discipline and meditation, he influenced deeply the people of south China. It was in the South that he laid the foundation of the Shan-no (Dhyāna) school of Buddhism, which was in later times greatly strengthened by Bodhidharma.

Buddhabhadra
in S. China.

Other important Sanskrit works were also translated during this period by Indian monks. *Dirghāgama* which is the Sanskrit version of the Dīghanikāya was rendered into Chinese by Buddhayaśa with the help of Chu Fo-nien in 412-413 A. D. It consisted of 22 fasciculi 4 Vargas, 30 Sūtras. He also translated a Vinaya and a Prātimokṣa of the Dharmagupta school, which was one of the four sub-divisions of the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda. Chu Fo-nien, who has already been mentioned as an assistant of Buddhayaśa, had helped many foreign translators of the Former T'sin Dynasty. He acquired knowledge of Sanskrit and himself translated 22 or 23 works from 374 A. D., till some time, under the Later T'sin Dynasty. Of his seven works only five are in existence. Dharmayaśa, another śramaṇa of Kubhā, translated 2 or 3 works in A. D. 407-415. In Wan-Chwang the Western T'sin established one of those ephemeral Tartar principalities mentioned previously. One Chinese śramaṇa Shih Shang-chien or Fa-chien translated about 14 or 15 works and today 10 of his works are still to be found in the collection of Tripiṭakas. During the reigns of the three T'sins in China (350-431 A. D.) 197 works were translated by known and unknown writers, but today only 124 of these works remain, others being lost. During the Eastern Tsin (317-420 A. D.) dynasty in 373 A. D., Tao-an, a Buddhist priest compiled the first Chinese catalogue of the Tripiṭaka. His Catalogue begins with books of An hsi-kao and omits the earliest books of Buddhism. The reason

is that he was a man of the North and probably the activities of the South were little known to him¹.

Nine translators flourished in the state of the Northern Liang (A. D. 397-439) which had its capital at Chang-ye and Ku-tsang. Of these translators Shih Tao-kung, Shih Fa-Chung-chü-ching-shang, Shih Chu-mang, Tao-thai were Chinese monks. The last named Shih Tao-thai went to the west of the Himalayas to obtain texts of the Vibhāṣā and some Sūtras and Śāstras. After having returned to China, he met one Buddhavarman with whom he translated Kātyāyaniputra's *Abhidharma-Vibhāṣa-Śāstra* a book in 82 fasciculi, 3 khaṇḍas or divisions or 16 chapters. But this was an incomplete work. Afterwards he alone made the translation of *Mahā-puruṣa-śūtra* (Nanjio, 1242) and *Mahāyāna-Avatāraka Śāstra*. (Nanjio, 1243).

Shih Chu-meng deserves special note. He started from Cháng-an towards India in A. D. 404 with fourteen friends. Nine of them were frightened at the sight of the Himalayas and returned, one having died on the way. Chu-meng with four other friends went as far as Pāṭaliputra, where he obtained the Mss. of *Nirvāṇa-Sūtra*, *Mahā-saṅghika Vinaya*, and some other texts, from the very house of a Brāhmaṇa, from whom Fa-hsien had obtained the *Nirvāṇa-Sūtra* manuscripts. On the way back to China in A. D. 424, he again lost three more friends, and arrived at Liang-chiu with only one surviving friend. In A. D. 433-439 he translated the *Nirvāṇa-Sūtra* in 20 fasciculi, but his translation was lost in 730 A. D.

The only great Indian translator who has left a lasting name was Dharmarakṣa, who is said to have translated 23 or 24 works, of which twelve are still extant. As many of these books are important, I shall mention them briefly :—

(1) *Mahāvaiṣṭya-Mahā-sannipāta Sūtra* in four parts and 30 fasciculi (No. 61).

(2) *Mahā-parinirvāṇa-Sūtra* in 40 fasciculi, 13 chapters (No. 113).

(3) *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra*, which remained incomplete and was followed by a more complete version by I'tsing in a later age, and became very popular in China. It had two famous commentaries.

(4) *Karunā-puṇḍarīka Sūtra*, a well known extant Sanskrit book (No. 142).

(5) *Śrīvivartva Vyākaraṇa-Sūtra*.

¹ See Pelliot, *Meou-Tseu ou les doutes Levés*, T'oung Pao, V, XIX. pp. 255 ff., also Giles' *Chinese Biog. Dicty*.

(5) *Bodhisattva-caryānirdeśa*, and a few others.

But the most important of these books, which has evoked great discussion among the western literati, is Dharmarakṣa's translation of the *Buddha-carita Kāvya* (Nanjio, 1351) by Aśvaghoṣa. This is a metrical work on the life of Buddha from his birth till Buddha-carita. the division of his relics. This Chinese version has been translated into English by Mr. Beal and contains 28 chapters, whereas the original extant Sanskrit recension has only 17 chapters, the titles and contents of which agree with those of the first 17 chapters of the Chinese translation (except the titles of the 11th, 16th, and 17th chapters of the Chinese), which omits some verses. Beal in the translation of *Fo-shu-hsin-tsang-ching* (S. B. E., vol. xlix) and Cowell in his *Buddha-carita*¹ have compared these two versions and various Sanskrit originals. Dharmarakṣa however so amplified and transposed the original verses that the result can hardly be called a translation, although it must have been so intended. I believe the greatest achievement under this Dynasty was the translation of the *Buddha-carita* and the blackest spot of the rulers is the way in which its translator was treated and eventually murdered by Tsin-chin-meng-suh (413-433) and the second ruler of the Northern Liang Dynasty.

1 According to a more critical study of the Sanskrit text of the *Buddha-carita*, the last four cantos of the Epic are held as spurious and are decidedly known as composition of Amṛtānanda, a Nepalese poet of no mean order. It has been further demonstrated by Leumann and others that the first 25 ślokaś of the 1st canto are presumably composed by Amṛtānanda, as they do not occur either in the Chinese or the Tibetan versions. The Sanskrit text of the work was first known to the literati in 1893, when the late E. B. Cowell published the Sanskrit text in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Aryan Series, part VII, Oxford, 1893).

The English translation of the *Buddha-carita* by Cowell appeared in the S.B.E., vol. xlix, 1894. Since the publication of these two works almost all the Indologists have taken part in the discussion that followed, and each has helped to elucidate the text. Below we give the bibliography on Aśvaghoṣa :

Böhtlingk, Otto von und H. Kern : *Kritische Bemerkungen zu Aśvaghoṣa's Buddha-carita*—Kong. Sach. Gesel. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig, Phil-histor. Klasse, 1894 ; II, 1895, pp. 160-198.

Dahlmann, J : *Das Mahabharat als Epos und Rechtsbuch*—Berlin, 1895, pp. 141-152

I. H. Q., MARCH, 1926

In 420 a new Dynasty known as the Earlier Sung was founded in the south with Chien-yeh or modern Nanking as its capital. In the north, there were many Tartar principalities which were more or less favourable to Buddhism, but all except Wei perished before 400 A. D. Wei then split up into Eastern and Western kingdoms, which lasted for about a hundred years. In the south, the Earlier Sung gave place to these short dynasties, Chi, Liang, and Ch'en, until at last the Sui (589-605) united China (Eliot's *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. III, p. 252).

The Emperor Wen-Ti (424-454 A.D.) of the Earlier Sung Dynasty, although a patron of Confucianism, was not wholly inimical to Buddhism. The rapid advance of Buddhism in China roused the jealousy of the official and literary circle, who had great influence in the Chinese court. They wanted imperial interference to prevent the multiplication of monasteries and the growing expenditure

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- Finot, L : *Notes sur le Buddha-carita*—J. As., Paris, 1895, pp. 512-545.
 Hopkins, E. W., *Buddha-carita*, J.A.O.S., vol. xxii, 1901, pp. 387-388.
 Kielhorn, F., *Zu Āśvaghoṣa's Buddha-carita*—Kong. Gesel. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil.-histor. Klasse, 1894, pp. 364-374.
 Leumann, E., *Some Notes on Āśvaghoṣa's Buddha-carita*—W.Z.K.M., Band viii, 1893, pp. 193-200.
 ———, *Zu Āśvaghoṣa's Buddha-carita*—Kong. Gesel. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1896, pp. 83-90.
 Lévi, S., *Buddhacarita d'e Āśvaghoṣa*—J. As., 1892, pp. 201-236.
 Lüders, H., *Zu Āśvaghoṣa's Buddha-carita*—Köng. Gessl. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, pp. 1—15.
 Speyer, J. S., *Kritische Nachlese zu A's Buddha-carita*—Amsterdam, 1895.
 Windisch, E : *Māra und Buddha*, Leipzig, 1895.
 Formichi, Carlo, *Āśvaghoṣa Poeta del Buddismo*—Bibliotheca di cultura Moderna—G. Laterza, Bari, 1912, p. 409 (The book contains a learned introduction, Italian translation, notes, and the above bibliography : The author, who is the greatest authority on *Buddhacarita*, gives in several places his own reading which has greatly helped to clear up hitherto obscure and apparently meaningless passages. Since the publication of this book, Hultzsck and Cappellar have written two articles in the *Z. D. M. G.* and *Z. Ind. Iran.*, 1922.

on superstitious ceremonies. This marks the beginning of the desire to curb Buddhism by restrictive legislation. A similar reaction against Buddhism. reaction took place in the Wei kingdom where great persecutions were done, alternately favoured by some benevolent princes. The force of Buddhism was too strong to be curbed and in Wei we find as many as 13,000 Buddhist temples. In the Sung kingdom much restriction was placed on the Buddhists by certain kings, amply compensated by a succeeding one. For fifty-nine years good progress was made in the translation of Sanskrit books, for as many as twenty translations from China, India, Ceylon and Central Asia are said to have existed in earlier times of which nine only remain.

A remarkable feature of this period is the tendency of Chinese Buddhists to go on pilgrimage to India; since Fa-hsien's return in 414, Chinese students felt romantic pleasure to wend their way to In-do or India. Thus in 420 A. D. a band of 25 Chinese monks started on a pilgrimage to India.

During this Earlier Sung rule, we hear of two translations into Chinese of works of the Mahiśāsaka school. These translations were done by Buddhajīva, a śramaṇa of Kubhā, who arrived in China in 423 A.D. Besides Buddhajīva, there were Kālayāsa, Dharmamitra, Īśvara, Guṇavarman, Saṅghavarman, Guṇabhadra, Guṇasīla (?), and others who came from India. Shih Chu-yen, Shih Pao-yun, Fa-yung, Tsū-chū-chin-shang, a layman, Hwui-kien, Siang-kung and others were Chinese translators.

Of the Indian monks of this period Guṇavarman¹ had international reputation. He was a native of Kubhā, a younger son of the king of the country. He visited Ceylon in 400 A.D. and it is said that he converted a country called Cho-po, which is identified with Java where he founded the first Buddhist monastery. The fame of the monk spread all over the Buddhist world and he attracted the attention and admiration of the Chinese scholars, who got the Emperor to invite Guṇavarman to China. The Indian monk came to China in 431 A. D., worked incessantly and died the same year. He translated ten works but only five

1 Of the details of the life of Guṇavarman, we have ample materials furnished by M. Ed. Chavannes in an article in the *Toung Pao*, 1904, which has already been abridged by Mr. P. N. Bose in his *Indian Teachers in China*.

remain, one of them being a book called *Dharmagupta Bhikṣuṇī-karman*, which is evidently the *Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa* according to the Dharmagupta school.

Guṇavarman completed another important work known as *Samyukta-abhidharma-hṛdaya-Śāstra* (Tsa-a-phi-hsin-lun), which had been done up to the tenth fasciculus by a śramaṇa named Īśvara. The book had 13 fasciculi ; but it was lost very early (Nanjio, App. II. 78). This *Samyukta-abhidharma* of Dharmatrāta (Nanjio, 1287 ; 16 fasc.), which was a commentary on Dharmajñāna's *Abhidharma Hṛdaya*¹, was also translated by Saṅghavarman another Indian bhikṣu who arrived in Nanking in 433 A.D. Saṅghavarman's other important translations were *Sarvāsātvāda-Nikāya-Vinaya-Mātrikā* which in Chinese is transliterated as Sa-po-to-pu phi-ni moto-lo-chia (Nanjio, 1132), and *Nāgārjuna-Bodhisattva-Suhrillekha* (Nos. 1440, 1441). The latter was a book of verses on the importance of the Law, composed by the Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna. It-sing says that the *Suhrillekha* or letter to a friend was written by Nāgārjuna to his old Dānapati, a great king of the south Śātavāhana. He also says that the Buddhists in the five parts of India first commit these verses to memory when they begin to study their religion. So it is not unlikely that such a popular book should be translated into Chinese.

Guṇabhadra, another translator of versatile genius, arrived in China in 435 A. D. He was a native of Central India, Brahmin by caste and was nicknamed Mahāyāna for his deep knowledge of the doctrines of Mahāyāna. He is said to have translated 78 works, but only twenty-eight of them remain to this day. He translated *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, a well-known Sanskrit Book on Yogācāra, still read and revered by people. Many other Sūtras and Dhāraṇīs of indifferent merit and value were rendered into Chinese. Although a staunch Mahāyānist, he translated the Hinayāna *Samyuktāgama-Sūtra* in 50 fasciculi. Almost half the sūtras of *Samyuktāgama* occur in the *Dirghāgama* and *Ekottarāgama*, which are partly equivalents of the Pāli *Dīgha Nikāya* and *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. Another important work on philosophy viz. *Vasumitra's Abhidharma Prakaraṇapūṭī* (12 fasc.) was rendered into Chinese by Guṇabhadra in collaboration with an Indian paṇḍit named Buddha-

¹ Trans. into Chinese by Gautama Saṅghadeva in 391 A. D. (Nanjio, 1288).

yaśas. Guṇabhadra's style of writing in Chinese was of a high order, and his books became very popular in China.

This Guṇabhadra was also responsible for a translation of a very important Pāli work, *Milinda-pañha*, but it was unfortunately lost by 664 A. D. There were three versions of the *Milinda-pañha* in Chinese :

(1) *Na-sien (Nāgasena) pi-yu-ching* or the Sūtra of comparisons by Nāgasena. This version was translated in the third century A. D. but was already lost in the 5th century.

(2) *Na-sien pi-chiu ching* (Nāgasena Bhikṣu Sūtra) or *Na-sien ching* (Nāgasena Sūtra)¹ was first translated during the Eastern Tsin dynasty (317-420 A. D.). This version is anonymous ; its original was probably redacted in a dialect of India, in two or three fasciculi. To the Chinese scholars one recension in two fasciculi was known.

(3) A version of the second, probably incomplete, was translated by Guṇabhadra ; but his translation has not come down to us as stated above.

A comparison of the Chinese and Pāli versions of the book shows wide divergences in the preliminary part, and almost perfect agreement in the principal part. The two texts of the Chinese versions were held by Sprechta and Lévi to be different works, but they have since been proved by Pelliot² to be two recensions of one and the same work. Between these recensions it is difficult to decide which is the more ancient and the more exact. The Chinese text is much shorter than the existing Pāli one³.

In connection with Guṇabhadra's translation of the *Samyukṭāgama-sūtra*, a very important problem presents itself : "What is the relation to the Pāli canon of the Chinese texts bearing titles corresponding to *Dirgha*, *Madhyama*, *Samyukta* and *Ekottara* ? These collections of Sūtras do not call themselves *Nikāya* but A-han or Āgama : the titles are

Pāli Nikāyas
and Sanskrit
Āgamas.

1 Nanjio, 1358.

2 Pelliot, 'Les noms propres dans les traductions Chinoises du *Milinda-pañha*', *J. A.*, 1914, No. 2, pp. 379-420.

3 Takakusu, 'Chinese translations of the *Milinda-pañha*', *J.R.A.S.*, 1896, pp. 1-21. For a detailed discussion of the Chinese versions of *Milinda-pañha*, see Paul Demiéville, 'Les versions Chinoises du *Milinda-pañha*', *BEFEO.*, 1924, Nos. 1-2, pp. 1-255.

translated as 'Long', 'Medium,' 'Miscellaneous' and Tseng-i, representing Ekottara rather than Aṅguttara¹. There is hence *prima facie* reason to suppose that these works represent not the Pāli canon, but a somewhat similar Sanskrit collection. That one or many Sanskrit works may have co-existed with a somewhat similar Pāli work is clearly shown by the Vinaya texts, for here we have the Pāli canon and Chinese translations of five Sanskrit versions, belonging to different schools, but apparently covering the same ground and partly identical. For the Sūtra Piṭaka no such evidence is forthcoming; but the Sanskrit fragments of the *Samyuktāgama* found near Turfan contain parts of six sūtras which are arranged in the same or less as the Chinese translation and are apparently the original from which it was made. It is noticeable that three of the four great Āgamas were translated by monks who came from Tukhāra or Kabul. Guṇabhadra, however, the translator of the *Samyuktāgama* came from Central India, and the text which he translated was brought from Ceylon by Fa-hsien². It is also certain that though the Chinese Āgamas and Pāli Nikāyas contain much common matter, it is differently distributed". (Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, pp. 296-7).

During this Liu Sung period a few Chinese scholars learnt Sanskrit and translated many books into Chinese. One of them, Shih-Fa-Yung had been so much attracted by Indian culture that he took the name of Thāsa-wu-Chia which is transliterated as Dharma-vikrama or Dharmaśūra. He had been to India with the group of twenty-five monks, who had started for India in 420 A. D. and came back in 433 A. D. He translated only one work. Shih Hwui-Kien, another Chinese śramaṇa, whose native place is not known, translated 10 or 15 works in A. D. 457; but today only six works remain, and in 730 only seven works were in existence. We find the names of other Chinese śramaṇas, who translated a few books, but most of them are lost.

It is not always that the Buddhist monks alone laboured on translation of works. Even laymen took great interest in the work. Tsü-Chü Chin-Shang, a Chinese Gṛhapati or householder, was a cousin of the second ruler of the Northern Liang Dynasty, who had killed Dharma

1 Anesaki, 'Traces of Pāli Texts in a Mahāyāna treatise', *Le Muséon*, 1905.

2 Lévi, 'Samyuktāgama Sanskrit' *T'oung Pao.*, 1904, p. 297.

rakṣa mentioned above. Tsü-Chü-Ching-Shang in his youth had gone to Khotan, where he had met an Indian priest named Buddhasena, from whom he probably learnt Sanskrit.

A lay Chinese translator.

Having returned to the kingdom of the Northern Liang, he translated one work in 2 or 3 fasciculi, entitled 'an important explanation of the Law of Meditation' in A. D. 433-439, but it was lost before 730 A. D. After the destruction of the Northern Liang, Dynasty, he went southward and took refuge under the Sung, where he continued his work of translation with great vigour. By 455 A.D. he translated 28 or, some say, 35 works, of which sixteen only are in the Ming collection (Nanjio, App. II, 68, 83).

The work of translation went on in the South in spite of the change of rulers. For in 479 A. D. the Lin Sung Dynasty was replaced by the Ch'i Dynasty, which retained the capital in Nanking as before, so that the culture of the Buddhists did not get any rude shock from the change of masters. In the reign of Wu-ti, the first emperor of this Dynasty, one of the imperial princes, named Tzu-Liang cultivated the society of eminent monks and enjoyed theological discussions. From the specimens of these arguments which have come down to us, we see that the explanation of the inequalities of life as the result of Karma had a great attraction for the popular mind and also that it provoked the hostile criticism of the Confucian literati¹. During this period of 23 years, we find mention of eight monks namely Dharmajāta-yaśa, Mahāyāna (Mo-ho-Shêng), Saṅgha-bhadra, Dharmamati, Guṇavṛddhi (?), Shih Fa-tu, Shih Than-Ching, Shih Fa-hwa, who translated 14 Sanskrit books, out of which only six are mentioned in the Tripiṭaka of today.

The Ch'i Dynasty in the South was followed by the Liang Dynasty of the Siao Family (A.D. 502-557), founded by Wu-ti, who alone ruled from 502 to 549. Although successful as a warrior in the beginning of life, he lost all interest in war and politics after he had embraced Buddhism, and died miserably in the hands of his opponents the Wei of the North. Wu-ti forbade sacrifice of animals, even representations of animals in embroidery on the ground that people might cut up such figures and thus become callous to the sanctity of life. He imitated Aśoka and rivalled him in

Emperor Wu-ti,
a Chinese
Aśoka.

¹ Eliot, *op. cit.*, III, p. 253.

pious enthusiasm, if not in power and prosperity. He expounded sūtras in public and wrote a book on Buddhist ritual.

It was during the reign of Wu-ti that the first Chinese edition of the Tripiṭaka in manuscript and not in print was made in 518 A.D. The

First Catalogue
and Chinese Tri-
piṭaka.

Emperor paid great honour to Buddhism and he made a large collection of the Buddhist canonical books, amounting to 5,400 volumes, in the Hwá-lin garden. The Shā-man Pao-Chan compiled the Catalogue in fifty-four fasciculi¹. According to the Khai-yuen-lu, this Catalogue was compiled by Pao-chan under the Imperial order in 4 fasciculi, in A. D. 518; but it had been lost in 730 A.D. The total number of the sacred books that were translated from Sanskrit into Chinese between 67-518 A.D., that is, about four hundred and fifty years, is said to have reached about 1432 distinct works in 3741 fasciculi, arranged under 20 classes. This was the first collection of Buddhist sacred books made by an Emperor of China. But this Catalogue is lost. The one that is proved was compiled by a Chinese priest Sang Yien about 520 A.D. It was a private collection and consisted of 17 fasciculi (Nanjio, 1476). Its title was *Chu-San-tsang-tsi* or a collection of the records of translation of the Tripiṭaka.

(To be continued)

PRABHAT KUMAR MUKHERJI

1 Max Müller quoted by Nanjio, p. xvii.

MISCELLANY

The date of Kaniska and Mr. Kimura

I have taken a keen interest in the question about the date of the famous Indo-Scythian emperor Kaniska, and I therefore at once turned to Mr. Kimura's paper, when I received the third part of the Indian Historical Quarterly. It seemed evident that the learned author is in possession of Chinese scholarship, since he quotes directly from the source, and I therefore thought that he might perhaps have come across some new information, which had escaped notice up till now, and apparently he had.

He brings the following extract from the Hou Han-shu: "In the year *yüanch'u* of emperor Anti, king Ankon of Sākala got offended with his uncle and prime minister Pan and exiled him as a hostage to the king of the Yueh-chi. The Yueh-chi king very much loved him i. e. Pan. Now when king Ankon died without son, his mother became regent. The people of Sākala then put up as their king the son of the brother of Pan. When Pan (the minister of the Sākala king) heard of this, he appealed to the king of the Yueh-chi on the ground that though the people have made his brother's son king, yet he ought to be made king in his place because he was the uncle. The Yueh-chi king was satisfied and sent Pan to Sākala with an army. The people of Sākala showed respect to Pan as they were afraid to disobey the Yueh-chi king; they then took away the seat of Pan's nephew and made Pan their king."

Mr. Kimura compares this account with a passage from Hiuen Tsang in which Kaniska is mentioned in connection with Sākala and some hostages, and draws the conclusion that Kaniska's date can be settled from this comparison. It must be subsequent to the period *Yüan-ch'u* (114-116 A.D.), and an examination of certain details mentioned by Hiuen Tsang shows, he says, that it must fall between A. D. 140 and 180.

This argument looks very convincing. But there is one difficulty: the quotation from the Hou Han-shu is not correct.

I shall not lay any stress on the fact that the name of the "Sākala" king is wrongly given as Ankon instead of An-kuo, older pronunciation An-kuak, because this may be a mere slip of the pen. More serious is, however, the misstatement that An-kuo was king of Sākala.

The passage quoted by Mr. Kimura is found in the chapters of the Hou Han-shu which deal with the kingdom Su-le in the Western Countries. The account of So-kü, *i.e.* Yarkand, ends with the remark: going from So-kü, if one turns to the north-east one arrives in Su-le. Su-le is accordingly a kingdom in Eastern Turkistan, to the north-east of Yarkand and I fail to understand why Mr. Kimura does not accept the usual identification of Su-le and Kashgar, which is, as a matter of fact, beyond every doubt.

If he had not made this mistake, he would probably have seen that the history of Kashgar, as it is narrated in Chinese and Tibetan sources, seems to include events which may prove of interest in connexion with the date of Kaniška.

In his *Tableaux historiques de l'Asie*, p. 166, M. Klaproth states that according to some Chinese source, the king of Kashgar was deposited by the Yueh-chi about A.D. 120, and that his subjects on that occasion embraced Buddhism. We are not told where he has found this statement, but Mr. Kimura will perhaps be able to trace it. It evidently refers to the same events which are mentioned in the passage from the Hou Han-shu quoted by him about the installation of the ruler whom Mr. Kimura calls Pan, but whom the Hou Han-shu name Ch'en-p'an on the throne of Kashgar. Now we are told in the Li-yul-gyi Lo-gyas-pa¹ that the wife of the Khotan king Vijayasimpha was instrumental in propagating Buddhism in Shu-lik. Shu-lik is evidently the same word as is rendered Su-le by the Chinese, for the ancient pronunciation of this name was *Shiwo-lek*. We must therefore draw the conclusion that the Khotan king Vijayasimpha was on the throne about A.D. 120.

Now we learn from another Tibetan source² that Vijayakirti, the son of Vijayasimpha, led an army to India together with king Kaniška and (?) the Guzan king and others. Though Tārānātha distinguishes between Kanika and Kaniška, just as Mr. Kimura speaks of two kings Kaniška, there cannot be any doubt that we have here a reference to Kaniška, whose date would accordingly be subsequent to A.D. 120.

If the Tibetan notice about the expedition to India can be relied on, it further raises a certain presumption in favour of the theory that Kaniška started on his campaign from Khotan and in this connexion it may be useful to remind the reader of certain facts which point to the same conclusion.

¹ Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 240.

² Cf. Dr. Thomas, *Indian Antiquary*, xxxii, 1903, p. 349.

Mr. Kimura quotes the notice in the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* about the king whom he calls Candra Kaniška. The Chinese text does not, however, speak of *Candra*, but of *Chen-t'an* Kaniška, and Professor Sylvain Lévi has long ago¹ suggested to explain *Chen-t'an* as "king of Khotan". Also the late Dr. Fleet² thought that "Kaniška belonged to a separate clan, sept, or ruling house of the Kuṣāṇa tribe which made its way from Khotan into Kashmir, and thence into India."

It is further of importance that Kaniška and his successors, in their coin legends, use the Iranian language which later on became the language of trade and administration in the Khotan kingdom and which had been spoken then in the first centuries of the Christian era³. They are there designated as belonging to the *Kuṣa* tribe and not by means of the derived word *Kuṣāṇa*, just as the Chinese texts quoted by Mr. Kimura speak of Kaniška as a king in the race of the *Kuṣas* and as king Kaniška of the *Mahārājakanikalekha*⁴ is said to be of the *Kuṣa* race.

Moreover, if Kaniška hailed from the Khotan country, it becomes necessary to follow the Russian scholar Storel Holstein⁵ in assuming that he belonged to the Little and not to the Great Yueh-chi.

It follows from what I have said above that I cannot accept Mr. Kimura's dictum that the "evidence does not leave the smallest doubt that there were two Kaniškas, one of older times and another a contemporary of Aśvaghoṣa." There were no doubt two Kaniškas, the great and famous protector of Buddhism and another one, probably his grandson, who is mentioned in the Āra inscription, but they were not separated by a long interval. The Chinese accounts of the interval between Kaniška and the Nirvāṇa are too inconsistent to be relied on, and the statements about the original composition and authorship of Buddhist books must be received with critical scepticism.

It will be seen that I roughly accept Mr. Kimura's date of what he calls Kaniška II for the great Kaniška. And I still think that the evidence collected in the paper written by my Dutch friend de Wijk and

1 See *Indian Antiquary*, xxxii, 190, pp. 384f.

2 *JRAS.*, 1903, p. 337.

3 Cf. my papers in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, 68, pp. 85 ff. and in the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, viii, pp. 220 ff.

4 Dr. Thomas, l.c., p. 348.

5 In the *Transactions of the Berlin Academy*, 1914, pp. 643 ff.

myself¹ strongly points to A. D. 134 as the initial year of the era, instituted by him. In B.C. 57 there was no Kuṣāṇa empire. That follows from the Chinese annals and also from the history of North-western India, which was then under the dominion of Śaka kings, Moga or one of his predecessors.

STEN KONOW

A Note on Excavation-work by Mediæval Bengalees

Towards the end of the Pathan rule and during the reign of the Mughals, Bengal did not only survive the shock of foreign occupation, but her life-forces also shaped out a new civilisation. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were marked by a general cultural upheaval which was effective in many directions. The work of reconstruction, which was suddenly stopped after the Senas, was now taken up in right earnest. Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Śāktism were the dominant forms of the Neo-Hinduism of the age. Both art and literature connected with these faiths were cultured to a great perfection. In order to reconstruct they had to fall back on artistic and literary traditions and vestiges of the past. Thus a regular investigation was carried on for bringing old Mss. and sites to light. A few references in contemporary literature are here collected in order to show that the work of excavation was not unknown in those days.

At the very outset we should observe that the underlying motive of those mediæval explorers was not at all archæological, but only to secure and restore the old images or sites. These old religious souvenirs had, through the ravages and political vicissitudes of Muhammadan rule and owing to the desertion of the places of pilgrimage, been gradually hidden in out-of-the-way places. Only the class of religious mendicants, who wandered through the length and breadth of the country, had any real knowledge of the old relics. They were sometimes known to have carried small images with their all but scanty belongings. They were thus an agent in the migration of idols. It was not uncommon that they often left the images with some fortunate householders who were eager to arrange for their regular worship. But the story of those images, which were buried underground, is differently told. As the folk-lore has it, the village cowboys, while tending their herds at some deserted spot overgrown with jungles, suddenly came by some old

¹ *Acta Orientalia*, Leiden, 1924, pp. 52 ff.

images and when the neighbouring villagers heard of it they took them over to a public place of worship. We are sometimes asked to believe stories in which certain lucky persons received an *āḍēśa* in their dreams that such and such deities are willing to favour them if they only dig up their images from particular spots.

Thus we find that some sort of excavation-work was being carried on in mediæval Bengal, though the fact was not recorded. We are not sure, for the paucity of any reliable mention in the contemporary works, whether old architectural remains were restored in the same way as the images. But we have come across some pointed references as to the restoration of some well-known images in the 16th century from some old sites excavated for the very purpose. And these images were different in style and execution from the newly sculptured ones. Again the old building materials which the excavations divulged were sometimes freely utilised to give the images a new habitation.

মথুরার লুপ্ত তীর্থের করিহ উদ্ধার ।

ভক্তি-স্মৃতি-শাস্ত্র করি করিহ প্রচার ॥ চৈতন্যচরিতামৃত—মধ্য—২৩শ অঃ

ব্রজের রসশাস্ত্র তুমি কর নিরূপণ ।

তীর্থ সব লুপ্ত, তার করিহ প্রচারণ ॥ চৈতন্যচরিতামৃত—অন্ত্য—১ম অঃ

Caitanyadeva, who revived and remodelled the Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal, had the farsightedness to place the activities of his Church on a sound foundation. He noticed with remorse that the holy places of Vaiṣṇavism as well as the Vaiṣṇava Śāstras were almost forgotten or extinct. He himself travelled to the farthest of the holy places and was anxious to revive the splendours of the Brindābans which were traditionally connected with the life-history of Kṛṣṇa. On the authority of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* we know that while travelling in Southern India he procured manuscript copies of rare Vaiṣṇava works, such as the *Brahma-saṃhitā* and the *Karṇāmṛta*. Again, he enjoined on the Vaiṣṇava apostles Sanātana and Rūpa Gosvāmins while he met the former at Benares and the latter at Puri :—

সর্বত্র প্রমাণ দিবে পুরাণ বচন । চৈতন্যচরিতামৃত—মধ্য—২৪শ অঃ

In the case of the holy sites, and specially the Brindābans which were hidden in the jungles far away from human habitation, the Vaiṣṇava apostles had to proceed with the greatest care and observation. They studied the old Śāstras on the subject.

নানা শাস্ত্র আনি লুপ্ততীর্থ উদ্ধারিলা । চৈতন্যচরিতামৃত—অন্ত্য—৪র্থ অঃ

লুপ্ত তীর্থ ব্যক্ত করি শাস্ত্রপ্রমাণেতে । ভক্তিরহাস্যকর (বহরমপুর সং) পৃঃ ৮৮

Many of the old sites were restored. But a difficulty arose. It was recorded in the Śāstras that the image of the important deity Govinda had once been connected with the spot called Yogapīṭha which was

somewhere in the Brindabans. Now, Rūpa Gosvāmin, perhaps after surveying the sites, ascertained that the Gomāṭilā was the old Yogapīṭha. And here, regular excavation being performed, his calculation was authenticated, and the image of Govinda was really found out,—

শ্রীরূপ গোস্বামির এক চিন্তা হৈল চিতে ॥

শ্রীবিগ্রহ শ্রীগোবিন্দ ব্রজেশ্বরকুমার ।

সদা যোগপীঠে স্থিতি শাস্ত্রে এ প্রচার ॥

গোমাটীলা খ্যাতি যোগপীঠ বুদ্ধাবনে ।

গোমাটীলা যোগপীঠ জানিলু এখনে ॥

যত্নে যোগপীঠ ভূমি খননের কালে ।

* * *
যোগপীঠ মধ্যে প্রভু ব্রজেন্দ্র নন্দন । ভক্তিরত্নাকর, পৃ: ৮৮-৯

* সর্বতীর্থ প্রকাশিল ।

মদনগোপাল গোবিন্দের সেবা প্রচারিল ॥ চৈতন্যচরিতামৃত—মধ্য—১৭ অ;

It is also recorded in the *Bhakti-ratnākara* (Ibid. p. 93) that at the Brindabans Sanātana Gosvāmin procured the image of Madanamohana but, we are not told whether any excavation-work had to be undertaken for the purpose. In this very old Vaiṣṇava work (Ibid. pp. 128-29) we get another reference to excavation at Biraloka by the celebrated Abhirāma Gosvāmin. The image of Gopināth was thus restored after excavating another old site. Now, the details of those operations were beside the aims of the Vaiṣṇava leaders. They were concerned only with the religious side of the thing. But the evidence of the orthodox Vaiṣṇava tradition embodied in the *C.-C.* and *Bhakt.-Rat.* which were written in the early years of the 17th century may fairly be reckoned as established.

Besides the Vaiṣṇavas, the Śāktas of the period seem to have launched a propaganda for excavation. But unfortunately we have no contemporary accounts of it. Only one instance may be taken as proved beyond doubt. The well-known and important image of Yaśo-reśvarī was restored by Pratāpāditya by excavating an old site (Prof. S. C. Mitra's *Yaśohara-Khulnār Itihāsa*, vol. II, p. 128). As most of the Śākta images are very old, at least some of them have been unearthed by means of excavation. We hope further research may reveal other instances of regular excavation.

RAMES BASU

Perumal's Apostacy

This is a subject about which much has been written by eminent scholars, and they seem to be generally agreed in discarding the view that a Perumal embraced Muhammadanism, mainly because the traditional date assigned to this incident, as expressed in the chronogram, *Kurudhiḥ Samasrayah* is centuries before the period of the Prophet. They hold that if a Perumal did turn apostate it was to accept Buddhism. They also held that the Muhammadan colour was introduced into the tradition by the Portuguese. But no explanation has as yet been offered as to how they misunderstood it. An explanation can be offered for this misunderstanding.

Buddha is a common name applied by Malayalees to the followers of all religions except Hinduism, and we do use the term in this sense even now to refer to Christians and Muhammadans. Originally it must have been applied only to Buddhists, that being the only alien religion in the land. Again the script, current here at the time of the Portuguese advent and for centuries before that, was the Vaṭṭeḷuttu script which have no symbols to denote aspirates and sonants. If the term *Magadha* was written in this script, it could be read only as *Makata*. To the foreigner it is easier to identify *Makata* with *Mecca* than with *Magadha*. Thus might have arisen the wrong interpretation of the tradition. This, therefore, once again supports the accepted view that the last of the Perumals who turned apostate become a convert not to Muhammadanism but to Buddhism.

In this connection a few more considerations deserve to be noticed. The interpretation of the apostacy, as accepted by scholars, necessarily raises the question as to what was the Perumal's religion before his conversion. Secondly, if there was an apostate Bhāskara Ravi Varmā, who is the Perumal of the same name whose statue is set up and worshipped at Tiruvāṅṅikūḷam temple? Surely, an apostate Perumal would not be accorded such honour. Thirdly, if the tradition of the apostacy is to be accepted, one must be prepared to accept the other statements also connected with it. Thus the same tradition makes the apostate Bhāskara Ravi Varmā the last of the Perumals who divided up his kingdom, and assigns him to the close of the fourth century A. D. If this also be accepted who is the Perumal of the same name who is the donor of the Jewish plate and who is assigned to the eighth or the ninth century by Epigraphists. These considerations do not appear to have been raised and answered. No definite answer can be given in the present imperfect state of our historical researches,

and if any solution is attempted here, it is only to court discussion and thus elicit truth.

The points raised above can find a satisfactory solution if two Bhāskara Ravi Varmās may be presumed. The earlier, or the traditional, Bhāskara Ravi Varmā might have been the last of that noble line of Imperial Suzerains, the last Emperor to actively wield the Kerala sceptre, to exercise the royal prerogatives appertaining to that high office in their fullest and highest measure and finally to divide up his kingdom amongst his relatives, accept Buddhism and go on a pilgrimage to Magadha. There might have been a revival of Hinduism in the land during his time and the Emperor might have forsaken the religion of his predecessors and accepted the new faith; but in his declining years he might have given up his new religion and went back to the religion of his youth and of his family, namely Buddhism.

The second or the historical Bhāskara Ravi Varmā, the donor of the Jewish plate, might not have been a Perumal, exercising all Kerala political supermacy; but only a chief invested however with complete religious supermacy over the whole land and hence entitled to the honorific title Perumal. That the historical Bhāskara Ravi Varmā lived after the break up of the Perumal's empire is to a certain extent borne out by the number of chieftains cited as witnesses to the Jewish deed. It is also certain that this king held his court at Tiruvāṅṣikuḷam.

If this view appears tenable, it deserves to be argued as to which family this spiritual head belonged. Certain clues are indeed available and in the light of these we are led to believe that the donor of the Jewish plate was one of the greatest kings of the family now known as the Cochin Royal Family. The omission of the Chief representing this family may be accounted for by supposing not that he was a nephew of the donor as is commonly done, but that he was the donor himself. That the Jews have shown a decided partiality for the Maharaja of Cochin, that His Highness has always take them under his protection and scrupulously respected the rights and privileges granted to them by Bhāskara Ravi Varmā may be adduced as a second argument in support of our view. Thirdly, to none else is the historic temple at Tiruvāṅṣikuḷam so dear as to His Highness. The Maharaja of Cochin, who even to this day carries honorific title 'Gaṅgādhara Tṛkkoil Adhikarikal Vera Kerala etc'. thereby suggesting that *Vaṅṣuleśa* was and is the patron deity of the Royal Family and that His Highness derives his sovereign powers from being the *Guardian* of that sacred

shrine. Fourthly, His Highness constitutes the highest tribunal in all spiritual matters for all Kerala, a position more or less conceded even now at least implicitly by all Malayalee chiefs. This position corresponds to that of the Pope in Europe, who, though, theoretically nothing in temporal affairs, could yet command the homage of all Christian powers and hence was practically everything. Similarly, the Maharaja of Cochin might not originally have been a great political power, but by virtue of the religious suzerainty he was very powerful and was able to exact the homage of all Malayalee princes. Tradition also seems to favour the view that His Highness was the spiritual head. For the last of the Perumals is said to have made his nephew the heir to his religious supremacy and hence gave him the crown. In the light of these it does not appear to be very far-fetched to find in the historic Bhāskara Ravi Varmā, one amongst the glorious ancestors of the Royal Family of Cochin.

Such an explanation, namely, that the historical Bhāskara Ravi Varmā represented mainly the highest spiritual and not political authority naturally fits in with the date assigned to the document on epigraphical grounds and is to some extent consistent with the nature of the document itself. The period, generally accepted for the document, was indeed a troublous time for religion. Buddhism and Jainism were gradually sinking under the vigorous strokes of the Mīmāṃsakas. Through the efforts of these and the advent of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya Hinduism was asserting itself. Christianity was receiving a greater impetus and Muhammadanism was making its appearance and its mark. It was a time for a religious head to make his name felt and the historical Bhāskara Ravi Varmā might have asserted his rights to the full and established Hinduism once and for all on a firm basis. Thus he might have earned the gratitude of the leaders of the Hindu religion who in return might have deified and worshipped him by enshrining a statue of his in the historic temple at Tiruvaṅṅikūḷam,

This is a new point of view and for want of materials it has to be suggested only as a tentative theory. According to this it has to be presumed that the Perumpaṭappil Muppil, i.e. the head of the Cochin Royal Family, held his court at Tiruvaṅṅikūḷam, the traditional capital of the Perumals for many centuries after the downfall of the Perumal's supremacy. If the Maharaja's coronation ceremony was conducted at Citrakūṭam in Vanneri it was only out of respect for the family tradition and not out of his official position, spiritual and political. What were the circumstances which forced the king to shift his

capital and where and when he first shifted are matters which cannot now be satisfactorily explained.

K. R. PISHAROTI

A Note on the Evidence of Pāṇini on Vāsudeva-worship

Mr. U. C. Bhattacharjee has tried very hard to controvert the opinion of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar by attempting to understand the true spirit of the sūtras of Pāṇini but he has not been successful.¹

It is very easy to maintain the view held by Bhandarkar that the sūtra IV, 3, 98 of Pāṇini could be taken as evidence of Vāsudeva-worship in his times. First let us take the Mahābhāṣya passage under the sūtra. It runs thus :

Kim arthaṃ Vāsudevaśabdād vun vidhiya te na gotrakṣatriyākhye-
bhyo bahulaṃ vuñ ity eva siddham. Na hy asti viśeṣo Vāsudeva-
śabdād vuno vuño vā. Tad eva rūpaṃ sa eva svaraḥ. Idaṃ tarhi
prayojanam—Vāsudevaśabadsya pūrvanipātaṃ vaksyāmīti. Athavā
naiṣā kṣatriyākhyā, samjñaiṣā tatra Bhagavataḥ.

“As the word Vāsudeva is commonly known as the name of a Gotra or of a Kṣatriya and as the form kept in view is not different from that contemplated in the next sūtra it could as well come under the operation of the next sūtra ; and its mention here should naturally be considered redundant. Further, there is no difference in accentuation as in the case of other suffixes, to differentiate the two formations. Then it might be that words denoting the names of respectful persons should be placed in the order of their respectability. Or (as it is unsatisfactory) it might be that the word Vāsudeva is the name of the Lord”.

Here we see Patañjali discussing all the possibilities, and finding no other way he comes to the conclusion that the word in question should be the name of the Lord. In this connection it would be worth while to refer to the words of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita on the Mahābhāṣya passage (Śabdakaustubha, Chowkh. S.S., vol. II, p. 182) :

Tathā ca neyaṃ gotrākhyā nāpi kṣatriyākhyeti yukta eva vun vidhiḥ.

To literally translate, it would mean : “Thus this word (Vāsudeva) is neither the name of a Gotra nor the name of a Kṣatriya (so as to come under the influence of the next sūtra), and so it is proper

1 Vide I. H. Q., vol. I, No. 3, pp. 483 ff.

to ordain the addition of (a different suffix) *vam*." He means that as the word Vāsudeva denoted the name of the Lord, Pāṇini ordains a special suffix. So according to him also there could be no doubt that Vāsudeva-worship was prevalent in the times of Pāṇini as evidenced by the sūtra IV, 3, 98.

It is rather engaging to go through the arguments against taking the word "Bhaktiḥ" in the sense of religious adoration. He says (p. 487),—"The sect-names of the worshippers of other well-known gods, such as Śiva or Viṣṇu, are not really derived under these rules (IV, 3, 95-100). These are derived under rule IV, 2, 24 (Sā aṇya devatā). The names indicating the god worshipped by any one are the true index of a man's religious adoration. Rule IV, 2, 24 and Rule IV, 3, 95 cannot possibly mean the same thing: for in that case, Pāṇini would be guilty of an unpardonable redundancy from which Patañjali is labouring so hard to save him. Now, if rule IV, 2, 24 obtains derivatives to indicate the god worshipped, and if the derivatives under rules IV, 3, 96-100 also meant the worshippers of particular objects, then surely, the interposition of the rule IV, 3, 95 (Bhaktiḥ) giving the meaning in which these latter derivatives are to be obtained, was clearly unnecessary. Instead of giving this new rule about the meaning, rules 96 to 100 might easily be grouped under IV, 2, 24. But this has not been done. We have, therefore, to distinguish the meaning given in IV, 3, 95 from that given in IV, 2, 24; and if religious adoration is to be the meaning anywhere, surely it must be where the names are indisputably the names of gods, i. e., rule IV, 2, 24."

It will be seen that the above arguments are based on a thorough misinterpretation of the rule IV, 2, 24. The word "devatā" here has nothing to do with religious adoration or the "sect names of worshippers of well-known gods. It has been rendered by the Vṛttikāra in his Kāśikā thus:—

Yāgasampradānaṃ devatā deyasya puroḍaśādeḥ svāmīni, tasmin abhidheye pratyayaḥ.

He means that the word "devatā" is the deity to whom the oblations are dedicated in sacrificial rites, and the words meaning "such oblations" take the following suffixes when such oblations are named after the deities to whom they are dedicated. Thus it is clear that the word "devatā" has nothing to do with religious adoration. Pāṇini is not at all "guilty of any unpardonable redundancy" in framing the sūtra IV, 3, 95. And Patañjali does not at all dream of any such redundancy. The absurdity pointed out as the result if the sūtra IV, 3, 95 were to be applied to the rule IV, 3, 96 in the sense of religious adoration is only

imaginary ; while in fact, it would really lie in applying the leading rule IV, 2, 24 to the rules it governs, in the sense of "sect-names of worshippers of well-known gods." Further, the fact that Pāṇini has mentioned the word "Vāsudeva" in the rule in question is sufficient argument to show that the word "bhakti" in the rule IV, 3, 95 should be taken to have been used in both its senses of religious adoration and "anurakti".

As regards the word "arjuna" there is nothing to infer its being also the name of a god. The form "arjunaka" could not be got by any other rule of Pāṇini and so its mention here could not give rise to any ingenious interpretation. We have seen that Patañjali does not at all interfere with the use of the word here.

Thus it can be established that Pāṇini's rule IV, 3, 98 is surely an evidence of Vāsudeva-worship as conceived of by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and that the other word is not used in the sense of god.

K. G. SUBRAHMANYAM

Progress of Archæological Research in Mysore

The Report on the working of the Archæological Department of the Mysore State during the year 1923-24 was recently published together with the government's review-order passed thereon. The Director of Archæology is the talented scholar, Dr. R. Shama Shastri, and his present Report is as full of varied interest and informing as the one that he brought out last year. As regards the work of a detailed monumental survey resolved upon, a beginning was made in 13 villages in the Hunsur, Arkalgud and Hassan Taluks, where the most important monuments surveyed are the twin temples of Mosale in the Hassan Taluk which are very good specimens of the Hoysala style of architecture and testify to the catholicity of the Vaiṣṇava Hoysala rulers in the matter of religious patronage. Besides repairs done to the Buceśvara Temple in the village of Koranangala in the Hassan Taluk which is a unique monument and architecturally as important as the temples of Somnathpur and Halebid, Government appointed a committee to submit a detailed report on the repairs and restoration work to be done to the great temples of Belur, Halebid and Somnathpur. There was also started in the course of the year an Archæological Museum as an adjunct to the office of the Department "with a view to make the study of Indian History realistic and interesting, and also to link up the Archæological

Department with the Department of History in the Mysore University. The Museum exhibits coins, copper-plate grants, ancient utensils and implements, views of ancient monuments and estampages of inscriptions.

The Ānjaneya temple at Bettadapura in the Hunsur Taluk is interesting, because of the figure of Ānjaneya carved on a huge slab measuring about 15' x 5'; and facing to the right with the left hand holding a mace and being placed on the waist; and with the figure of Lakṣmaṇa fighting with Indrajit carved higher up, on the slab; while below the Ānjaneya figure are carved a tiny figure similar to Ānjaneya called *Makaraahvaja* and also a fish and a tortoise. The name of the image is *Vira Hanumanta*. There are *līngas* in a cave in the vicinity of the temple which are very interesting. On the top of the bigger of the two *līngas* are carved five tiny *līngas* in a circle, while the figure of Pārvatī is carved within a slit in the smaller *līnga*. The *pīṭha* has got figures carved on all its four sides. A figure of the head and face of a female with ear-rings, necklace and other ornaments and surmounted by a serpent of seven hoods is prominently carved on the side of the *pīṭha* opposite to that through which the water poured over the *līnga* flows out. On the *pīṭha* above the figure there is prominently carved out the name *Subrahmaṇyadeva*. This novel figure should attract the attention of all students of iconography. To the left of the serpent hoods a figure of *Śakti-gaṇapati* is carved, as well as, a nude squatting figure with the name *Jina* written below. Such *līngas* or the coupling of such figures are not found anywhere else, nor are they described in any of the well-known *āgama* works.

There are also near the village of Somapura, a number of earth-mounds surrounded by one or two circles of stones which are locally designated as *Pāṇḍu Gutti* similar to sites elsewhere in the state called *Pāṇḍu kuṭi* or *Moryara Dinne* and traditionally connected with the epic Pāṇḍava heroes. In reality these might be either artificial caves of some aboriginal tribes or tombs of some early peoples; and a complete excavation may bring to light the relics buried in them.

With regard to manuscripts and books brought to light, there are some very noteworthy finds. Of these the first is *Mallisena's Nāgakumāracarita* which purports to be an abridgment in Sanskrit of what Jayadeva and others of old wrote partly in prose and partly in poetry in Prākṛt. It is the story of Nāgakumāra, the son of a Magadha king by a princess of Girinagara, who had to fight out the machinations of his half-brother Śrīdhara and encountered numerous adventures

living a thousand years in the epoch of the Jain Tīrthaṅkara Nemi. The story connects the hero with the Śakas and the Pallavas—Kirtivarmā, a Śaka prince of the city of Śupratīṣṭhā, Meghavarṇa, king of Madura in the Pāṇḍya country and the Pallava king of Kāñci. The Śaka and Pallava names are rather the names of dynasties than of individual kings—so the Director remarks—but still the mention of these names definitely marks the period of the adventures of the Nāgākumāras. All the kings in the story are described as having given their daughters in marriage to Nāgākumāra except the Pallavas, and it is probable that as the Pallavas had married Nāga princesses, the Nāgas, conforming to the Hindu custom of not exchanging daughters, might have declined to marry the Pallava princesses in return. Such names as Rudrasena, Candragupta and Pravarasena are the names of kings who played an important part in the period of the Śakas and the Pallavas *viz.*, the Śaka Rudrasena II, Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty and Pravarasena I of the Vākāṭaka line. Rudrasena II is dated *cir.* 258 A.D. The Director would give the date *cir.* 250 A. D. for Candragupta I; (*vide* his *Report* for 1922-23); and he would now fix the period of the Nāgas as falling between 200 and 300 A.D. Nāgākumāra is the name of one of the nine Nāgas mentioned along with the Guptas in the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*. This new piece of evidence is only a tentative basis for further investigation and cannot be regarded as conclusive as it is not supported by epigraphical or numismatical evidence. Another work of some historical importance is the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta* of Sakala-vidyācakravartin—a historical prose-work in Sanskrit after the model of Bāṇa's *Harṣa-carita*. The subject is about the 90 days battle between Narasiṃha II, Hoysala and the Pāṇḍya and his allies with the object of restoring the fallen Cola fortunes about 1234 A.D. The information supplied by this unfortunately incomplete manuscript regarding the part played by the Hoysalas in putting down the Pāṇḍyas and rendering the Cola power stable is confirmed by numerous Hoysala inscriptions.

Somacaritragaṇī's *Gurugaṇa-ratnākara* throws a flood of light on the history of Gujarat in the latter half of the 15th century; it treats of the life of the Jain monk Lakṣmīśāgaragaṇī of Tapagaccha who was of the Prajñāta line. This monk was a *sūri*; and under his influence all the Hindu chiefs of Gujarat abandoned their policy of mutual quarrels and formed a circle (*maṇḍala*) of kings. The academy of Tapagaccha monastery conferred various degrees on students of Jaina religion and philosophy according to the standard of learning

they had acquired. The names of a number of scholars on whom the degrees were conferred are mentioned in the book and include women also. We also note that according to this book the relations between the Muhammadan conquerors of Malwa and Gujarat and the Hindu chiefs were most cordial. The book supplies a genealogy of the Prajñāta line of kings who ruled from Samadhika in Gujarat.

Among the epigraphical finds of the year, there are four copper-plate grants of the early Western Ganga kings ; and six are of the Vijayanagara kings. Two important stone inscriptions relate to the Ganga kings, Sivamara and Śrīpuruṣa ; and seven to the Nolamba rulers of the 9th and 10th centuries. The Western Ganga Plates supplement the important information derived from the Penukonda Plates of Mādhava (JRAS., 1915) ; they are the Chūkuttūr grant of the Ganga king Siṃhavarmā and the Kodanjeruvu grant of the Ganga king Avinīta and possibly engraved by the same person who engraved the Penukonda Plates. "On palæographic grounds and also on the evidence furnished by the name of the engraver they (the two latter) must necessarily be assigned to the same period as that of the Penukonda Plates (A. D. 400-500). But all the three vary in respect of the genealogies they furnish, after Karkanivarmā and Mādhava I ; and there can be no doubt that the three plates belong to three different branches springing from Mādhava I, the son of Karkanivarmā. With the help of these, Dr. Shama Sastri recasts the Ganga genealogy and says that 'chronological considerations based upon the synchronism of the Ganga kings with the Pallavas, the Kadambas and the Guptas lead to the conclusion that the three kings, Mādhava II of Penukonda branch, Siṃhavarmā of the Chūkuttūr branch, and Mādhava II or young Avinīta of the main line must be contemporaries." He fixes on the basis of the synchronism established by Siṃhasūri's *Lokaviśbhāga* between Siṃhavarmā of the Pallava line and Mādhava II, Avinīta's date of anointment as a child-king may be taken to be about A.D. 475. The Nallāla grant of Durvinīta, son of Avinīta, seems to be equally genuine, as the Chūkuttūr and the Kodanjeruvu plates ; and it supplies a genealogy of the main line as distinguished from the other two branches. The Ālur grant of the Ganga king Marasiṃha, also discovered during the year is suspicious in some points ; but the genealogy of kings and synchronistic and other historical matters mentioned in it cannot be doubted ; because so far as these matters are concerned, the grant is merely a copy of other genuine grants.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

The Cerebralization of the Dental Nasal in Pāli

The rules regarding the cerebralization of the dental nasal, *n*, in Sanskrit (*Pāṇini*, VIII. 4. 1 ff.) have nothing to do in Pāli, though both the nasals, cerebral and dental, *ṇ* and *n*, are freely used in it. In P. (= Pāli) there is neither *ṛ* nor *ṣ*; consequently they have no connection whatever with *n*; and though there is the use of *ṛ* it does not much affect *n* (or *s*) as in Skt. (= Sanskrit)

There are a few rules in our ancient P. grammars in regard to the cerebralization of *n*, but they are not sufficient. Let them be mentioned here.

It is said¹ that the *n* of the suffixes *-ana* and *-anīya* after the roots ending in *ra* (or *r*) and *ha* (or *h*) is changed to *ṇ*; e.g. *karṇa*, *karṇīya* from *√kara* (= *√kr*), *gahaṇa*, *gahaṇīya* from *√gaha* (= *√grh*).²

It is further said (*Mahārūpasiddhi*, p. 21) that *n* becomes *ṇ* after

¹ *Kaccūyanavutti*, Satyasamuccaya Press (Ceylon), 1904, iv. 1. 26; *Mahārūpasiddhi*, Vidyāsāgara Press (Ceylon), 1897, p. 221, *Sūtra* 536; *Mahāsaddanīti* (Colombo), 1909, p. 742, *Sūtra* 1135. The *sūtra* as read in the *Kaccūyanavutti* referred to runs as follows: "Rahādito ṇa." In the Calcutta edition by Satis Chandra Vidyabhusan, 1901, the reading is "Rahādito no ṇa." The same reading is found also in the "*Mahārūpasiddhi*, loc. cit. Both the readings seem to be defective. One should read "Rahādito ṇo" and "Rahādito no ṇo" respectively. The *Sūtra*, given in the *Mahāsaddanīti*, loc. cit., is accurate and quite clear: "Rahādito anassa ṇo." By the word *-ādi-* in "Rahādito" the author of the *Mahārūpasiddhi* takes the roots *rama* (*√ram*), *āpa* (*√āp*), *ñā* (*√ñā*) and *tū* (*√trā* or *trai*) adding again *-ādi-* 'and others' though no other root is cited in the examples given by him. The *Kaccūyanavutti* with the *Mahāsaddanīti* says that this rule is with reference to the suffix *-ana* while the *Mahārūpasiddhi* adds to it the suffixes *-anīya* and 'others' (*-ādi*).

² But we have *gahana* 'a wood' or 'thick' with *n*. Seeing this the author of the *Mahāsaddanīti* adds here one *sūtra* more (1137, p. 743) for its exclusion. Evidently he wrongly takes the word as derived from *√gaha* of which the Skt. equivalent is *√grh*. The fact is that it is derived from Skt. *√gah* (= *√gabh*, *√gāh*).

the prefixes *pa-* (Skt. *pra-*), *pari-*, and others¹ e. g. *paṇidhāna*, Skt. *praṇidhāna*; P. & Skt. *pariṇāma*; *oṇata*, Skt. *avanata*²; *uṇṇata*, Skt. *unnata*. The author of the *Mahāsaddanīti* gives another rule (p. 548, *Sūtra* 91): “*Ṇo nassa*”; ‘there is *ṇ* in the place of *n*’ e.g. *paṇidhāna*, Skt. *praṇidhāna*; *paṇidhi*, Skt. *praṇidhi*; *paṇipāta*, Skt. *praṇipāta*. Then he goes on to say in the next *Sūtra* (92) “*Nassa ca no*”; ‘also there is *n* in the place of *ṇ*’; and gives the following examples: *taluna* and *taruṇa*, *kaluna* and *karuṇa*. With regard to this as well as some other changes dealt with in the chapter he says (p. 546, *Sūtra* 70) that such substituted forms (*ādeśas*) are to be known according to the uses found in the sacred texts (*pāvacaṇa*).³ This shows that there is hardly any fixed rule in regard to the cerebralization of *n* in Pāli.

Let us, however, try to discuss it a little more. Speaking generally, whenever there is in Skt. a cerebral nasal in a *stem* it will be found also in the corresponding P. words: e.g. Skt. *varṇa*, P. *vaṇṇa*; Skt. *ḍiṛṇa*, P. *ḍiṇṇa*; Skt. *ṭṛṇa*, P. *tiṇa*; Skt. *ḷekṣṇa*, P. *tiṇha*; Skt. *lakṣṇa*, P. *lakṣṇa*; Skt. *grahṇa*, P. *gahaṇa*.

There is, however, exception, but not much. For instance *nisinna*, Skt. *niṣaṇṇa*. Let us take another word: *niḍḍhāna*, Skt. *nirvṛṇa*. According to the above rule it is to be written with *ṇ* and is actually found so in such grammatical works as the *Mahāsaddanīti*, pp. 57, 547 and *Mahārūpasiddhi*, pp. 84, 234.⁴ It is, however, written also with *n* and not unfrequently. In the publications of the Pāli Text Society as well as in some of the works edited by European scholars *n* is

1 *Ṇo nassa pa- pari- ādito*.

2 It is, therefore, against the opinion of the author of the *Mahārūpasiddhi* that *anata* is used in the *Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha*, v. 12 in some of its editions, viz., the edition published by P. D. Fernando and G. S. Andris de Silva, Colombo, 1898 (p. 97, §251); that of the Sarasvatī Press, Colombo, 2nd ed. 1908 (p. 21), and that of the Merusamudaya Press, Ratmalam, 1909 (p. 67). The same reading is given, I know, also in a Burmese edition. We have, however, *oṇata* in the editions of the PTS. (p. 25), the Thudammavadi Press, Rangoon, 1921 (p. 27), the Mahāmukuta Rājavidyālaya, Siām, 2466 B (p. 31), and the Gujrat Purātattva-Mandira, 1979 V. S. (p. 28).

3 *Yathā pāvacaṇaṇ vidhi. Imasmim pakaraṇe pāvacaṇānurūpen' evā ādesūdi vidhi hoti*.

4 But in the edition of Dhammakitti S. Dhammārāma, Vidyāsāgara Press, Colombo, 1915, pp. 94, 251, it is with *n*.

used. The books issued from Burma and Siam have, so far as my information goes, have *n* and not *ṇ*. But in the works printed in Ceylon both *ṇ* and *n* are employed. Even in the same book both of them are found.¹

It seems to me that something may be said in favour of both the sides. When the P. word is derived direct from Skt. *nirvāṇa* (*nir* + *√vā* + *ana*) in which there is *ṇ* it is also in its P. form, *nibbāṇa*, in accordance with the rule enunciated above. On the other hand, if it is derived from P. *√vana*, Skt. *√van* 'to desire, long,' with the prefix *nī*, Skt. *nir*, as optionally suggested by native commentators,² the form *nibbāṇa* with *n* is also possible (**nirvāṇa* being changed to *nibbāṇa*). It is to be noted that in **nirvāṇa*, there is nothing for cerebralizing *n*.

Note the following words which are equally used in both the languages *gūṇa*, *gaṇa*, *vīṇā*, etc.

In Skt. where there is a cerebral nasal, *ṇ*, in a case-ending and *not* in a stem, P. uses there the dental one, *n*; e. g. from *cira* in Skt. we have *cireṇa*, while in P. it is *cirena*; from *ākāra* Skt. *ākāreṇa*, P. *ākārena* and so on. Similarly from *dharma* Skt. *dharmēṇa*, P. *dhammena*; from *puruṣa* Skt. *puruṣeṇa*, P. *purisena*. The above examples are all in the instrumental case; let me cite a few words also in other cases where the dental nasal is cerebralized only in Skt.; from *dharma* we have in Skt. *dharmāṇām* but in P. *dhammānaṃ*. So from *puruṣa* Skt. *puruṣāṇām*, P. *purisānaṃ*; from *rūpa* Skt. *rūpāṇi*, P. *rūpāni*. All these dental nasals are in case-endings and not in stems and hence are not cerebralized in P.

Here the non-cerebralization may be explained in the following way:

1 For instance, see *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, ed. H. Subhuti, Colombo, 1900, vv. 6. 800, 1015, p. 235; *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, Colombo, 1898, pp. 4, 53, 120.

2 "Bhavā bhavaṃ vinanato saṃsibbanato vānasamkhātāya taṇhāya nikkantaṃ, nibbāti vā etena rāgaggi-ādiko'ti nibbānaṃ." *Vibhāvani Tīkā* on the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*, I, verse 2.

"Yasmā paṇesa catasso yoniyo, pañca gatiyo...aparāparabhāvāya vinanato, ābandhanato, saṃsibbanato vānaṃ ti laddhavohārāya taṇhāya nikkanto, nissaṇṇo, viṣamyuto, tasmā nibbānaṃ ti vuccatīti." *Visuddhimagga*, PTS., vol. I, pp. 293-294.

It may be observed here that the word *vāṇa* meaning *taṇhā* Skt. *tṛṣṇā* cannot be disputed as the root *√van* in the sense of 'to desire' is used in the Vedic language, cf. *vanānā*, RV. ix. 86. 40.

P. dhammena, purisena, and *rūpāni* are not derived direct from their Skt. equivalents, *dharmena, puruseṇa*, and *rūpāni* respectively (in that case there was the possibility of the cerebralization), but are from the P. words themselves, viz. *dhamma, purisa*, and *rūpa* respectively which are borrowed from Skt. adding to them the case-endings also borrowed from Skt.

Deviation from this rule is found but rarely. For instance, Skt. *padāḥṣarāṇām*, P. *padakkharāṇaṃ* and not *padakkharāṇaṃ* in the *Mahāsaddanīti*, p. 31. But it is difficult to ascertain as to whether this and such other cases are due to the mistake committed by scribes, printers, or editors themselves.

In verbal forms Skt. is followed ; e. g. Skt. *krīṇāti*, P. *kiṇāti* ; Skt. *grhṇāti*, P. *gaṇhāti* ; Skt. *śṛṇoti*, P. *suṇoti* ; but *ahunāti* is in both of them.

There are some words in P. in which the cerebral nasal is due solely to Prakritic influence as in Skt. ; e. g. Skt. *jñāna*, P. *ñāṇa* ; Skt. *avanāta*, P. *onāta*. There is no special rule about it and so the old uses are to be followed.

Sometimes the dentalization in P. of the cerebral nasal in Skt. already referred to as in *taluna*, Skt. *taruṇa*, etc. may be due to the influence of the Paisācī dialect, the connection of which with P. cannot be denied.

VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

Calcutta Imperial Library

There is a rumour afloat that the Imperial Library will be removed from Calcutta to Delhi. The scholars, journalists, and the educated public in the city have become naturally agitated at the idea that they are about to be deprived of the facilities for reading and research that the Library has been conferring on them since its foundation in 1902 by Lord Curzon. For the purposes of research, the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal alone is not sufficient, because there are many books which are available in the Imperial Library but not in that of the Asiatic Society, and therefore for scholars engaged in historical researches, the existence of both the libraries in this city is a necessity. The new capital at Delhi will no doubt require a library worthy of the metropolis of the Indian continent, but this does not mean that Calcutta should be deprived of its library to

furnish Delhi with one of the type. In the construction of the new capital, crores of rupees have been spent and will yet be spent, and therefore the cost of ten or fifteen lacs for the establishment of a new library there does not present any difficulty at all, specially as it can be distributed over a number of years. The number of scholars prosecuting researches at Delhi is at present very small, and several years would elapse before there will be scholars there in large numbers for whom a library of the type will be needed. Hence, there is no immediate necessity at Delhi for the existence of a full-fledged institution like the Imperial Library, though of course we have every sympathy with the immediate foundation there of a library which would in the course of a few years develop into an institution like the one in Calcutta.

Pursuant to the request of Mr. Nripendra Nath Basu the well-known councillor of the Calcutta Corporation, letters have been addressed by the Corporation to the Government of India and the Government of Bengal for having information on certain points relating to the financial aspect of the process by which the Library came into existence, and developed since its foundation. So far as we have been able to gather such information from the official records, we give it here briefly: In 1840, a fund was raised for perpetuating the memory of Sir Charles Metcalfe (afterwards Baron Metcalfe) Governor-General of India. To this fund the Agri-Horticultural Society of India and the Calcutta Public Library made contributions. At a meeting of the subscribers to the fund, it was resolved that a two-storeyed building called the Metcalfe Hall should be erected for accommodating the Agri-Horticultural Society in the lower storey and the Calcutta Public Library in the upper. The site (1 Bigha 2 Cottahs and 2½ Chittacks¹) on which it stands was furnished by the Government of India subject to the condition of its reverting to the Government in case of failure of the purpose for which it was given. Both the Society and the Library were registered under Act XXI of 1860. In 1900 when negotiations were commenced for the transfer of the building and of the collection of books in it to the Government of

1 Bounded on the North by Hare Street, on the East by the messuage and godowns belonging to Doorga Churn Law and Chundy Churn Law in the occupation of Messrs. Ralli Bros., on the south by the premises occupied by the Govt. Stationary Office, and on the West by Strand Road.

India for the establishment of the Imperial Library, it was found that there had been 58 proprietors of the Calcutta Public Library [i. e. holders of the original shares (in the Institution) which came into existence prior to the end of the year 1849]. Some of them may be mentioned here : Honourable Mr. J. G. Apcar, Mr. Nilmoney Dey of Cossipur, Mr. Ashutosh Dhar, Mr. J. C. Dutt, Mr. Protap Chandra Ghosh, Mr. Joygobind Law, Maharaja Narendra Krishna Deb Bahadur, Mr. Kalichurn Palit, Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, Maharaja Jotindra Mohan Tagore Bahadur, Hon. Sir John Woodburn, Sir Romes Chunder Mitra, Mr. Kally Kissen Tagore.

There was doubt as to whether the two bodies registered under the Societies Registration Act of 1860 had the power of transferring the properties under their management and therefore a Bill had to be introduced in the Indian Legislative Council to validate the transfer. The Government of India paid Rs. 29000/- to the proprietors of the Public Library (Rs. 500/- for each original share), and Rs. 25000/- to the Agri-Horticultural Society plus an unconditional permanent annuity of Rs. 6000/- to this body. The proprietors of the Public Library were also given the personal privilege of taking out of the Imperial Library for perusal at their places of residence 6 books or 12 volumes at a time out of the collection of books transferred by them, and should any books belonging to the collection be found unnecessary for the Imperial Library, they would be made over to a library, which might be founded by them in Calcutta.

The Calcutta Corporation had the right of electing two out of the twelve members of the Managing Committee of the Public Library so long as it continued its grant-in-aid to the institution. The grants received by the Public Library from the Calcutta Corporation were as follows :—Rs. 8000 in each of the three years from 1890-91 to 1892-93, and Rs. 4000/- in each of the 6 years from 1893-94 to 1898-99. The total amount received by the Library was Rs. 48000/- exclusive of the amount of Rs. 2000/- contributed by the Corporation on the 14th May, 1896, for repairs to the building.

The removal of the library should not be effected in ruthless disregard of the opinions and feelings of the scholars and the educated public of this city. If the proposal of removal be based on the ground that the Library should be a provincial charge, a position which is not very reasonable,—ways and means should be found to retain it by a reduction of the recurring expenses of the institution if necessary. An idea of its present annual expenditure may be formed from the Budget Estimate for 1925-26 containing the following items :—

<i>Non-Paid.</i>	Librarian (1000-1500)	...	Rs. 17810	
	Leave Salary	...	Rs. 1000	
				Rs. 18810
<i>Paid.</i>	Superintendent (100-300), Assistants and Clerks (at rates varying from Rs. 50 to 300)	...	Rs. 21860	
	Sorters and servants (at rates varying from Rs. 13 to 45)...	...	Rs. 9040	
	Leave Salary	...	Rs. 1500	
				Rs. 32400
	Freight on European Stores	...		Rs. 200
	Rents, Rates, and Taxes	...	Rs. 3420	
	Purchase of books		Rs. 18000	
	Other contingent expenditure	Rs. 4120		Rs. 25540
				Rs. 76950

We think there is scope for economy and retrenchment.

Ed.

Ownership of the Soil in Ancient India : The evidence of certain texts discussed

In *Hindu Polity* (Part II, pp. 173-188) Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has presented us with an elaborate discussion relating to the question of ownership of the land in Ancient India. In the course of this discussion he examines a number of important passages from the literature of *Mīmāṃsā*, *Smṛti*, and *Arthaśāstra*, and concludes that there is no evidence for ascribing to the king the right of property in the soil. In the present paper, we propose to consider three of these passages to show how far J. has succeeded in proving his case:

I. We shall first take the passage (VIII, 39), wherein the *Manu-smṛti* gives the rule of law relating to the king's share in ancient treasure as well as metals hidden underground. It runs as follows:—
*nidhīnān tu purāṇānāṃ dhātūnāṃ eva ca kṣītau/ arddhabhāg rakṣaṇād
rājā bhūmer adhipatir hi saḥ*

Bühler in his English translation of the *Manusamhitā* took the last

pāda to mean "(and) because he is lord of the soil", and pointedly drew attention to this distinct recognition of the principle that the ownership of all land is vested in the king" (S. B. E. vol. xxv, p. 260 and n.). He claimed to find support for his interpretation in the concluding portion of Medhātithi's commentary on the above which he translated in the following way : " he [the king] is lord of the soil (*bhūmi*) ; it is just that a share should be given to him of that which is found in the soil belonging to him." This explanation is altogether rejected by J. who substitutes for it a highly original interpretation of his own. He first renders the phrase " *bhūmer adhipatir hi saḥ*" as " the king is the protector of both the upper and the sub-soil (sic.)". Then he proceeds to quote and interpret in his own way what he thinks to be the "real portion" of Medhātithi's commentary.

'atra hetū rakṣaṇād iti yadyapi kṣītau nihatasya (sic.) kenacid ajñānān na rājakīyarakṣopayujyate tathāpi tasya balavatāpahārāḥ sambhāvyaṭo'sty eva rakṣāyā arthavattvam etadarthamevāha bhumeradhipatir hi saḥ.'

"Medhātithi...says that although no one knows what is there in the land and the government has to do very little guarding there, yet as there is a likelihood of the whole land being taken away by a strong enemy, the king is entitled to his 'share' for this constructive protection." (*H.P.*, part II, pp. 173-174 and note.)

These statements are open to objection on more than one ground. For, in the first place, even if we follow J., in taking the phrase '*bhūmeradhipati*', as consisting of three distinct words '*bhūmeḥ*' '*adhi*' and '*pati*' and understand the last term to mean 'protector', how is it possible to render the whole, as J. does, in the sense of 'protector of both the upper and the sub-soil'. The natural meaning of *adhipati* would seem to be *adhikaḥ pati*, 'superior protector' or 'lord.' And does Medhātithi, after all support the theory of the king's protectorship, as distinguished from the ownership, of the soil. In the extract quoted above from his commentary, the point that is sought to be explained is evidently the use of the word '*rakṣaṇā*' with reference to what is hidden underground. J. understands Medhātithi to assert the king's protectorship of the whole land (cf. his translation " as there is likelihood of the whole land being taken away by a strong enemy, the king is entitled to his 'share' for this constructive protection"). But he overlooks the fact that the word '*tasya*' in the extract '*tasya balavatā*' is in the masculine gender and cannot therefore possibly stand for the preceding '*kṣītau*' which is feminine. Medhātithi, indeed, does not leave us in doubt as to his meaning. For in the lines immediately

following those quoted by J., we read *prabhuḥ asau bhūmes tadyāyā bhūvo jallabdhām tatra yuktam bhāgadānam*. Here the mention of 'prabhu', lord or sovereign as a synonym for 'adhipati' is decisive as to the meaning of the latter term. As Mr. K. P. J. has thought it fit deliberately to ignore this extract, it is difficult to resist flinging back in his teeth the charge which he has unjustly brought against Bühler, that of quoting a mutilated passage of Medhātithi to justify an unwarranted interpretation of the commentator.

II. The second passage would seem to involve a still more decisive answer to the question of ownership of the soil than the passage first quoted, for it apparently contrasts the rights of the king with those of his subjects. Here, however, J. has criticised the reading of the text as given by another scholar and has advanced a correspondingly different interpretation. The passage is a verse quoted by Bhaṭṭasvāmin in the course of his commentary on Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (II. 24). It was originally translated by Dr. Shamasastri (Arthaśāstra, tr. p. 144) as follows :—"Those who are well versed in the *śāstras* admit that the king is the owner of both land and water, and that the people can exercise their right of ownership over all other things excepting these two". This explanation was accepted with avidity by the late Vincent Smith (Early History of India, third edition, p. 131 n; Oxford History of India, p. 90) in justification of his thesis that the native law of India has always recognised agricultural land as being crown property." Against this view J. has poured forth the vials of his patriotic indignation. He begins by giving the reading of the text which he claims to be based upon a copy of the original manuscript which is now deposited in the Madras Museum :—

rājā bhūmeḥ patir dṛṣṭaḥ śāstrajñair udakasya ca |

tābhyām anyatra yad dravyaṃ tatra sāmyam kuṭumbinām

Then he proceeds to translate it in the following way :—"The king is the protector (pati), according to the opinion of the learned in the *śāstras*, of the bhūmi (land) and water. Excepting these two whatever property there may be, his family members have sameness of right therein". This, according to J., is "in effect the theory of Mīmāṃsā and the law and constitution" "retold in connection with the rights of the family of a ruler." It involves, in other words, the doctrine that the king is only a protector (and not owner) and hence there is no co-parcenary of his family members therein. Now it is not a little significant that another scholar who has had the advantage of drawing upon the original manuscript has furnished a reading which fully agrees with Shamasastri's translation given above.

We refer to Mr. Ganapati Sastri who reads (Arthaśāstra ed., vol. I, p. 287) the second *carana* as 'tābhyām anyatra yad dravyaṃ tatra svāmyaṃ kuṭumbinām'. In view of the long and brilliant record of the last-named scholar as an editor of Sanskrit texts, the question of the king's ownership of the soil may be considered, in so far as the present passage is concerned, to be definitely set at rest. But let us admit for a moment the correctness of J.'s reading 'sāmyam' instead of 'svāmyam'. Would the above passage still bear the sense attributed to it by J.? Our answer would depend upon the meaning of the terms 'pati' and 'kuṭumbinām'. We shall best discover this by considering the evidence of parallel passages, if any, and of the context. In the case of 'pati,' we have already seen how Medhātithi renders '*adhipati*' in the verse of Manusmṛiti (VIII, 39) as 'prabhuḥ', 'lord' or 'master.' Another corroborative testimony is found in a work which is one of the latest publications of the Gaekwad Oriental Series. In the *Mānasollāsa* attributed to King Someśvara (III) of the (Western) Calukya dynasty, of which the first volume appeared in 1925, the author has the following verses at the end of his chapter on 'nidhi':—

samuddharen nidhiṃ rājā nijādhykṣapurāḥsaram,
evam siddhyanti sarvāṇi nidhanāni na saṃśayaḥ.
dhanānām īśvaro rājā brahmaṇā parikalpitaḥ,
bhūgatānām viśeṣeṇa yato'sau vivudhādhipaḥ.

Mānasollāsa, p. 61.

Here, it will be observed, the king is declared to be the lord (*īśvara*) of all wealth, especially of that which is stored inside the earth. No ingenuity can twist this explicit testimony into a plea for the king's being merely the protector. As for the term '*kuṭumbin*,' it may be taken to mean a family member as J. has done or else the head of a family. But the context in which the present passage is quoted by Bhaṭṭasvāmin, namely the payment of irrigation dues by the subjects, would suggest the use of *kuṭumbinām* in the latter sense. If the above arguments were to be accepted as correct, the sense of the whole passage even with the reading (sāmyam) would be as follows:—"The king is described by those who are learned in the Śāstras as the lord of the soil and water; the house-holders have the same (right of property) in all things other than these two." Thus even assuming the correctness of J.'s reading we have here an unequivocal declaration of the king's right of property in the soil.

III. The third and the last passage which we propose to consider in the present place is a quotation from the *Rājanitiprakāśa* of Mitrāmīśra (p. 271). Let us quote the original extract :—

I. H. Q., MARCH, 1926

Kātyāyanaḥ :—

‘Bhūsvāmī tu smṛto rājā nānyadravyasya sarvadā,
tatphalasya hi ṣaḍbhāgaṃ prāpnuyān nānyathaiva tu.
Bhūtānāṃ tannivāsītāt svāmitvaṃ tena kīrttitam
tatkriyābaliṣaḍbhāgaṃ śubhāśubhanimittajam’ iti.

Asyārthah rāja bhuvah svāmī smṛtaḥ anyadravyasya bhūmisam-
baddhadravva-ya eva svāmī anyathā bhūmisvāmyābhāve bhūtānāṃ
prāpnīnāṃ tannivāsītāt bhūnivāsītāt svāmitvaṃ rājña iti śeṣaḥ itya-
taḥ tatkriyābaliṣaḍbhāgaṃ prāpnuyāt.

The plain meaning of the above passage is not far to seek. It contains a categorical affirmation of the doctrine of the king’s ownership (*svāmitvaṃ*) of the land (which it explains and justifies by his levy of 1/6th share of the produce thereof), and it proceeds to derive therefrom what may be called a theory of the king’s constructive lordship over his subjects whence again arises the king’s right of collecting the usual sixth. But let us see how J. understands this passage. His translation of it which betrays his useful ingenuity is as follows :—

“When the king is called the *svāmin* (master) of the land and in no case of any other wealth, he only becomes entitled to receive the one-sixth share of the produce (from it), not [that he is master] in any other way. The mastership which is connected with him is due to the habitation thereof by living beings and is the one-sixth share arising from their acts whether good or bad.”

“Its meaning is [this]: king is called the *svāmin* of land, not of other wealth connected with land. ‘Not in any other way’ is [laid down] as there is want of mastership in land. ‘Living beings’ are those having life; ‘habitation thereof’ is habitation of the land; ‘mastership,’ that is, mastership of the king. Hence he can only receive 1/6th from their acts” (*H. P.*, part II, p. 179).

Now the above translation is open to the following objections :—

1. The word ‘only’ has nothing corresponding to it in the original text of Kātyāyana.
2. In Kātyāyana’s verse above-quoted ‘*smṛtaḥ*’ is evidently taken by J. to signify the subjunctive and ‘*prāpnuyāt*’ the present tense. This involves an unnecessary forcing of the sense.
3. J. evidently understands ‘*nānyathā*’ in Kātyāyana to stand for something like ‘*nānyathā svāmī smṛtaḥ*’. But the natural connection of ‘*anyathā*’ is with ‘*prāpnuyāt*’. Besides how can ‘*svāmī*’ be detached from the compound ‘*bhūsvāmī*’?
4. If the words ‘*anyathā bhūsvāmyābhāve*’ in the commentary were meant to be understood in J.’s sense, Mitrāmīśra would

have added a corresponding verb like 'smṛtaḥ' to explain his meaning (cf. his explanation of the phrase 'tatkriyā^c' in the same extract as '*tatkriyābaliṣadḥhāgaṇ prāpnuyāt*') and 'bhūmi svāmya^c' would have had the fifth and not the seventh case-ending (*viḥakti*). As it stands, it can only be taken to signify the commentator's sense that '*anyathā*' 'otherwise', means 'if the king were not the owner of the land'.

The result of the discussion in the foregoing pages would seem to show that three out of the texts quoted by J. to disprove the king's ownership of the land do not support his case, but prove just the contrary. On the other hand the evidence of the *Mīmāṃsā* text (VI. 7. 3) which J. quotes along with the commentaries thereon is no less decisive as to the denial of the king's proprietary right. There is nothing surprising in this contradiction. We have here evidently to deal with two distinct schools of legists, one advocating the king's right of ownership and the other based on the authoritative *Mīmāṃsā* as emphatically denying the same. The seeker of truth need not indulge in the hasty generalisation doubtless prompted by political prejudices that agricultural land in India has always belonged to the Crown, nor should he consider it a 'sacrilege' to be told that the theory of the king's ownership of the land was not altogether unknown to some schools of Hindu legal opinion.

REVIEWS

THE HISTORY OF RAJPUTANA (in Hindi), Part I. By Rai Bahadur Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha. Royal 8vo, 400 pp. (Price Rs. 6/- for permanent subscribers only).

Those who take interest in the history of the Rajputs will be glad to welcome the present volume. There is a distinct want keenly felt by the students of Indian history for an authoritative work dealing with the history of this warlike community, for, since the publication of Tod's 'Annals of Rajasthan' about a hundred years back, no serious attempt has been made to tackle this problem, although it was everywhere admitted that progress in oriental scholarship long necessitated a revision of the story told in Tod's pages. This book is therefore quite welcome and the more so as the author's name is a guarantee that all available information must have been utilised in its preparation.

The present volume divides itself into two sections. The first section, containing four chapters, deals with preliminary matters. The first chapter (35 pages) under the title "Geographical Notes" supplies information about such a wide range of subjects as 'Origin of the name', 'Rivers', 'Climate', 'Rain', 'Soil and Produce', 'Mines', 'Forts', 'Railway', 'Population', 'Religion', 'Castes', 'Occupation', 'Dress', 'Education', 'Dialects', 'Arts', 'Painting' and 'Coinage'.

The second chapter (pp. 36-81) deals with a matter of great interest, viz., "Rajputs—their origin". It is well-known that some of the most prominent Indian and European scholars maintain that some of the Rajput clans are descended from foreign, especially Scythian, stock. The most recent pronouncement on this subject is, that by the late Mr. Crooke, who in his edition of Tod's 'Annals of Rajasthan' says, "the general thesis that some of the nobler septs are descended from Gurjjars or other foreigners, while others are closely connected with the autochthonous races, may be regarded as definitely proved" (Tod's 'Annals of Rajasthan', edited by W. Crooke, vol. I, Introduction, p. xxxv). This view has been misunderstood by some Indian scholars inasmuch as they impute to the former the opinion that *all* of the Rajput clans are descended from foreign tribes—a view which is certainly not advocated by them as will be clear from the quotation cited above. Even Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha seems to have fallen into the same mistake. At p. 38 in the book under review he remarks:—"Some of the European scholars of the present time as

well as some scholars of this country relying on the opinions recorded in their writings maintain that the Rajputs are not the old Aryan Kṣatriyas, but are Scythians and Śakas who came from the north or thereabout." Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha's view on the point at issue is clearly expressed at pp. 37-38. "From the Vedic times there has been in this country the caste called Kṣatriya.....the same Kṣatriya caste came to be known as Rajputs from the Mahomedan times." This contention—that the Rajputs are the lineal descendants of the Kṣatriyas of the Vedic times—is however hard to reconcile with certain well-established facts in Indian history. It has been ascertained that at least three foreign tribes migrated into India in early times—the Śakas, the Kushans and the White Huns. It has also been proved that the Śakas (certainly of Western India) came to be Hinduised in course of their stay in this country and married into well-known Indian royal families. The Kushans did in the same way. And as for the Huns, it is quite certain that they contributed to make one of the various clans among the Rajput community. Pandit Ojha is thus compelled to reconcile these facts with his own theory and the way in which it is done, although not convincing, is certainly ingenuous.

He begins by saying that the Śakas, the Kushans and the White Huns were all Kṣatriyas and he cites a passage from the *Manu Saṃhitā* (x, 43-4) in his favour as well as a tradition preserved in the *Viṣṇupurāṇam*. Hence, according to the Rai Bahadur, the amalgamation of these tribes with the Hindu society is not an amalgamation of "foreign elements" into their social fabric, but only an admixture between the different branches of the Vedic Kṣatriya people, some of whom lived in India, and others outside it. That this argument is erroneous is easy to see. The tenth chapter of the *Manu Saṃhitā* has been proved to have been quite late in origin, and, moreover, that no serious weight is to be attached to this *Manu Saṃhitā* text will be clear when it is found that the passage cited also regards the Yavanas and the Cīnas as Kṣatriya races who had lost their social status like the Śakas. Now, there is no doubt that the Greeks and the Chinese were certainly distinct from the *Vedic* Āryans and thus the passages quoted stand self-condemned. For a similar reason the tradition in the *Viṣṇupurāṇam* should also be regarded as of no value.

The third chapter in the first section contains an account of *all* the ancient ruling families of Northern India. It has increased considerably the bulk of the volume since 164 pages are devoted to it, although one fails to understand what purpose is served by the inclusion of such irrelevant matters in a history of Rajputana.

In the fourth chapter (pp. 247-304) of the first section, the author describes the relations between the Muhammadanas, the Marathas and the British Government with Rajputana.

The second section of the book deals with the history of the Udaipur State. It is also divided into chapters, the first of them under the title "geographical notes" contains matters of such wide interest as population, religion, castes, occupation, dress, language, trade, festivities, post office and others. In the second chapter is given a dissertation on the origin of Guhilotes. This is again a controversial matter. The author, as is to be expected, maintains that the Guhilotes are descended from the old Solar race of the Kṣatriyas and criticises Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's view, published in *J.A.S.B.* 1909, to the effect that the Guhilotes are, in their origin, Nāgar Brahmins. Rai Bahadur Ojha seems to lay much store by the coin of Rājā Bāppā (ascribed to Rāwal Bāppā of Mewar) which contains the figure of the Sun "indicating that Bāppā belonged to the Solar race." Even admitting that the coin refers to Rāwal Bāppā (regarding which there is grave doubt) it does not appear how the figure of the Sun (quite a common figure in coins) could lead to the conclusion that the prince issuing it belongs to the Solar race. Again, he relies too much upon the Ekliṅgi Stone Inscription (J. Bo. R. A. S. xxii, 166-7) which is *supposed* to refer to the Guhilotes as Raghuvamśiya. It may be mentioned that the stone upon which the inscription is written was discovered in a broken condition so that a large part of it is lost. It is impossible, therefore, to come to any distinct conclusion upon detached words whose context is not clear.

The Rai Bahadur seems to have taken great pains to prove his position, but in spite of his attempts it will be admitted that all available evidence is against him. The clear statement in the Āṭpur Inscription of 977 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.* 1910 pp. 186 ff.), that Guhadatta was a Brahmin (Mahideva) who hailed from Anandpur, supported by the Chitorgadh Inscription (1274 A.D.) which says that Bāppā was a Brahmin (vipra), leaves hardly any room for doubt. Another inscription of the same time makes an interesting statement, namely that Bappaka cast off his Brahminhood and received Kṣatriyahood. Again, it should also be remembered that, even the traditions recognised that the Guhilotes were originally Brahmins who came to be laterly known as Kṣatriyas (cf. the quotation from Mutā Neṣi's Khyāt, cited at p. 382.)

The Rai Bahadur has not been able to demolish the strong reasoning of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar and his argument strikes one as being far-fetched and apologetic.

A word must be said about the plan of the book. The reader who

compares Tod's 'Annals of Rajasthan' with the present volume will be astounded by the closeness with which its writer is following in the footsteps of the celebrated annalist in so far as the plans of the books are concerned. In doing so, he has brought in matters which have no concern with the history of Rajputana and should better have been left unnoticed.

It must be said to the credit of the writer that he uses a facile pen. The easy style makes the book quite an interesting reading, although he has to trench upon many dry subjects. It remains to be seen how he develops the history of the different Rajput States in the succeeding volumes.

SUBIMAL CHANDRA DATTA

MĀNASOLLĀSA, Vol I, edited by G. K. Shrigondekar. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XXVIII, (pp. xvi + 146).

The Mānasollāsa is a voluminous treatise professing to be the work of King Someśvara, surnamed Bhūlokamalla, of the Western Calukya dynasty whose reign lasted approximately from 1126 to 1138 A. D. An interesting statement in the course of the work (p. 34) seems to show that it was composed 'when one thousand and fifty one years of the Śaka era, had elapsed, i.e. in 1129 A.D. The Mānasollāsa consists of five sections (*viṃśatis*), each comprising twenty chapters. These are concerned respectively with the means of acquiring the kingdom and of preserving the same, and the description of the royal enjoyments, recreations, and games. The encyclopædic nature of the work justifies the author in describing it (p. 2) as the instructor of all things and as the preceptor of the whole world (*śikṣakāḥ sarvavastūnām jagadācārya-pustakāḥ*).

In the volume under notice are comprised only the first two sections called *rājya-prāpti-kāraṇam* and *rājya-sthāiryakāraṇam*. The first section, which is by far the shorter one, contains among other things the interesting direction that the king should perform the five domestic sacrifices and the other sacrifices beginning with *jyotiṣṭoma* and ending with *Aśvamedha*, should dig wells and tanks, should construct places for the free distribution of water and provisions, and should erect temples in accordance with the rule of Viśvakarman, the science of Maya, and the rules of Matsya and Piṅgalā (pp. 7-8). We have also a short list of sacred places where the king is directed to take his

bath (p. 13). This is followed by a long chapter on medicine (*vaidya ka*) pp. 13-27.

The second and the longer section contains many interesting details. Thus the king is asked to take the *elixir vitae* whose method of preparation is described in accordance with the precepts of *pūrvāsūris* (pp. 29-34). We have then a series of chapters on elephants wherein the author describes the eight haunts of these animals and the four methods of catching them, the signs of good and bad elephants, their various classes, and the methods of training them (pp. 44-58). In this connection the author states that the elephants of Kaliṅga, Vedikāruṣa, and Daśārṇa forests are the best, those of the East and the Aṅgīreya forest comprising Śrīkṣetra, Gauḍa, and Baṅgāla are intermediate, and those of Aparānta and Pañcanada forests are the worst.¹ It is interesting to compare with this the view of Kauṭilya (II. 2) who describes the elephants of Kaliṅga, Aṅga, the East and Kāruṣa to be the best, those of Daśārṇa and Aparānta to be intermediate and those of Surāṣṭra and Pañcanada² to be the worst. Another interesting chapter of the Mānasollāsa is occupied with the description of various kinds of gems and precious stones which may be compared with the corresponding chapters in Varāhamihira's *Brhatsaṃhitā*, the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, the *Yuktikalpataru* of Bhoja and other works. Peculiar to the Mānasollāsa seems to be the view that the king should replenish his treasury by processes of alchemy (pp. 63-64), while in connexion with the sources of the gems it is noticeable that ruby is said to be found in the country of the Turuṣkas near the sea-shore and on uneven ground (p. 74). In connexion with the author's description of the threefold power of the king, it may be remarked that he mentions on the authority of persons versed in *Nīti*, three classes of kings,—those depending upon self, those depending upon ministers, and those depending upon both—a dictum recalled by Cāṇakya's address to Candragupta in Act III of the *Mudrārākṣasa* drama. The author of the Mānasollāsa quotes the authority of Bṛhaspati, Śukra as well as Cāṇakya and others in the chapter on *mantrasakti* (p. 92). Turning to the author's account of the six kinds of

1 Elsewhere (p. 85) the author says that victories are won by means of elephants born in the Kaliṅga forest, of the Bhadra class, well-trained and equipped, and valorous.

2 For 'pañcanada' in the text of Kauṭilya, Shamasastri and Jolly read 'pañcajana' which is wrong. Ganapati Sastri gives the correct reading.

king's policy (śaḍguṇas) we notice that he mentions, in his chapter on marching, a long list of good and bad omens (śakunas). The last group of topics is concerned with the four forms of policy, and contains among other things, the interesting direction that the king, who is devoid of strength, should apply to his enemy three methods of killing, viz., by poison, by secret assassination and by black magic.

We await the publication of the second volume with great interest.

U. N. G.

THE VISION OF VĀSAVADATTĀ. Edited with an Introduction, English translation, and notes by Dr. Lakshman Sarup, M.A., D.Phil., Lahore, 1925.

The book under review belongs to a group of thirteen plays originally published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. Its importance lies in the fact that the identification of the thirteen plays with the '*Bhāsa-nāṭaka-cakra*', the lost dramas of the old poet Bhāsa mentioned by Kālidāsa and other Sanskrit writers, depends mainly on the identification of the play under review with the *Svapnavāsavadatta* referred to in Rājaśekhara's well-known statement that "when the whole lot of dramas by Bhāsa (Bhāsa nāṭaka-cakra) was thrown into fire, the one that survived was *Svapnavāsavadatta*." As it is the most important of the group, it has already appeared in several editions. This new edition has been prepared from 'a hitherto unutilised palm-leaf Ms. written in old Malayalam character.'

The text is almost the same as that of the Trivandrum play. The colophon at the end of this edition or rather the Ms. of this edition supplies, we learn from the introduction of the work, the full title '*Svapnavāsavadattam*' instead of '*Svapnanāṭakam*', the title found in the Trivandrum Ms. If it be so, it strengthens the position of those scholars, who regard the drama as the genuine *Svapnavāsavadatta* of Bhāsa for the reason that their theory can no longer be assailed simply on the ground of difference in the title. But unfortunately, perhaps through oversight, the name '*Svapnanāṭakam*' has been printed at the colophon instead of '*Svapnavāsavadattam*.'

In the Introduction as well as in what may be called Appendices there are ample indications of the industry of the editor. In the former he discusses elaborately the most controversial question about authorship of the thirteen Trivandrum plays. Whether the ancient poet Bhāsa can be the author of these dramas is the main subject of con-

trovery, its corrolaries being whether or not the whole group comes from the pen of one and the same man, and what is the probable time of their composition. Dr. Sarup is a pro-Bhāsa scholar, and inclines to the theory of Mm. Dr. Ganapati Sastri that the *Svapnavāsavadattā* and the rest belonging to the group are the genuine works of Bhāsa. He has tried to meet all the objections raised against the pro-Bhāsa theory. But following Winternitz and others, he differs from Mm. Sastri in assigning the poet to the 2nd century A. D. instead of to the 4th century B. C. The editor also points out in this Introduction the excellences of the stanzas that are ascribed to Bhāsa in the current anthologies, and gives an account of the legends of Udayana, the hero of the *Vision of Vāsavadattā* as found in their Jaina, Buddhist and other versions. A section in the Introduction deals with the essentials of a drama and after reviewing the opinions of Aristotle, Hegel, Schlegel, Coleridge and Brunetiere shows the present play to be a dramatic masterpiece.

Stanzas attributed to Bhāsa in various anthologies and extracts from the *Ślokaṣaṅgraha*, the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsarit-sāgara* bearing on the legend of Udayana are appended to the text. Then comes the English translation of the play and also of the stanzas and extracts mentioned above. The notes at the end of the work are, as the editor himself says in his preface, 'elementary' and necessary only for those who are beginning to learn Sanskrit.

D. BHATTACHARYA

JAINA JĀTAKAS or Lord Rṣabha's *Pūrvabhavas* being an English translation of Book I, Canto I of Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭīśalākā-puruṣacarita* originally translated by Prof. Amūlyacharaṇ Vidyābhūṣaṇ, revised and edited with notes and Introduction by Prof. Banarsi Das Jain, M. A. Published by Messrs. Moti Lal Banarsi Das, Lahore. pp. xxiv+118. No. 8 of the Punjab Sanskrit Series.

Credit is due to the proprietors of the Punjab Sanskrit Series for publishing an English translation of a portion of one of the important and voluminous works of the great Jaina scholar Hemacandra. In the introduction Prof. B. D. Jain has given a short sketch of his life but it is too scanty to satisfy the curiosity of the readers.

The present work, as the descriptive title shows, contains the translation of only a small fraction of the huge work *Triṣaṣṭīśalākā-puruṣacarita* (or "the history of the sixty three persons of eminence")

describing in 211 ślokas the twelve previous births of the first Tirthaṅkara Ṛṣabha. The translation has not, it must be admitted, come up to the standard demanded by the critical oriental scholars, e. g., "an embodiment of...penance rolled into a ball" (p. 14); "he was a hoar-frost for the bush of passions" (p. 14); "I made a useless fuss like the roaring of an autumnal cloud"; "please forgive my neglectful conduct" (p. 15). Prof. Jain refers in his introduction (p. vi) to the difficulties of translating a Jaina work on account of its bristling with technical terms, but a complaint of this nature can no longer hold good after the publication of the *Abhidhāna Rājendra* in which such terms have been explained. Prof. Jain has enhanced the value of the book by contributing an introduction, pointing out the verses containing a popular exposition of the principal tenets of Jainism, and also an appendix dealing with the Jaina cosmography.

The English title of the book is misleading. Without glancing through the title page nobody can understand what is signified by the 'Jaina Jātakas.' The term 'Jātaka' is usually associated with the birth-stories of Buddha. The appropriate expression from the Buddhist standpoint for the work like the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* would be 'Avadāna' and not 'Jātaka,' for the latter term signifies exclusively the stories of previous births of Buddha corresponding to a Jaina Tirthaṅkara, whereas the present work contains previous birth-stories not only of Tirthaṅkaras but also of persons who are lower in rank to the Tirthaṅkaras, viz. 19 Cakravartins, 9 Vasudevas, 9 Baladevas and 2 Prativāsudevas. Hertel in his paper 'On the Literature of the Svetambaras of Gujarat' had dealt with the various points of difference that exist between a Jaina *Aupadesika* and a Buddhist *Jātaka*, though unfortunately he has made wrong statements and under-estimated the historical and literary value of the Buddhist Jātakas in his zeal to extol the Jaina *Aupadesikas*, e. g., he attaches no importance to the "*Paccuppanṇavattṭhu*" which, in fact, supplies an account of Buddha's missionary life; he also remarks that the Jātaka tales are 'not edifying,' and makes a startling find that 'to a Bauddha the study of Arthaśāstra or political science is a sin' (for arguments against this inference see Law's *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, pp. 259-261).

The get-up of the book is good and the price is moderate. We hope the proprietors will keep up their present zeal and earnestness in the publication of oriental works and place before the readers the translation of the succeeding cantos of the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*.

THE BIRHORS : A Little-known Jungle Tribe of Chota Nagpur by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M. A., M.L.C., 1925 (pp. vi+608).

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy is now an ethnographer of international repute and this is the third monograph from his pen about the Chota Nagpur tribes. This volume is specially interesting and valuable as we knew so little of the Birhors before and the great Dalton even confused the Kherias with the Birhors in his *Ethnology of Bengal*. There are twelve chapters giving (1) earlier accounts of the Birhors, (2) a general view of Birhor life, (3) social system with tribal and kinship organizations, (4) kinship system, (5) marriage customs, (6) birth, childhood and puberty customs, (7) death and funeral customs, (8) religious beliefs and practices, (9) magic and witchcraft, (10) folk-tales and (11) science and natural history. Lastly, conclusions have been drawn.

The two chapters on social system are the cream of the book. The rich collections of folklore and the descriptions of ceremonies are the Rai Bahadur's *forte* and make this work invaluable to all anthropologists. A map and a little more attention to the physical and linguistic aspects, dismissed in two pages, would have brought the book well-nigh to perfection. It is I believe too late in the day to talk of these peoples as Dravidians when we have got now the group of pre-Dravidians by Haddon or Proto-Australoids by Dixon. But the physical aspects have really been left undiscussed and the 17 measurements of cephalic and nasal indices are a very scanty though useful addition to our knowledge where nothing is known.

The kinship terms are very valuable and we expected more thorough and systematic deductions and a few actual genealogies as in the *Todas* would have been of inestimable value. Cross-cousin marriage leaves more traces on terminology than is mentioned. Some very interesting conclusions have been drawn: 'Familiar modes of speech still in use between grand-parent and grand-child are survivals of the same social regulation which Dr. Rivers met with in the island of Pentecost and Mr. Howitt amongst the Dieri of Australia which might at one time have been in vogue amongst the Birhors in Chota Nagpur.' We found traces of such a system amongst the Hos; a comparative study of kinship terms and their social correlates amongst the several Proto-Australoid tribes of Chota Nagpur with the tribes with similar organisation beyond India would have been of unique interest. The Indo-Australian culture-complex, if there be any, is worth studying in all details in social and material culture-order to shed light on an obscure corner of the history of primitive humanity.

The term 'Naya' has been derived from Sanskrit 'Nāyak.' The same term occurs amongst the Santals meaning the same i.e. 'priest.' If this important culture-word is borrowed—which evidently and emphatically it is not—would it not follow that one of the most important culture-personages of these tribes is due to Indo-European influence. The vernacular words given in italics for items of dress, toilet and ornaments such as kaupin, ḍaṇḍā-dor, chimṭā, chūnauṭi (p. 523) are Hindi and required mention as such and may be borrowed culture-elements. It is interesting to find the same wooden-top used as a toy amongst the Birhors as in Melanesim. We collected a similar specimen from amongst the Hos.

In fact a more detailed treatment of technology with exhaustive illustrations as in Smithsonian Institute publications is expected in modern works. An autobiographical account from a Birhor about his life, manners, clans, socio-religious customs would also have added immensely to the interest of the book. As it is, the book is one of the best monographs for Indian students of Ethnography.

P. MITRA

SĀDHANAMĀLĀ, vol. I. Edited by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, M.A., Central Library, Baroda. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XXVI. (pp. xxiii + 342).

We welcome the publication of the first volume of the *Sāadhanamālā*, the importance of which for the history of the later phases of Buddhism has already been shown by the present editor in his *Buddhist Iconography*. The editor has reason to infer that this work belongs to the school of Vajrayāna and states that he will deal with the subject in detail in his Introduction to the forthcoming second volume of the *Sāadhanamālā*. The description of the work, as given by the writer, that "it is a collection of short works called Sādhanas or rituals for worshipping deities" is not adequate. The Sādhanas, in fact, are so many practical directions for mystic *bhāvanās*, from among which an initiate, aspiring to rise higher and higher in mystical trances, is to select a few best suited to his mentality for his purposes. This work therefore is a collection of Sādhanas without any premeditated arrangement, which had led the editor to remark that "the work is a heterogenous collection of Sādhanas, composed by different authors without any definite plan."

Each of these Sādhana's gives directions to the initiates to cogitate particular deities of particular forms and colours by sitting in a certain posture (*mudrā*) and intoning the requisite mantras. We have also, in the works relating to early Buddhism, similar directions (e. g. *kammatthānas*) but the objects of cogitation and the methods followed are different, though the forms and colours of the objects, and the *mudrās* had their usual place in the practice.

The immense benefits, which the oriental scholars will derive from this work, are threefold : first, it will carry us farther in our attempts to solve the puzzling problem as to how far the Tāntric cult has been influenced by Buddhism and place before the readers in a clear light the pure and serious side of Tantrikism. Secondly, it will enlighten us on the later developments of Buddhism which gained so wide a popularity among the Tibetans, Chinese, etc. And thirdly, it will help us to identify many of the Buddhist images, the identification of which rests at present on surmises.

The editor has well accomplished his task and deserves praise. This edition is in no way inferior, if not superior, to many of the European and Asiatic editions of the Buddhist Sanskrit works. For the excellent get-up of the work, we must thank His Highness the Gaekwad of Baroda for making liberal provisions for the publication of Oriental books in his Series.

N. DUTT

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, 1925-26, vol. vii, pts. i & ii.

- R. N. APTE.—Some Points connected with Constructive Geometry of the Vedic Altars. Illustrated with diagrams.
- G. N. MUJUMDAR.—Kālidāsa and Music. Shows by means of quotations Kālidāsa's knowledge of vocal and instrumental music as well as dancing. App. I contains a list of technical terms on music occurring in K.'s works. App. II gives a list of songs in K.'s plays.
- C. R. DEVADHAR.—The Plays ascribed to Bhāsa, their Authenticity and Merits. Holds that the common imagery, expressions, scenes, dramatic devices etc. of the 'Bhāsa' group of plays show them to come from the same pen, while a comparison of B.'s Cārudatta with the Mṛcchakaṭika shows that the former "represents a very crude abridgment" of the latter.
- D. R. BHANDARKAR.—Date of Kauṭilya. Disproves the well-known view of Jolly and Winternitz about the late origin of K.'s Arthaśāstra. Propounds the theory that "the Kauṭilya was originally metrical in form and came to be reduced to the Sūtra (form) in the fourth century B. C. without however any violence to its internal contents". This alone explains the "puzzle" that the Arthaśāstra in respect of its style and form goes back to the "early century of the Christian era," while its contents reflect a phase of society which cannot be later than the fourth century B. C.
- P. V. KANE.—The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya. Analysis of style, composition and contents of the A. show its agreement with the traditional date of 300 B. C. and "no evidence has yet been brought forward that would compel us to assign it to a later date." [In p. 100 the author writes, "K. lays down that in the midst of the fort were to be constructed the temples of Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, the Aśvins, Lakṣmī, and Madirā (wine ?)" !!!].
- P. V. KANE.—Dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita. A collection of quotations from S. and L. occurring in later works with the object of reconstructing the lost Dharmasūtra. These quotations show the date of the Dharmasūtra to lie between 360 B. C. and 100 A. D.
- HARAN CHANDRA CHAKRADAR.—The Geography of Vātsyāyana.
- N. G. MAJUMDAR.—A Śuṅga Inscription from Ayodhyā. Shows K. P.

ing to be a record of the rulers of Jinji in a district of Madras Presidency, have been discussed in this short paper.

RAMSING SAKSENA.—Moslem Epigraphy in the Gwalior State. In this article, which is to be continued, two Persian inscriptions of Muhammad III Ibn Tughlaq of Delhi have been edited and their English translation given.

RAM RATAN HALDER.—Idar and Mahārāṇā Hammīra of Mewār. This is an account of the main exploits of Hammīra, the first Mahārāṇā of Mewār, including in it his conquest of Idar or Hladurga.

Ibid., February, 1926

UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE.—External Evidences about the Teachers in the Upaniṣads. In his article entitled 'Teachers of the Upaniṣads' published in the Proceedings of the Madras Oriental Conference, 1924, the writer wrote against the theory that Brahmanvidyā arose originally among the Kṣatriyas. In the present article he has added from Paurāṇic sources some instances in which the 'Upaniṣadic cult' may be mistaken as originating from the Kṣatriyas while in reality there are grounds for the conclusion that the Brāhmaṇas were its originators. It may be noted that the main theme of these articles, viz., the origination of Brahmanvidyā by the Brāhmaṇas and not by the Kṣatriyas had been discussed by Dr. N.N. Law in his paper, 'the Origin and Development of the Brahmanvidyā,' which appeared in the Indian Antiquary, 1923, pp. 244ff.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1926

W. H. MORELAND.—Akbar's Land Revenue Arrangements in Bengal.

S. K. DE.—A Note on the Sanskrit Monologue-Play (Bhāṇa) with special reference to Caturbhāṇi. In this survey of the Bhāṇa form of composition of the Sanskrit play, all the published Bhāṇas, specially the newly discovered four plays of that kind have been described.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, January, 1926

A. A. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR.—The Mathematics of Āryabhaṭṭa. By referring to the contribution and pioneer work of Āryabhaṭṭa in the field of Hindu mathematics, the writer shows the extent of indebtedness of the later Indian astronomer-mathematicians to the *Āryabhaṭṭīya*.

KALIPADA MITRA.—The Bird and Serpent Myth. In this continued article, a common belief in the bird and serpent myths of various countries, viz., India, Babylonia, Crete, Egypt, Germany, Scandinavia, Scotland, Britain, Arabia, China, Japan, Polynesia, Central America and Mexico has been pointed out, which, according to the writer, is 'a cultural drift disseminated from India in historic or pre-historic times by land or sea.' This theory seems to rival the opinion of scholars that the coincidences found in these myths of different peoples are due to their common inheritance from their ancestors of the Neolithic stock, who had Northern Africa as their area of characterization.

R. SHAMA SASTRI.—A Brief Translation of Mahāvira's 'Sūrya Prajñapti' or the knowledge of the Sun.

Obituary Notices

Robert Sewell

ROBERT SEWELL, I.C.S. born June 4, 1845 ; died December, 30, 1925. He was the son of Robert Burleigh Sewell, was educated at Radley and was in the Madras Civil Service in the years 1868-1894 in the course of which he was Judge and then Collector of Bellary District. Even as early as 1870, he published an *Analytical History of India*. He also evinced a keen interest in the archæological monuments of the land, particularly the Amarāvati Stūpa. When Dr. Burgess was appointed to supervise the Archæological Survey of Madras without prejudice to his duties under other Governments, the Government of Madras put as a preliminary measure Mr. Sewell on special duty from January 1881 to April 1883 to collect and arrange as complete lists as possible of all the antiquarian remains in the Presidency. His *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras* furnishes not only lists of antiquities for each District for the use of the Archæological Surveyor, but also general information for the guidance of the ordinary reader. Vol. II of this book consists of a list of copper-plate grants sent to him for examination, a chronologically arranged list of inscriptions as yet known in the Presidency, another list of them dynastically arranged and lastly a very useful historical sketch of the dynasties of South India with copious supplementary notes. This was in 1884. Even before this he had commenced preparing chronological tables in order to enable an approximate date A. D. to be given for all Indian dates mentioned in inscriptions ; he was conscious of the very trouble-some calculations involved in this task, but considered it the first desideratum for obtaining an accurate history of the country. He brought out the *South Indian Chronological Tables* in 1889 and the *Hindu Calendar* in collaboration with Pandit S. B. Dikshit. He was always ready to appreciate and work with Indian talent, as is evidenced by his grateful acknowledgment of the help given to him by Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastri in the preparation of the 2nd volume of his Lists.

He was closely associated with the Royal Asiatic Society on whose council he also served. Numerous and varied were his contributions to its Journal—among them being *Hsiuen Thsang's Dhanakacheika* (1880)—*New discoveries in South India* (1884)—*Early Buddhist Symbolism* (1886) and (1888)—*Buddhist Remains at Guntupalle* (1887)—*The Kistna Alphabet* (1891)—*Buddhist Bronzes and Relics of Buddha* (1895)—*Pishta-*

pura (1897)—*The Indian Boomerang* (1898)—*The Text of the Mahābhārata* (1898)—*Cinder-mounds of Bellary* (1899)—*Prehistoric Burial Sites in S. India* (1901)—*Roman Coins in India* (1904)—*Antiquarian Notes in Java* (1906)—*Archæology in South India* (1907)—*The Keladi Rajas of Ikkeki and Bednūr* (1910)—*A Correction in the Indian Calendar* (1915)—*Kings of Vijayanagara* (A.D. 1486-1509) (1915)—*Merutunga's Prabhacintāmaṇi*. He also contributed to the columns of the *Indian Antiquary* five chronological articles and wrote on the subject of coins as well.

His *magnum opus* was *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar)* published in 1900 on the basis supplied by the two Portuguese chronicles of Nuniz and Paes, first brought to light by Senhor Lopes and translated first into English by himself assisted by Mr. Donald Ferguson. These chronicles give a vivid and graphic account of personal experiences at the great Hindu capital at the period of its highest magnificence. The book became deservedly popular among scholars, and in spite of large supplementary epigraphic and literary material on Vijayanagara gathered since then, has continued to be so. Messrs. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. brought out a reprint of it in 1924, as copies of the original edition had become very scarce—the author preferring on some grounds to retain the form of the book as it was. He had also gathered material for a comprehensive dynastic and inscriptional history of South India and even forwarded the manuscript to Madras where arrangements were made to have it published under the auspices of the University. His unfortunate death has necessitated other arrangements; and we hope that the work of editing the book will go to the capable hands of the Professor of Indian History at the University, than whom no better choice can be made for this task.

Besides being the joint-author of the *Hindu Calendar*, Mr. Sewell brought out in 1898 a book entitled the *Eclipses of the Moon in India*. Long before this he had published the *Amarāvati Tope and the Excavation on its site* in 1887; and a *Sketch of the Dynasties of South India* in a separate book form. His books have been used by many scholars in the course of their own labours; and Sir Walter Elliot in his *Coins of Southern India* acknowledges in several places the helps derived by him from Sewell. We have lost a ripe scholar of eminence almost unrivalled in his knowledge of South Indian antiquities and history. The example of what Mr. Sewell did for South Indian antiquities as a whole has been followed and done for inscriptions in particular by Mr. V. Ranga Acharya; we regret the passing away, though at a ripe age, of the pioneer of these studies.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

Mm. Dr. T. Ganapati Sastri

We regret to announce the death of Mm. Dr. T. GAṆAPATI ŚĀSTRĪ. In 1866, he was born in a family famed for Sanskrit learning. He was the son of Ramasubbayyar of Taruvai (a village in the Tinneveli District), and a descendant of the famous Sanskrit scholar Appayya Dikshita, who lived in the 16th century. Having spent his boyhood in his native village, he came in his 16th year to Trivandrum and studied under my grandfather Karamanai Subrahmanya Śāstrī of his own village, who was then the Dharmādhikārin of the State, and under Subba Dikshita of Kaṭayam (another village in the same district). Even as a student, he was noted for his scholarship and intellectual acumen, and his first work, composed when he was only 17 years old, was a Sanskrit drama named *Mādhavī-vasantam*, in appreciation of which the then first Prince Viśākham Tirunāl presented him with a diamond ring. Among his other early works, which all remain unpublished, I may mention the *Artha-citra-mañimālā*, an *alaṅkāra* work, with illustrative stanzas of his own composition, the *Setu-yātrānuvarṇanam*, a prose work, and a Sanskrit translation of the *Merchant of Venice*. He was noted even then for his ready skill and felicity in composing verses in any style, ancient or modern, and in writing simple and elegant Sanskrit prose.

When he was only 18 years old, his *guru* Subba Dikshita secured for him a post in the Travancore High Court, but shortly after, Viśākham Tirunāl, who had now become Mahārāja, and ruled gloriously for the short period of only 5 years (1879-1884), placed him in charge of the Palace Sanskrit Library. This opportunity, combined with close intercourse with such Sanskrit scholars as Keraḷa Varmā, Valia Koyil Tampurān, and Elathir Rāmasvāmi Śāstrī, made him acquainted with the modern methods of critical research as applied to the study of ancient manuscripts. When in 1889 the Trivandrum Sanskrit College was founded, he was appointed Professor of Sanskrit Literature, and Headmaster thereof, and in 1899 he became its Principal. At the same time, he continued to be in charge of the Palace Library, and, in the latter capacity, he published the first few volumes of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. He also found time to compose devotional poems, including the *Aparṇā-stotra*, and to compile several Sanskrit readers, which are still popular in the schools of Travancore. He also wrote at the request of Dr. Sylvain Lévi, a manual of Indian culture in Sanskrit, named the *Bhāratānuvarṇanam*. The Travancore Government, soon appreciating the need for utilising his valuable service

in promoting Sanskrit learning, organised a department in 1908 for collecting and publishing rare and valuable Sanskrit manuscripts, in which Travancore, with comparative freedom from foreign invasions, is particularly rich. Since then, under his able guidance, nearly 1400 manuscripts have been collected, and 87 volumes published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, covering a wide range of subjects and practically the entire field of Sanskrit learning.

The most noteworthy of these publications are, of course, the long-lost plays of Bhāsa, by discovering and editing which with helpful commentaries, he has laid the world of Sanskrit learning under a deep debt of obligation. Their ascription to Bhāsa, it is true, is strongly contested by some scholars, but even they must admit that these plays, whether they are Bhāsa's or not, are among the most precious of the world's literature.

His learning, energy and enthusiasm now met with the appreciation and reputation they deserved, and honours came pouring heavily on him. Scholars, eastern and western, vied with each other in their grateful appreciation of his labours. His works were prescribed as text-books in Universities. He was elected President of the Third All-India Sanskrit Conference held in Allahabad. An address was presented to him by the Joint Conference of Orientalists held in Paris in 1920. He was made an honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, and a Ph. D. of the German University of Tübingen, and the Government of India conferred on him the title of Mahā-mahopādhyāya.

But such honours, far from spoiling him, only whetted his appetite for greater services, and he published his monumental commentary on the *Arthaśāstra*, and Bhoja's work on architecture, the *Samarāṅgaṇa*. The latter was included in the Gaekwad Oriental Series. His luminous commentary on the *Arthaśāstra* made it possible for the first time for scholars to grasp its meaning thoroughly. The magnitude and difficulty of the task may be easily imagined, when we bear in mind the fact that it is a highly technical work, full of obscure technical terms, and representing an entire world of a now lost political literature, and that none of the extant commentaries cover more than a small portion of the work. This great work occupied him fully for 3 years, and was the cause of illness in one who before had never known what it was to be unwell. He was strong of body and mind, and his habits were healthy and simple to the verge of austerity. But his great work proved too much for him, and the death of his generous patron, His Highness the Mahārāja, Mūlam Tiruṇḷ, combined with his own retirement in

1925 from an active life of nearly 50 years, prostrated him completely, and those of us, who moved with him closely, could see him visibly declining, though he himself continued to the last to labour and plan for his great passion,—Sanskrit learning. Shortly before his death, he had completed a commentary on the *Bālā-carita*, which will be published in due course. The Government of Travancore, in grateful appreciation of his services, had granted him a money present, and this was announced to him shortly before his peaceful death on the 3rd April 1926. He leaves behind him his wife, 2 sons and 4 daughters, to whom it may be some comfort to know that the world will continue to remember his services with grateful appreciation, so long as Indian culture is of the best value in the eyes of the world.

K. G. SANKAR

dhānā ti ādikā paramattha-kathā nāma. Tattha yo sammutidesanāya satto ti vā poso ti vā devo ti vā brahmā ti vā vutte vijānitum¹ paṭivijjhitum niyyātum arahattaddhajaggāhaṃ² gahetum sakkoti tassa Bhagavā ādito va satto ti vā poso ti vā devo ti vā brahmā ti vā katheti. Yo paramattha-desanāya aniccan ti vā dukkhan ti vā ti ādisu aññatarāṃ sutvā vijānitum paṭivijjhitum niyyātum arahattaddhajaggāhaṃ³ gahetum sakkoti tassa aniccan ti vā dukkhan ti vā ti ādisu aññatarāṃ eva katheti. Tasmā sammuti-kathāya bujghanaka-sattassāpi⁴ na paṭhamāṃ paramattha-kathāṃ katheti, sammuti-kathāya pana bodhetvā pacchā paramattha-kathāṃ katheti, paramattha-kathāya bujghanaka-sattassāpi na paṭhamāṃ sammuti-kathāṃ katheti paramatthakathāya pana bodhetvā pacchā sammuti-kathāṃ katheti. Pakatiyā pana paṭhamāṃ eva paramattha-kathāṃ kathentassa desanā lūkhākārā hoti tasmā Buddhā paṭhamāṃ sammuti-kathāṃ kathetvā pacchā paramattha-kathāṃ kathenti, sammuti-kathāṃ kathentā pi saccam eva sabhāvam eva amusā va kathenti, paramattha-kathāṃ kathentā pi saccam eva sabhāvam eva amusā va kathenti.

Duve saccāni akkhāsi Sambuddho vadataṃ varo,
sammutiṃ paramatthaṃ ca tatiyaṃ nūpalabbhati ;
saṅketavacanāṃ saccāṃ lokasammuti-kāraṇaṃ.

paramattha-vacanāṃ saccāṃ dhammānaṃ bhūtalakkhanān ti.

Yāhi Tathāgato voharati aparāmasan ti yā hi lokasamaññāhi lokaniruttīhi Tathāgato taṇhāmānadiṭṭhiparāmasānam abhāvā aparāmasanto voharati ti, desanaṃ vinivattetvā arahatta-nikūṭeṇa desanaṃ niṭṭhāpesi, sesaṃ sabbattha uttānattham evā ti.

Iti Sumaṅgalavilāsiniyā Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāya POṬṬHAPĀDA-SUTTA VAṆṆANĀ niṭṭhitā⁵.



1 Si. te jānitum

2 & 3 Si. jayaggaṇaṃ

4 Si. omits api

5 S. adds navamaṃ

X. SUBHA SŪTTA VAṆṆANĀ

1. *Evam me sutam...pe...Sāvattthiya*¹ ti Subhasuttaṃ. Tatrāyaṃ anuttānapadavaṇṇanā.

*Acirapariniibbute Bhagavati*² ti aciraṃ parinibbute³ Bhagavati, parinibbāto uddhaṃ māsamatte kāle. Nidānavāṇṇanāyaṃ vuttanayer' eva⁴ Bhagavato pattacivaram ādaya āgantvā khiravirecanaṃ pivitvā vihāre nisinnadivasam sandhāy' etaṃ vuttaṃ.

Todeyyaputto ti Todeyya brāhmaṇassa putto. So kira Sāvattthiyā avidūre Tudigāmo nāma atthi. Tassa adhipatittā Todeyyo ti saṃkham⁵ gato. Mahaddhano pana hoti pañcacattālīsakoṭivibhavo paramamacchari 'dadato bhogānam aparikkhaya nāma natthi' ti cintetvā kassaci kiñci na deti. Puttaṃ pi āha⁶,—

añjanānaṃ khayaṃ disvā vammikānaṃ ca sañcayam,
madhūnaṃ ca samāhāraṃ paṇḍito gharam āvaseti⁷.

Evam adānam eva sikkhāpetvā kāyassa bhedā tasmiṃ yeva ghare sunakho hutvā nibbato⁸. Subho taṃ sunakham ativiya piyāyati, attaro bhuñjanaka-bhattaṃ yeva bhojeti, ukkhipitvā varasayane sayāpeti. Atha Bhagavā ekadivasaṃ nikkhante mānave taṃ gharāṃ piṇḍāya pāvisi. Sunakho Bhagavantaṃ disvā bhukkāraṃ⁹ karonto Bhagavato samīpaṃ gato. Tato naṃ Bhagavā avoca, 'Todeyya, tvaṃ pubbe pi maṃ bho bho ti paribhavitvā sunakho jāto, idāni pi bhukkāraṃ¹⁰ katvā Avicim gamissasi' ti. Sunakho taṃ kathaṃ sutvā vippaṭṭisārī hutvā uddhantare chārīkāya nīpanno. Manussā ukkhipitvā sayane¹¹ sayāpetum nāsakkhimsu. Subho āgantvā 'kenāyaṃ sunakho sayanā oropito' ti āha. Manussā na kenaci ti vatvā taṃ pavattim ārocesum.

Mānavo sutvā 'mama pitā Brahmaloce nibbato, samaṇo pana Gotamo mama pitarāṃ sunakhaṃ karoti, yaṃ kiñc' esa mukhāruḥhaṃ bhāsati' ti kujjhitvā Bhagavantaṃ musāvādena codetukāmo vihāraṃ gantvā taṃ pavattiṃ pucchi. Bhagavā tassa tath' eva vatvā avisāpādanatthaṃ āha, 'atthi pana te mānava pitarā anakkhātāṃ dhanan' ti. 'Atthi pana bho Gotama sataśahassagghanikā suvaṇṇamālā sataśahassagghanikā suvaṇṇapādūkā sataśahassagghanikā suvaṇṇapāti, sataśahassā ca kahāpanan' ti. 'Gaccha' taṃ sunakham appodakaṃ madhupāyāsaṃ

1 & 2 Si. omits it

5 S. & B. saṃkhyam

1 8 S. nibbatti

3 Si. puts parinibbute twice

6 Si. vuttaṃ hi

9 & 10 Si. huṅkāraṃ

4 Si. omits it

7 Si. āvase ti

11 Si. omits it

bhojetvā sayane ārogetvā Isakaṃ niddam okkantakāle pucchā, sabban te ācikkhissati, atha¹ naṃ jāneyyāsi pitā me eso ti'. So tathā akāsi. Sunakho sabbam ācikkhi². Tadā naṃ pitā me ti natvā Bhagavati pasannacitto gantvā Bhagavantaṃ cuddasapaṇhe pucchitvā visajjana-pariyosāne Bhagavantaṃ saraṇaṃ gato. Taṃ sandhāya vuttaṃ 'Subho māṇavo Todeyyaputto' ti.

Sūvatthiyaṃ paṭivasati ti attano bhoga-gāmato āgantvā vasati.

2. *Aññataraṃ māṇavakam āmantesi* ti satthari³ parinibbute Ānandatto kir' assa pattacivaraṃ gahetvā āgato mahājano taṃ dassa-natthāya⁴ upasaṅkamati ti sutvā vihāraṃ kho pana gantvā mahājana-majjhe na sakkā sukhena paṭisanthāraṃ vā kātuṃ dhammakathaṃ vā sotuṃ, geham āgataṃ yeva naṃ disvā sukhena paṭisanthāraṃ karissāmi, 'ekā ca me kaṅkhā atthi taṃ pi naṃ pucchissāmi' ti cintetvā aññataraṃ māṇavakam āmantesi.

Appābādhan ti ādisu ābādho ti visabhāgavedanā vuccati. Yā ekadese uppajjitvā cattāro iriyāpathe ayapaṭṭena⁵ ābandhitvā viya gaṇhāti, tassā abhāvaṃ pucchā ti vadati. *Appātānto* ti kicchajivītakaro rogo vuccati. Tassāpi abhāvaṃ pucchā ti vadati. Gilānass' eva ca uṭṭhānaṃ nāma garukaṃ⁶ hoti, kāye balaṃ na hoti, tasmā niggelāñña-bhāvaṃ ca balaṃ ca pucchā ti vadati⁷. *Phūsuvihāraṃ* ti gamana-ṭṭhāna-nisajja⁸-sayanesu catūsu iriyāpathesu sukhavihāraṃ pucchā ti vadati. Ath' assa pucchitabbākāraṃ dassento Subho ti ādim āha.

4. *Kālaṃ ca samayaṃ ca upādāyā* ti kālaṃ ca samayaṃ ca paññāya gahetvā upadhāretvā ti attho. Sace amhākaṃ sve gamanakālo bhavissati, kāye balaṃ natvā c' eva pharissati, gamanapaccayā ca añño aphāsuvihāro na bhavissati; ath' etaṃ kālaṃ ca gamanakāraṇasamavāya saṃkhātaṃ samayaṃ ca upadhāretvā api eva nāma sve āgaccheyyāmā ti vuttaṃ hoti.

5. *Cetakena bhikkhunū* ti Cetiyaṃ rāṭṭhe jātattā Cetako ti evaṃ laddhanāmena. *Sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ* ti bho Ānanda Dasabalassa ko nāma rogo ahosi, kiṃ Bhagavā paribhuñji, api ca Satthu parinibbāṇena tumhākaṃ soko udapādi, Satthā nāma na kevalaṃ tumhākaṃ yeva parinibbuto, sadevakassa lokassa mahājāni. Ko 'dāni añño maraṇā muccissati yatra so ca sadevakassa lokassa aggapuggalo parinibbuto? Idāni kam⁹ aññaṃ disvā maccurājā lajjissati' ti? Evam ādinā nayena maraṇa-paṭisaṃyuttaṃ sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisāretvā therassa hiyyo pīṭabhesajjānurūpam āhāraṃ datvā bhata-kiccāvasāne ekam antaṃ nisīdi.

1 S. pana

2 Si. dassesi

3 S. satthā

4 Si. dassanāya

5 S. -paṭṭena

6 Si. garu

7 Si. omits ti vadati

8 Si. nisajja

9 Si. kiṃ

Upaṭṭhāko santikāvacarō ti upaṭṭhāko hutvā santikāvacarō va na randhagavesi. *Samāpacārī* ti idam purimāpadassa vevacanam. *Yesam so bhavam Gotamo* ti kasmā pucchati. Tassa kira evam ahoṣi, yesu dhammesu bhavam Gotamo imam lokam paṭiṭṭhāpesi, te tassa accayena naṭṭhā nu kho, dharanti nu kho, sace dharanti Ānando jānissati 'handa nam pucchāmi' ti tasmā pucchati¹.

6. Athassa thero tīṇi piṭakāni tīhi khandhehi saṃgahetvā dassento *tiṇṇam kho* ti ādim āha. Māṇavo 'saṃkhiṭṭena kathitam asallak-khento vitthārato pucchissāmi' ti cintetvā 'katam esam tiṇṇam' ti ādim āha. Tato therena *ariyassa silakkhandhassā* ti tesu dassitesu puna 'katamo pana so bho Ānanda ariyo silakkhandho' ti ekekaṃ pucchi. Thero pi 'ssa Buddhuppādam dassetvā tantidhammaṃ dassento anukkamena Bhagavatā vuttanayen' eva sabbaṃ vissajjesi.

30. Tattha *atthi c' ev' ettha uttarim karaṇīyan* ti ettha Bhagavato sāsane na silam eva sāro kevalaṃ c' etaṃ paṭiṭṭhāmettam eva hoti. Ito uttarim pana aññaṃ pi kattabbaṃ atthi evā ti dasseti. *Ito bahiddhā* ti Buddhasāsanato bahiddhā.

2. 1. *Kathaṃ ca māṇava bhikkhu indriyesu guttadvāro hoti* ti idam āyasmā Ānando 'katamo pana so bho Ānanda ariyo samādhikkhandho' ti evaṃ samādhikkhandham puṭṭho pi ye te silasampanno indriyesu guttadvāro satisampajāññaṃ samannāgato santuṭṭho ti evaṃ silānantaram indriyasaṃvarādayo silasamādhinam antare ubhinnaṃ pi upakāradhammā uddiṭṭhā, te niddisitvā samādhikkhandham dassetu-kāmo ārabhi. Ettha ca rūpajjhānān' eva āgatāni, na arūpajjhānāni ānetvā pana dīpetabbāni. Catutthajjhānena hi asaṃgahitā arūpa-samāpatti nāma natthi yeva.

19. *Atthi c' ev' ettha uttarim karaṇīyan* ti ettha Bhagavato sāsane na cittekaggaṭāmettāken' eva pariyosānuppatti nāma atthi, ito pi uttarim puna aññaṃ katabbaṃ atthi yevā ti dasseti.

37. *Natthi c' ev' ettha uttarim karaṇīyan* ti ettha Bhagavato sāsane ito uttarim katabbaṃ nāma natthi yeva, arahattapariyosānaṃ hi Bhagavato sāsanaṃ ti dasseti. Sesaṃ sabbattha uttānattham evā ti.

Iti Sumaṅgalavilāsinīyā Dighanikāyaṭṭhakathāya SUBHA SUTTA VAṆṆANĀ niṭṭhitā.

XI. KEVADDHA SUTTA

1. *Evam me sutam...pe...Nālandāyan* ti Kevaddha¹-suttam. Tatrāyam anupubbapada-vaṇṇanā². *Pāvārik' ambavane* ti Pāvārikassa ambavane. *Kevaddho* ti idaṃ tassa gahapatiputtassa nāmaṃ. So kira cattāliśa-koṭimattadhano³ gahapatimahāsālo ativiya saddho pasanno ahosi. So saddhādhikattāy' eva 'sace eko bhikkhu aḍḍhamāsantarena vā māsan-tarena vā saṃvaccharena vā ākāse uppatitvā vividhāni pāṭihāriyāni dasseyya, sabbo jano ativiya pasideyya; yan nūnāhaṃ Bhagavantam yācivā pāṭihāriya-karaṇatthāya ekaṃ bhikkhum anujānāpeyyan' ti cintetvā Bhagavantam upasāṅkamitvā evam āha.

Tattha *iddhā* ti samiddhā. *Phitū* ti nānābhaṇḍa-ussannatāya vuḍḍhippattā.

Ākiṇṇamanussā ti aṃsakūṭena aṃsakūṭaṃ paharitvā vicarantehi viya manussehi ākiṇṇā. *Samādisatū* ti āṇāpetu, ṭhānantare ṭhapetu. *Uttarimanussadhammā* ti' uttarimanussānaṃ dhammato dasakusala-saṃkhātato vā manussadhammato uttari. *Bhiyyosomattāyā* ti pakatiyā pi pajjalitapadīpo telasnehaṃ labhitvā viya atirekappamāṇena abhip-pasīdissati.

2. *Na kho ahan* ti Bhagavā Rājagahaseṭṭhi-vatthusmiṃ sikkhā-padaṃ paññāpesi, tasmā 'na kho ahan' ti ādim āha. *Na dhamsemi* ti na guṇavināsanena dhamsemi, silābhedaṃ pāpetvā anupubbena uccaṭṭhānato otārento nīcaṭṭhāne ṭhapemi, atha kho Buddhasāsanassa vuḍḍhiṃ paccāsiṃsanto kathamī ti dasseti.

3. *Tatiyaṃ pi kho* ti yāvatiyaṃ Buddhānaṃ kathaṃ paṭibāhitvā kathetuṃ visahanto nāma natthi. Ayaṃ pana Bhagavatā saddhiṃ vissāsiko, vissāsaṃ vaḍḍhetvā vallabho hutvā atthakāmosmi ti tikkhattuṃ kathesi. Atha Bhagavā 'ayam upāsako mayi paṭibāhante pi punappunaṃ yācati yeva. Hand' assa pāṭihāriyākarāṇe ādīnavaṃ dassemi' ti cintetvā *imi kho* ti ādim āha.

5. Tattha *amāhaṃ bhikkhun* ti amum ahaṃ bhikkhuṃ. *Gandhārī* ti Gandhārena nāma isinā katā Gandhāraraṭṭhe vā uppannavijjā. Tattha kira bahū isayo vasiṃsu, tesu ekena katā vijjā ti adhippāyo. *Attīyāmī* ti atṭo piḷito viya viharāmi⁴. *Harāyāmī* ti lajjāmi. *Jigucchāmī* ti guthaṃ disvā viya jiguccham uppādemī.

1 B. S. & Si. Kevaṭṭa

2 Si. snuttānapada-

3 Si. koṭidhano

4 B & Si. homi

6. *Parasattānaṃ* ti aññesaṃ 'sattānaṃ, dutiyaṃ tass' eva vevacanaṃ. *Ādisaṇi* ti katheti. *Cetasikaṃ* ti somanassa-domanassam adhippetam. *Evaṃ pi te mano* ti evaṃ tava mano somanassito vā domanassito vā kāmavitakkādi-sampayutto vā ti¹. Dutiyaṃ tass' eva vevacanaṃ. *Iti pi te cittaṃ* ti iti tava cittaṃ. Imaṃ² c' imaṃ² ca atthaṃ cintayamānaṃ pavattanti ti³ attho.

7. *Maṇikū nāma vijjā* ti cintāmaṇi ti evaṃ laddhanāmā loke ekā vijjā atthi, tāya paresaṃ cittaṃ jānāti ti dīpeti.

8. *Evaṃ vitakkethū* ti evaṃ nekkhamma-vitakkādayo pavattenti vitakketha. *Mū evaṃ vitakkayitthū* ti evaṃ kāmavitakkādayo pavattenti⁴ mā vitakkayittha. *Evaṃ manasikarothū* ti evaṃ anicca-saññaṃ eva dukkha-saññaṃ vā aññataraṃ manasikarotha. *Mū evaṃ* ti niccaṃ ti ādinā nayena mā manasikarittha⁵. *Idaṃ* ti pañcākāma-guṇikarāgaṃ pajahatha. *Idaṃ upasampajjū* ti idaṃ catumaggaphalappabhedam lokuttaradhammam eva upasampajja pāpuṇitvā nipphādetvā viharatha. Iti Bhagavā iddhividham iddhipāṭihāriyaṃ ti dasseti, parassa cittaṃ ñatvā kathanam ādesanāpāṭihāriyaṃ ti. Sāvakanā ca Buddhāna ca satataṃ dhammadesanā anusāsanipāṭihāriyaṃ ti.

Tattha iddhipāṭihāriyena anusāsanipāṭihāriyaṃ Mahāmoggallānass'⁶ āciṇṇaṃ. Ādesanāpāṭihāriyena anusāsanipāṭihāriyaṃ Dhammasenāpatissa. Devadatte saṃghaṃ bhinditvā pañcabhikkhusatāni gahetvā Gayāsīse Buddhaliṅhāya tesaṃ dhammaṃ desente pi hi Bhagavatā pesitesu dvīsu agga-sāvakeṣu Dhammasenāpati tesaṃ cittavāraṃ ñatvā dhammaṃ 'desesi. Therassa dhammadēsaṃ sutvā pañcasatā pi bhikkhū sotāpattiphale paṭiṭṭhahiṃsu. Atha nesaṃ Mahāmoggallāno⁷ vikubbanam dassetvā⁸ dhammaṃ desesi. Tam sutvā sabbe arahattaphale paṭiṭṭhahiṃsu. Atha dve pi mahānāgā pañcabhikkhusatāni gahetvā vehāsam abbhuggantvā Veluvanaṃ ev' āgamhiṃsu. Anusāsanipāṭihāriyaṃ pana Buddhānaṃ satataṃ dhammadēsanā. Tesu iddhipāṭihāriya-ādesanāpāṭihāriyaṃ sa-upārambhāni sadosāni addhānaṃ na tiṭṭhanti, addhānaṃ atīṭṭhanato na niyyanti. Anusāsanipāṭihāriyaṃ yeva upārambham niddosam, addhānaṃ tiṭṭhati, addhānaṃ tiṭṭhanato niyyāti. Tasmā Bhagavā iddhipāṭihāriyaṃ ca ādesanāpāṭihāriyaṃ ca garahati, anusāsani-pāṭihāriyaṃ eva pasamsati.

67. *Bhūtapubban* ti idaṃ kasmā Bhagavatā⁹ āradhmaṃ. Iddhi-pāṭihāriya-ādesanāpāṭihāriyānam anīyyānikabhāvadassanattam

1 & 3 S. omits ti; B. pavattati ti

2 B. idaṃ

4 Si. pavattento

5 Si. manasikattha

6 & 7 Si. -līlānatherassa

8 Si. repeats it

9 Si. omits it

anusāsanaṇipāṭihāriyass' eva ca niyyānikabhāvadassanattamaṃ. Api ca sabba-Buddhānaṃ mahābhūtapariyesako nāma' eko bhikkhu hoti yeva, yo mahābhūte pariyesanto yāva Brahmālokaṃ vicarītvā vissajjetāraṃ¹ alabbhītvā āgamaṃ Buddhānaṃ² eva pucchītvā nikkakko hoti. Kasmā? Buddhānaṃ mahantabhāvappakāsanattamaṃ. Idaṃ c' idaṃ³ ca kāraṇaṃ paṭicchannaṃ. Atha naṃ vivaṭṭaṃ⁴ katvā dassento pi Bhagavā 'bhūtaṃpubban' ti ādim āha.

Tattha *kattha nu kho* ti kismiṃ ṭhāne kim āgamaṃ kiṃ pattassa te anavasesā appavattivasena nirujjhanti. Mahābhūtakathā paṇ' esa sabbākāreṇa Visuddhimagge vuttā. Tasmā sā tato va gahetabbā.

Devayāniyo maggo ti pāṭiyeko⁵ devalokagatamaggo⁶ nāma natthi. Iddhividhañāṇass' eva paṇ' etaṃ adhivacanaṃ. Tena h' esa yāva Brahmālokaṃ pi kāyena vasaṃ vattento devalokaṃ yāti, tasmā taṃ 'devayāniyo maggo' ti vuttaṃ.

68. *Yena Cātummahārājikā* ti samipe ṭhitaṃ pi Bhagavantam apucchītvā dhammatāya codito devatā mahānubhāvā ti maññamāno upasaṅkami.

Mayaṃ pi kho bhikkhu na jānāma ti Buddhavisaye paṇhaṃ pucchitā devatā na jānanti, ten' evaṃ āhaṃsu. Atha kho so bhikkhu 'mama imaṃ paṇhaṃ akathetuṃ na labbhā' sīghaṃ kathethā' ti ta⁷ devatā ajjhottharati, punappunaṃ pucchati. Tā 'ajjhottharati no ayaṃ bhikkhu, handa naṃ hatthato mocessāma'⁸ ti cintetvā *atthi kho bhikkhu cattāro mahārājāno* ti ādim āhaṃsu. Tattha *ubhikkantatarā* ti atikamma⁹ kantatarā. *Paṇṭatatarā* ti vaṇṇa-yasa-issariyādihi uttamatarā. Etena nayaṇa sabbavāresu attho vedītabbo.

Ayaṃ pana viseso. Sakko kira devarājā cintesi 'ayaṃ paṇho Buddhavisayo, na sakkā aññeṇa vissajjītuṃ; ayaṃ ca bhikkhu aggaṃ pahāya khajjopanakaṃ dhamanto¹⁰ viya bheriṃ pahāya udaraṃ vādetto viya ca loke aggapuggalaṃ Sammāsambuddhaṃ pahāya devatā pucchanto vicarati, pesemi naṃ Satthu santikaṃ ti'. Tato punaḥ eva so¹¹ cintesi, sudūraṃ pi gantvā Satthu santike va nikkakko bhavissati, atthi c' eva puggalo nāma' esa thokaṃ tāva āhīṇḍanto kilamatu, pacchā jānissati ti tato naṃ *ahaṃ pi kho* ti ādim āha.

1 S. vissajjotīraṃ; B. vissajjokāsaṃ

2 S. Buddhānaṃ

3 B. omits it

4 S. vivaṭṭaṃ

5 Si. pāṭiyekko; B. pāṭekko

6 B. devalokagamaṇa

7 Si. paṇhaṃ na labbhā na kathetuṃ; B. paṇhaṃ na kathetuṃ labbhā

8 S. omits it

9 Si. mocema; B. muñcissāma

10 B. abbi-

11 B. dhamento

12 Si. omits it

Brahmayāniyo pi devayāniyasadisō va. Devayāniyamaggo ti vā Brahmayāniyamaggo ti vā dhammasetū ti vā ekacittakkhaṇika-apparā ti vā sannipīṭṭhānika¹-cetanā ti vā mahaggata-cittan ti vā abhiññāṇa² ti vā sabbam etaṃ iddhiyidhaññāṇass' eva nāmaṃ.

Pubbanimittan ti āgamanapubbabhāge nimittam, suriyassa udayato aruṇaggaṃ viya tasmā idān' eva Brahmā āgamissati ti evaṃ mayaṃ jānāmā ti dipayipsu. *Patur ahoṣī* ti pākaṭo ahoṣi.

Atha kho so Brahmā tena bhikkhunā puṭṭho attano avisayabhāvaṃ ñatvā 'sac' āhaṃ na jānāmī ti vakkhāmi ime maṃ paribhavissanti, atha jānanto viya yaṃ kiñci kathessāmi ayaṃ me bhikkhu veyyākaraṇa³ anāraddhacitto⁴ vādam āropessati, aham asmi bhikkhu Brahmā ti ādini pana me bhaṇantassa na koci vacanaṃ⁵ saddahissati, yaṃ nūnāhaṃ vikkhepaṃ katvā imaṃ bhikkhuṃ Satthu santike yeva peseyyan' ti cintetvā *aham asmi bhikkhu Brahmā* ti ādim āha.

83. *Ekamantaṃ aparitvā* ti kasmā evam akāsi. *Kuhakattā. Bahiddhā pariyetṭhin* ti telatthiko vālikaṃ nippīliyamāno viya yāva Brahma-lokā bahiddhā pariyesanam āpajjasi⁶.

85. *Sakunam* ti kākam vā kulalaṃ vā. *Na kho eso bhikkhu paṇho evaṃ pucchitabbo* ti idaṃ Bhagavā yasmā padesen' eva' paṇho pucchitabbo ayaṃ ca kho bhikkhu anupādinnaṃ pi gahetvā nippadesato pucchati, tasmā paṭisedheti. Āciṇṇaṃ kir' etaṃ Buddhānaṃ pucchāmulhassa janassa pucchāya dosaṃ dassetvā pucchāṃ sikkhāpetvā pucchā vissajjanaṃ. Kasmā ? Pucchitum ajānitvā hi pucchanto dubbiññāpayo hoti. Paṇhaṃ sikkhāpento pana *kattha āpo cā* ti ādim āha.

Tattha *na gādhātī* ti na patiṭṭhātī. Ime cattāro mahābhūtā kim āgama appatiṭṭhā⁷ bhavanti ti attho. Upādinnaṃ yeva sandhāya pucchati⁸. *Dighaṇ ca rassaṇ cā* ti saṇṭhānavasena upādārūpaṃ vuttaṃ. *Anaṃ khulaṇ* ti khuddakaṃ vā mahantaṃ vā. Imiṇā pi upādārūpe vaṇṇamattam eva kathitaṃ. *Subhāsubhan* ti subhaṇ ca asubhaṇ ca upādārūpaṃ eva⁹. Kiṃ pana upādārūpaṃ subhaṃ ti¹⁰ asubhan ti atthi. Natthi. Iṭṭhāniṭṭhārammaṇaṃ pan' evaṃ kathitaṃ. *Nāmaṇ ca rūpaṇ cā* ti nāmaṇ ca dighādibhedaṃ rūpaṇ ca. *Uparujjhātī* ti nirujjhati. Kim āgama asesam etaṃ nappavattati ti evaṃ pucchitabbaṃ siyā ti pucchāṃ dassetvā idāni vissajjanaṃ dassento tatra veyyākaraṇaṃ bhavati ti vatvā *viññāṇaṃ* ti ādim āha.

1 Si. -naka

2 Si. abhiññāṇaṃ

3 B. veyyākaraṇa

4 B. adds visoseyyaṃ¹ cintetvā

5 Si. adds na

6 B. Si. āpajjati

7 Si. esa

8 Si. apatiṭṭhā

9 Si. pucchā

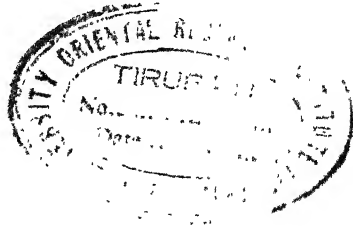
10 B. adds kathitaṃ

11 S. & Si. omit it

Tattha viññātabban ti viññāṇaṃ ; nibbāṇass' etaṃ¹ nāmaṃ. Taṃ² nidassanābhāvato anidassanaṃ. Uppādentō³ vā vayanto vā t̥hitassa aññathattanto vā etassa natthi ti anantaṃ. Pabhan ti papaṃ.⁴ Etaṃ kira titthassa nāmaṃ. Tañ hi papan ti⁵ etthā ti papaṃ. Pakāressa pana bhakāro kato. Sabbato⁶ pabham assā ti sabbato pabhaṃ. Nibbāṇassa kira yathā mahāsamuddassa yato yato otaritukāmā honti, tan tad eva tittham atitthaṃ nāma natthi, evam eva aṭṭhattiṃsāya kammaṭṭhānesu yena yena⁷ mukhena nibbāṇam otaritukāmā honti, tan tad eva titthaṃ nibbāṇassa atitthaṃ nāma kammaṭṭhānaṃ⁸ natthi. Tena vuttaṃ 'sabbato pabhan' ti. Ettha āpo cū ti ettha nibbāṇe idaṃ nibbāṇam agamma sabbam etam āpo ti ādinā nayena vuttam upādinnaka-dhammajātaṃ nirujjhati appavattaṃ hoti. Idāni 'ssa⁹ nirujjhanupāyaṃ dassento viññāṇassa nirodhena etth' etam uparujjhati ti āha.

Tattha viññāṇaṃ ti¹⁰ carimaka-viññāṇaṃ pi abhisamkharaviññāṇaṃ pi. Carimaka-viññāṇassāpi hi nirodhena etth' etaṃ uparujjhati vijjhā-dīpasikhā viya apaṇṇattikabhāvaṃ yāti. Abhisamkharaviññāṇassāpi anuppādanirodhena anuppādasena uparujjhati. Yathāha, sotāpatti-maggañāṇena abhisamkharaviññāṇassa nirodhena t̥hapetvā sattabhava anamatagge saṃsāre ye uppajjeyyuṃ nāmañ ca rupañ ca etth' ete nirujjhanti ti. Sabbaṃ Mahāniddese vuttanayen' eva veditabbaṃ. Sesāṃ sabbattha¹¹ uttānaṃ¹² evā ti.

Iti Sumaṅgalavilāsiniyā Dighanikāyaṭṭhakathaya KEVADDHA SUTTA VAṆṆANĀ niṭṭhitā.



- | | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| 1 Si. omits it | 2 Si. & B. tadetaṃ | 3 S. uppādato | 4 B. & Si. omit it |
| 5 Si. pipanti | 6 B. sabbaso | 7 S. omits it | 8 B. omits it |
| 9 Si. tassa | 10 Si. uses carima throughout | | 11 Si. ettha |
| 12 Si. uttānattha | | | |

1. *Evam me sutaṃ...pe...Kosalesū* ti Lohiccassuttaṃ. Tatrāyaṃ anuttānapadavaṇṇanā. *Sālavatikū* ti tassa gāmassa nāmaṃ. So kira vatiyā viya samantato sālapantiyā parikkhitto, tasmā Sālavatikā ti vuccati. *Lohicco* ti tassa¹ brāhmaṇassa nāmaṃ.

2. *Pūpakaṇ* ti parānukampā-virahitattā lāmakam. Na pana uccheda-sassatānam aññataraṃ. *Uppannaṃ hoti* ti jātaṃ hoti. Na kevalaṃ ca citte jātamattam eva. So kira tassa vasena parisamajjhe pi evaṃ bhāsati yeva. *Kiṃ hi paro parassū* ti paro yo anusāsiyati so tassa anusāsakassa kiṃ karissati, attanā paṭiladdhaṃ kusalaṃ dhammam attanā va sakkatvā garukatvā² vihātabban ti vadati.

4. *Bhesikaṃ³ nahāpītaṃ āmantesī* ti Bhesikā ti evam itthiliṅgavasena laddhanāmaṃ nahāpītaṃ āmantesi. So kira Bhagavato āgamaṇaṃ sutvā cintesi, 'vihāraṃ gantvā dāṭṭhabbaṃ⁴ nāma bhāro, gehaṃ pana ānāpetvā passissāmi, c' eva yathāsatti ca⁵ āgantukabhikkhaṃ dassāmi ti,⁶ tasmā taṃ⁶ nahāpītaṃ āmantesi.

8. *Piṭṭhito piṭṭhito* ti kathāphāsukatthaṃ pacchato pacchato anubandho hoti. *Viveceṭṭi* ti vimocetu, diṭṭhibhāvā⁷ virōdetū ti vadati. Ayaṃ kira upāsako Lohiccassa brāhmaṇassa piyasahāyako, tasmā tassa atthakāmatāya evam āha. *App' eva nāma siyā* ti ettha paṭhamavacanena Bhagavā gajjati, dutiyavacanena anugajjati. Ayaṃ kir' ettha adhipāyo, 'Bhesike, etad attham eva mayā cattāri asaṃkheyyāni kappasatasahassaṃ ca vividhāni dukkarāni karontena pāramiyo pūritā, etad attham eva sabbaññutaññaṃ⁸ paṭividdhaṃ, na me Lohiccassa⁹ diṭṭhigataṃ bhindituṃ bhāro ti' imam atthaṃ dassento paṭhamavacanena Bhagavā gajjati, 'kevalaṃ, Bhesike, Lohiccassa mama santike āgamaṇaṃ vā nisajjā va allāpasallāpo vā hotu, sace pi Lohicca-sadisānaṃ satasahasakaṃkhā hoti paṭibalo ahaṃ vinodetuṃ, Lohiccassa pana ekakassa¹⁰ diṭṭhivinodane mayhaṃ ko bhāro' ti imam atthaṃ dassento dutiyavacanena Bhagavā anugajjati ti veditabbo.

12. *Samudaya-sañjālī* ti samudayassa sañjāti bhoguppādo, tato utṭhitaṃ dhanadhaññaṃ ti attho. *Ye taṃ upajīvanti* ti ye¹⁰ nāti-pari-jana-dāsa-kammakarādayo janā taṃ nissāya jivanti. *Antarāya-karo*

1 Si. omits it

2 B. & S. garuṇi katvā

3 B. & S. use Rosikaṃ throughout

4 B. diṭṭhaṃ

5 Si.-sattaṃ ca ; B.-sattiṃ ca

6 B. evaṃ

7 B. & Si. taṃ diṭṭhigataṃ

8 Si. adds brāhmaṇassa

9 B. ekassa

10 S. ānta-

ti lābhantarāyaṃ¹ karo. *Hitānukampā* ti ettha hitaṃ ti vuḍḍhiṃ, anu-kampī ti icchatī ti attho. Vuḍḍhiṃ² icchatī vā no vā ti vuttaṃ hoti.

13. *Nirayaṃ vā tiracchānayoṇiṃ vā* ti sace sā micchādīṭṭhi sam-pajjati niyatā hoti ekaṃsena niraye nibbatteti,³ no ce tiracchānayoṇiyaṃ nibbatteti⁴ ti attho.

Idāni yasmā yathā attano lābhantarāyena⁵ sattā samvijjanti na tathā paresaṃ, tasmā suṭṭhutarāṃ brāhmaṇaṃ⁶ e-samvejetukāmo 'taṃ kiṃ maññasī' ti dutiyam upapattim⁷ āha.

Ye c' ime ti ye ca ime Tathāgatassa dhammadesanaṃ sutvā ariya-bhūmim okkamitum asakkontā⁸ kulaputtā. *Dibbā gabbhā* ti upayoga-tthe⁹ paccattavacanaṃ. Dibbe gabbhe ti attho. 'Dibbā gabbhā' ti ca channaṃ deva-lokaṇaṃ etaṃ adhivacanaṃ. *Paripāceti* ti deva-loka-gāminipaṭipadaṃ pūrayamānā dānaṃ dadamānā sīlaṃ rakkhamānā gandhamālādhi pūjaṃ kurumānā¹⁰ bhāvanaṃ bhāvayamānā pācenti vipācenti paripācenti pariṇāmaṃ gamenti. *Dibbānaṃ bhāvānaṃ abhinibbattiya* ti dibbā bhavā nāma devānaṃ vimānāni, tesāṃ nibbat-tanattāyā ti attho. Athavā 'dibbā gabbhā' ti dānādayo puññavisesā. 'Dibbabbhavā' ti deva-loke vipākakkhandhā, tesāṃ nibbat-tanattāyā tāni puññāni karonti ti attho. *Tesaṃ antarāyakaro* ti tesāṃ maggasampatti phalasampatti-dibbabbhavavisesānaṃ antarāyakaro ti.¹¹

16. Iti Bhagavā ettāvataṃ aniyāmiten¹² eva opammavidhinā yāva bha-vaggā uggataṃ brāhmaṇassa mānaṃ bhinditvā idāni codanārahe tayo satthāre dassetuṃ *tayo kho 'me Lohicca* ti ādīm āha.

Tattha *sā codanā* ti te¹³ satthāre codentassa¹⁴ codanā. *Na aññā cittaṃ upaṭṭhapenti* ti aññāya ājānanattāyā cittaṃ na upaṭṭhapenti. *Vokkamma* ti nirantaraṃ tassa sāsanaṃ akatvā tato okkamitvā¹⁵ pi vattanti¹⁶ ti attho. *Ossakkantiya vā ussukheyya* ti paṭikkamantiya upagaccheyya, anicchantiya iccheyya, ekāya sampayogam anicchantiya eko iccheyya ti vuttaṃ hoti. *Parammukhiṃ vā ālīngeyya* ti daṭṭhuṃ pi anicchamānaṃ¹⁷ parammukhiṃ ṭhitaṃ pacchato gantvā ālīngeyya. *Evaṃ sampadam idan* ti imassa pi satthuno mama ime sāvaka ti sāsanaṃ vokkamma¹⁸ vattamāne pi lobhena¹⁹ anusāsato²⁰ imaṃ lobha-dhammam evaṃ sampadam eva idisaṃ eva vadāmi. Iti²¹ so evarūpo

1 B. & Si. -antarāyakaro

2 Si. vuḍḍhiṃ

3 & 4 S. nibbattati

5 B. adds here yathā

6 B. pavacetu-

7 Si. uppattim

8 Si. asakkunantā

9 S. -atthe

10 B. pūjayamānā

11 B. & S. omit it

12 B. tayo

13 Si. adds m

14 B. upakkamitvā ; Si. ukkamitvā

15 Si. omits pi and makes pavattanti

16 B. anicchaya-

17 Si. okkamma

18 B. adds tena

19 B. anusāsanto

20 B. idiso

tava lobhadhammo yena tvam ossakkantiyā ussukkanto viya param mukhim āliṅgento¹ viya ahoṣi ti pi² codanam arahati. *Kiṃ hi paro parassa karissatī* ti yena dhammena param³ anusāsasi⁴ attānam eva tāva tattha⁵ sampādehi, ujum karohi, kiṃ hi paro⁶ parassa karissatī ti codanam arahati.

17. *Niddāyitabban* ti sassadūsakāni⁷ tiṇāni uppāṭetvā⁸ parisuddhaṃ kāttabbaṃ.

18. Tatiyacodanāya *kiṃ hi paro parassā* ti anusāsanim⁹ asampaṭṭi-cchanakālato paṭṭhāya paro anusāsitaḥ parassa anusāsakassa kiṃ karissatī ti. Nanu tattha apposukkattam āpajjitvā attanā paṭividdha-dhammam attanā va mānetvā pūjetvā vihātabban ti eva codanam arahati ti attho.

19. *Na codanāraho* ti ayaṃ hi yasmā paṭhamam eva attānaṃ paṭi-rūpe paṭiṭṭhāpetvā sāvakānaṃ dhammaṃ deseti sāvakā c' assa assavā hutvā yathānusiṭṭhaṃ paṭipajjanti. Tāya ca paṭipattiyā mahantaṃ visesam adhigacchanti tasmā na codanāraho.

Narakapapātaṃ papātanto ti mayā gahitāya diṭṭhiyā ahaṃ narakapapātaṃ patanto. *Uddharitvā thale paṭiṭṭhāpito* ti taṃ diṭṭhiṃ chinditvā dhammadesanā-hatthena apāyapapātato¹⁰ uddharitvā saggamaggathale ṭhapitomhi ti vadati. Sesam ettha uttānattham evā ti.

Iti Sumaṅgalavilāsiniyā Dīghanikāyaṭṭhākathāya LOHICCA SUTTA VAṆṆANĀ niṭṭhitā.

1 S. āliṅgento

2 B. adds taṃ

3 Si. pare

4 S. anusāsi; B. anusāsi

5 Si. cettha

6 Si. omits it

7 Si. -dusikāni; B. -rūpakāni

8 B. ubbādetvā

9 B. & S. anusāsanam

10 B. -patānā

XIII. TEVIJJA SUTTA VAṆṆANĀ

1. *Evam me sutam...pe...Kosalesū*¹ ti Tevijjasuttam. Tatrāyam anuttānapadavaṇṇanā. *Manasākaṭan* ti tassa gāmassa nāmaṃ. *Uttarena Manasākaṭassā* ti Manasākaṭato avidūre uttarapasse. *Ambavane* ti taruṇambarukkhasaṇḍe. Ramanīyo kira so bhūmibhāgo, heṭṭhā rajata-²paṭṭa-sadisā vālikā vipparikkhā, upari maṇivitaṇaṃ viya ghanasākhā-pattambavanam, tasmim Buddhānam anucchavike pavivekasukhe ambavane viharatī ti attho.

2. *Abhiññātū abhiññātū* ti kulacārittādi-sampattiya tattha tattha paññātā. *Caṅki* ti ādini tesam nāmāni. Tattha Caṅki³ Opasādvāsiko. Tārukkho Icchānaṅgalavāsiko. Pokkharasātī Ukkatṭhavāsiko. Jānussoṇī Sāvattivāsiko. Todeyyo Tudigāmvāsiko. *Aññe cū* ti aññe ca bahū janā attano attano nivāsattāhehi āgantvā mantasajjhāyakaṇaṇattam tattha paṭivasanti. Manasākaṭassa kira ramanīyatāya te brāhmaṇā tattha nadittire gehāni kāretvā parikkhipāpetvā aññesaṃ bahūnaṃ pavesanaṃ nivāretvā antarantarā tattha gantvā⁴ vasanti.

3. *Vāseṭṭha-Bhāradvājānan* ti Vāseṭṭhassa ca Pokkharasātino ante-
vāsikassa, Bhāradvājassa ca Tārukkhantevāsikassa. Ete kira dve jāti-
sampannā tiṇṇaṃ vedēnaṃ pāraṃ gatā⁵ ahesuṃ. *Jaṅghā-vihāran* ti
ciranisajjāpaccayā kilamathavinodanattāya jaṅghācāraṃ. Te kira
divasaṃ sajjhāyaṃ katvā sāyaṇhe vuṭṭhāya nahāniyasambhāra-gandha-
mālā-tela⁶-dhotavattāni gāhāpetvā attano pariṇanaparivutā nahāyitu-
kāma nadittiraṃ gantvā rajata-paṭṭa⁷-vaṇṇe vālikasaṇḍe⁸ aparāparaṃ
caṅkamipsu. Evaṃ caṅkamantam itaro anucaṅkami, puna itaram⁹
itaro ti. Tena vuttam *anucaṅkamantānaṃ anuvicāraṇtānaṃ* ti.

Maggāmagge ti magge ca amagge ca. Katarānu kho paṭipadaṃ
pūretvā katamena maggena sakkā sukhaṃ Brahmaḷokaṃ gantun ti
evaṃ maggāmaggaṃ ārabha kathaṃ samuṭṭhāpesun ti attho.

4. *Añjasāyano* ti ujumaggassa¹⁰ vevacanaṃ. Añjasā vā ujukam eva.
Etena āyanti¹¹ gacchanti ti añjasāyano. *Niyyāpiko niyyāti* ti niyyā-
yanto niyyāti, gacchanto gacchatī ti attho. Kva gacchatī ti¹² Takkar-
assa Brahmasahavyatāyā ti, yo taṃ maggaṃ karoti paṭipajjati tassa
Brahmunā saddhim¹³ sahabhāvāya ekaṭṭhāne pātubhāvāya gacchatī ti
attho. *Yvāyan* ti yo ayaṃ. *Akkhāto* ti kathito dīpito. *Brāhmaṇena*
Pokkharasātīnā ti attano ācariyaṃ apadisati. Iti Vāseṭṭho sakam eva

1 Si. omits it 2 ~~paṭṭa~~ 3 B. Opahāra- 4 Si. āgantvā 5 B. & Si. pāra-
6 B. and S. aticira- 7 Si. omits it 8 S. -paṭṭa- 9 Si. vālikāmajhe 10 Si. omits it
11 B. adds etaṃ 12 B. āgacchanti 13 B. omits this sentence

ācariyavādaṃ thometvā paggaṇhitvā vicarati. Bhāradvājo pi sakam evā ti. Tena vuttaṃ 'n'eva kho asakkhi Vāseṭṭho' ti ādi.

8. Tato Vāseṭṭho ubhinnaṃ pi ambhākaṃ kathā aniyyāṇikā va,¹ imasmiṃ loke maggakusalo nāma bhotā Gotamena sadiso nāma² natthi, bhavaṇ ca Gotamo avidūre vasati, so no tulaṃ gahetvā nisinnavāṇijo viya kaṅkhaṃ bhindissati³ ti cintetvā tam atthaṃ Bhāradvājassa āroce tvā ubho pi gantvā attano kathaṃ Bhagavato ārocesuṃ. Tena vuttaṃ *atha kho Vāseṭṭho...pe...yuvāyam akkhāto brūhmaṇena Tārukkhenā ti. Ettha bho Gotamā* ti etasmiṃ maggāmagge.

*Viggaho vivādo*⁴ ti ādisu pubbupattiko⁵ viggaho aparabhāge vivādo. Duvidho⁶ pi so⁷ nānā ācariyānaṃ vādato⁸ nānāvādo.

9. *Atha kismiṃ pana vo* ti tvaṃ pi ayam eva maggo ti attano ācariyavādam eva paggayha tiṭṭhasi, Bhāradvājo pi attano ācariyavādam eva, ekassāpi ekasmiṃ samsayo natthi, evaṃ sati 'kismiṃ vo viggaho' ti pucchati.

10. *Maggāmagge bho Gotamā* ti magge ca bho Gotamo amagge ca, anujumagge ca ujumagge cā ti attho.

Esa kira ekabrāhmaṇassā pi maggāmaggo ti na vadati, yathā pana attano ācariyassa maggo ujumaggo, na evaṃ aññesam anujānāti, tasmā tam ev' atthaṃ dipento 'kiñcā pi bho Gotamā' ti ādim āha. *Sabbāṃ tām* ti līṅga-vipallāseṇa vadati, 'sabbe te' ti vuttaṃ hoti. *Bahūnā ti atṭha* vā dasa vā. *Nānāmaggānā* ti mahantāmahantāni⁹ jaṅghāmagga-sakaṭamaggādivasena nānāvidhāni sāmantaḡāma-nadī-taḷāka-khetṭā-dīhi āgantvā gāmaṃ pavisanamaggāni.

11. *Niyyanti ti Vāseṭṭha vadesi* ti Bhagavā tikkhattuṃ vacibhedam kāretvā¹⁰ paṭiññaṃ kārāpesi. Kasmā? Titthiyā hi paṭijānitvā pacchā niggayhamānā avajānanti, so tathā kātuṃ na sakkhissati ti.

15. *Te ca*¹¹ *tevijjā* ti te tevijjā. 'Ca'¹¹ kāro āgamasandhimattaṃ. *Andhaveni* ti andhappaveṇi. Ekena cakkhumatā gahita-yaṭṭhiyā koṭim eko andho gaṇhāti, tam andham añño, tam añño ti evaṃ paṇṇāsa-saṭṭhi andhā paṭipāṭiyā ghaṭitā andhaveni ti vuccati.¹² *Paramparā samsattā* ti aññamaññaṃ samsattā,¹³ yaṭṭhiggāhakena pi cakkhumatā virahitā ti attho. Eko kira dhutto andhagaṇaṃ disvā amukasmiṃ nāma gāme khajjabhojjaṃ sulabhan ti ussāhetvā tenahi 'tattha no sāmi nehi, idaṃ nāma te demā' ti vutte lañcaṃ gahetvā antarāmagge maggā okkamma mahantaṃ gacchaṃ anuparigantvā purimassa hatthena pacchi-

¹ S. aniyyāṇikā' eva

² B. & Si. o nit it

³ B. & Si. chindissati

⁴ Si. omits it

⁵ Si. -uppattito

⁶ Si. dvividho

⁷ B. eso

⁸ B. vādo

⁹ B. mahaggāni

¹⁰ B. katva

¹¹ B. & S. va

¹² S. vuccanti

¹³ Si. jaggā

massa kacchaṃ gaṇhāpetvā kiñci kammam atthi, gacchatha tāva tumhe ti vatvā palāyi. Te divasaṃ pi gantvā maggam avindamānā kuhiṃ bho cakkhumā kuhiṃ maggo ti paridevitvā maggam avindamānā tatth' eva mariṇsu. Te sandhāya vuttaṃ 'paramparā saṃsattā' ti.

Purimo pi ti purimesu dasasu brāhmaṇesu eko pi. *Majjhimo pi* ti majjhimesu¹ ācariyapācariyesu eko pi. *Pacchimo pi* ti idāni tevijjesu brāhmaṇesu² eko pi. *Hassakaṃ yevā* ti hasitabbam eva. *Nāmakāṃ yevā* ti lāmakāṃ yeva. Tad etam atthābhāvena *rittakāṃ*, rittakattāy' eva *tucchakaṃ*.

16. Idāni Brahmā³ tāva tiṭṭhatu yo tevijjehi brāhmaṇehi⁴ na diṭṭha-pubbo; ye pi candimasuriye tevijjā passanti tesam pi sahavyatāya maggaṃ desetunī nappahontī ti dassanattamaṃ 'taṃ kiṃ maññasī' ti ādim āha. Tattha *yato ca candimasuriyā uggacchanī* ti yasmim⁵ kāle uggacchanti. *Yattha ca ogacchanī* ti yasmim⁶ kāle athaṅgementi⁷. Uggamanakāle ca athaṅgamanakāle ca passanti ti attho. *Āyācanti* ti udehi bhavaṃ⁸ canda, udehi bhavaṃ⁹ suriyā ti evaṃ āyācanti. *Thomaṃ anti* ti sommo cando, parimaṇḍalo cando, sappabho cando ti ādini vadantā pasapiṇṇanti ti attho.¹⁰ *Pañjalikā* ti paggaḥita-añjalikā. *Namasamānā* ti namo namo ti vadamānā.

18. *Yaṃ passanti* ti ettha yaṃ ti nipātamattaṃ. *Kim pana na¹¹ kirā* ti ettha idha pana kiṃ vattabbaṃ yattha na¹² kira tevijjehi brāhmaṇehi Brahmā sakkhidiṭṭho ti evam attho daṭṭhabbo.¹³

24. *Samatittikā* ti samabharitā. *Kākaṇṇā* ti yattha katthaci tīre ṭhitena kākena sakkā pātun ti kākaṇṇā. *Pāraṃ taritukāmo* ti nadim atikkamitvā paratīraṃ¹⁴ pattukāmo. *Avheyyā* ti pakkoseyya. *Ehi pārāpāraṃ* ti ambho pāraṃ apāraṃ ehi atha maṃ sahasā va gahetvā gamissasi atthi me accāyikakamman ti attho.

25. *Ye dhammā brāhmaṇakaraṇā* ti ettha pañcasīla-dasakusala-kammappathabhedā dhammā brāhmaṇakaraṇā ti veditabbā. Tabbi-paritā abrahmaṇakaraṇā. *Indam avhāyāma* ti indam avhayāma¹⁵ pakkosāma.

26. Evaṃ brāhmaṇānam avhayanassa¹⁶ niratthakattāṃ¹⁷ dassetvā puna pi Bhagavā aṇṇavakucchiyaṃ suriyo viya jalamāno pañcasatābhikkhuparivuto¹⁸ Aciravatiyā tīre nisinno aparāṃ pi nadim upamaṃ yeva āharanto 'seyyathā pi' ti ādim āha.

27. *Kāmaguṇā* ti kāmayitabbatṭhena kāmā, bandhanatṭhena guṇā.

1 Si. majjhe 2 Si. omits it 3 B. brahmaloko 4 B. & Si. omit it 5 B. yahim
6 Si. atthamenti 7 Si. bhagavā 8 Si. & B. omit it 9 B. omits it
10 B. & Si. put this 'na' after brāhmaṇehi 11 Si. veditabbo 12 B. gantu-
13 Si. avhema 14 Si. & B. avhānassa 15 Si. -katam 16 B. -parivāko

'Anujānāmi, bhikkhave, ahatānaṃ vatthānaṃ diguṇaṃ saṅghātin ti ettha hi paṭalaṭṭho guṇasaddo.¹

'Accayanti kālā tarayanti rattiyo.

Vayoguṇā anupubbaṃ jahanti² ti.

Ettha *rāsattṭho* guṇasaddo. 'Sataguṇā dakkhiṇā pāṭikaṃkhitabba' ti ettha *ānisaṃsattṭho* guṇasaddo. Antam antaguṇaṃ kayirā malaguṇe bahū' ti ca ettha bandhanaṭṭho guṇasaddo. Idhā pi es'eva adhippeto. Tena vuttaṃ 'bandhanaṭṭhena guṇā' ti. *Cakkhuvūṇṇepū* ti cakkhuvīṇāṇena passitabbā. Eten' upāyena sotaviññeyyādisu pi attho veditabbo.

Itṭhā ti pariyaṭṭhā vā hontu mā vā itṭhārammaṃ abhūtā ti attho. *Kantā* ti kāmāṇiyā. *Manūpā* ti manavaḍḍhanakā. *Piyarūpā* ti piyājātikā. *Kūṃṭapāsaphitā* ti ārammaṇaṃ katvā uppajjamānena kāmena upasaṃhitā. *Rajāṇiyā* ti rañjaniyā rūguppatti-kāraṇabhūtā ti attho.

28. *Gathitā* ti gedhena abhibhūtā hutvā. *Mucchitā* ti mucchākara-pattāya adhimattataṇhāya abhibhūtā. *Ajjhoppannā* ti adhi opannā ogaḷha. idaṃ sāraṇ³ ti pariniṭṭhānappattā hutvā. *Anādinavadassāvino* ti adinavam apassantā. *Anissaraṇapaññā* ti idam ettha nissaraṇaṃ ti evaṃ parijānaṇapaññāvirahitā, paccavekkhana-paribhogavirahitā ti attho.

30. *Āvaraṇā* ti ādisu āvaranti ti āvaraṇā. Nivārayanti ti nivarāṇā. Onaddhanti ti onahanā. Pariyonaddhanti ti pariyonahanā. Kāmacchandānaṃ vitthārakathā Visuddhimaggato gaheṭabbā. *Āvaṭṭānivuttā ophuṭṭā pariyonaddhā* ti padāni āvaraṇādānaṃ vasena vuttāni.

31. *Sapariggaho* ti itthipariggahena apariggaho ti vuccati. *Apariggaho bho Gotamā* ti ādisu pi kāmacchandassa abhāvato itthipariggahena apariggaho. Byāpādassa abhāvato kenaci saddhiṃ veracittena avero. Thīnamiddhassa abhāvato cittagelaññasamkhātena byāpajjhena abyāpajjho. Uddhaccakukkuccābhāvato uddhaccakukkuccādīhi saṅkilesehi asaṅkiliṭṭhacitto suparisuddhamānaso. Vicikicchāya abhāvato cittaṃ vase vatteti, yathā ca brāhmaṇā cittagatikā honti cittassa vase vattanti na tādiso ti Vasavattī.

35. *Idha kho paṇā* ti idha Brahmāloka magge. *Āsīditvā* ti amaggam eva maggo ti upagantvā. *Samāsīdanī* ti samatalanti saññāyaṃ paṅkam otiṇṇā viya anupavisanti. *Samāsīditvā visādaṃ pāpuṇanti* ti evaṃ paṅke viya saṃsīditvā visādaṃ⁴ aṅgamaṅgasambhaṇṇaṇaṃ pāpuṇanti. *Sukkhataṇaṃ maññe pataranti* ti marīcikāya vañcītvā kākaṭṭhā nadi ti saññāya tarissāmā ti hatthehi ca pādehi ca vāyamamānā sukkhataṇaṃ⁵ maññe pataranti.⁶ Tasmā yathā te hatthapādādānaṃ sambhaṇṇaṇaṃ

1 Si. & B. guṇattṭho

2 Si. accenti

3 B. sāyam

4 B. visāram

5 Si. & B. sukkhataṇaṃ

6 S. taranti

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Art and Philosophy in Hindu Temple Building

There is a fundamental aspect in the construction of Hindu temple, which has come down to us from very early times. It was and even now it is practically the same as the construction of the village as depicted in the Rgveda. In those ancient days the village was of the shape of an ellipse with a wall round about it ; sometimes there was a second wall inside the first one. Through the village two main roads, perpendicular to each other, intersected the whole village into four parts, the one from the north to the south being shorter in length than the one from the east to the west. Inside the outer wall there was a road which circumscribed the whole village. On the four directions of the compass there were four gates, called *gopuram*, because from the towers of these gates the cattle grazing on the fields outside the village were watched. Within the four sections of the village the various communities had their quarters arranged, it is supposed, according to occupations and later according to castes. As an example we can take the ruins of Chitor, a very ancient city, the structure of which has remained practically the same although modified by the exigencies of military defence and its natural configuration. The hill and the village at its foot on the west together formed the old city. There are gates on the north, west, and south of the village. On the hill there is a gate on the north and another on the east. The latter is called *Surajpol* or the Sun gate. Within the city on

the hill there is a road which practically goes round the whole hill, and there are two main roads crossing each other at right angles at the centre of the hill. The position of the temples cannot be discerned because the city has undergone several sacks at the hands of invaders who, professing a different religion and fired by religious bigotry, particularly demolished the temples.

The foregoing features can be found substantially the same in every Hindu temple of any note which has some claim to antiquity. Adapted to the construction of a temple as distinguished from a village there have been some modifications. The plan of temple construction is this. A quadrangle either on a higher level as in the Jagannātha temple at Puri, or on a lower level as in the Mahākāla temple at Ujjain; than the surrounding area is enclosed with high walls. There are four gates with watch-towers in the four directions of the east, south, west, and north. In front of the eastern entrance is usually the *arumastambha* or the sun-tower. The gates are called *gopuram* because, in ancient days of village construction, *go* or cattle, grazing on the fields beyond the village, used to be watched from the towers. Inside the walls there is a pathway round the main temple or group of temples in the centre. This was formerly called *maṅgala vīthi* and now, after the Buddhists, *parikramaṇavīthi*. The temple is divided into three or four parts, viz., first the *bhoga-mandira* on the east, next the *nāṭa-mandira* to its west, and next the *śrī-mandira* to the extreme west where the symbol or image, as the case may be, is kept for worship; sometimes, as in the Jagannātha temple at Puri, there is a store or passage temple called *jagamohana mandira* between the *bhoga* and the *nāṭa* or the *nāṭa* and the *śrī-mandira*. Within the *śrī-mandira* and round about the image or the symbol there is another narrow *maṅgalavīthi* by which the devotees, after the sacred ceremony of *ārati*, go round the image or the symbol. *Darśana* at the time of the *ārati* and *parikramaṇa* after it are essential ceremonies for all pilgrims.

Near the gates but just within the outer wall there is one temple at each gate. The presiding deity at the eastern temple is Brahman, at the southern Viṣṇu-Sūrya, at the western Śiva, and at the northern Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa or Anantaśāyin. Whether in the temple or in the village these four exterior temples always existed, and this represented in a nutshell the whole cosmic philosophy of the Hindu in regard to the four cardinal points of *śṛṣṭi* or creative evolution, *sthiti* or maintenance of the creative principle in action, *saṃhāra* or the counter-evolution, and *pralaya* or sustenance of the creative seed. The ancient Hindu was a worshipper of nature first, just as his contemporary in Greece was a worshipper of dead ancestors. Later on he developed ancestor worship which is so important to-day, just as the later Greeks developed nature worship in Zeus, Minerva, etc. But in the Vedic ages Indra, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Ūṣas, the Viśvadevas, etc. were the more important deities. As such he naturally connected creation with the east where every morning the glorious Savitr heralded the day. Hence the presiding deity in the eastern temple is Brahman the creator, and the *arumastambha* stands in front of that gate. In the southern temple presides Viṣṇu-Sūrya, who is evolved out of Indra, the maintainer of *dharma* or the principle of evolution started by Brahman in his act of creation. In the western temple Śiva, evolved first out of Rudra, then of Yama, is the god who was not to destroy as he is supposed to do now, but to reduce the universe into its original elements by a process of counter-evolution essentially based on harmony. Thus originally Śiva had no *triśūla* or trident but the musical instrument *damru* and his divine ecstatic dance, certainly a very magnificent conception of the means and processes of counter-evolution. It should be noted that the Hindu conception of evolution was in cycles, and hence the cycle must be completed through the processes fourfold in aspect but vitally connected with one another. A wonderfully expressive image of Śiva as Natarāja can be seen in the

museum at Madras. In the northern temple presides Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa or Anantaśāyin evolved out of Varuṇa, who, in the deluge, sustains the creative principle in his person as also the master-architect Brahman, who is supported on the blue lotus emanating from his navel.

In the later and degenerate days, certainly post-Buddhistic in time, and probably as a result of the assimilation of barbaric ideas borrowed from the Śakas, Huns, and other hordes of uncultured peoples who poured into India, Śiva came to be regarded as destroyer, and the significance of *ḍamaru* and his dance was lost, at the same time that he was now given his *triśūla* or trident effectively to carry out his work of destruction. Simultaneously the grandeur and the more virile conception of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa supporting the creative principle was also lost. Thus the present popular conception has three instead of four aspects, viz., creation, maintenance, and destruction. As a result of this we find that now at almost every temple, whether Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva, the northern gate-temple is in ruins, and remains unrecognised and unworshipped. Thus in the Jagannātha temple at Puri there is the magnificent *aruṇastambha* just in front of the eastern gate. Inside the gate is the temple of Brahman who, having failed to develop a sect of votaries, is more or less neglected and therefore represented rather in grotesque images and carvings. On the south there is the temple of Viṣṇu and on the west that of Śiva, both of whom are worshipped with great devotion and punctilious forms and ceremonials. On the north the corresponding temple is in ruins, and the speculative barbarism of a degenerate age has raised near it an unorthodox building which is supposed to lead to heaven, an idea at once crude and dissociated from the Hindu cosmology.

Since post-Buddhistic days Hinduism has a clear cut division into Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. The characteristic features of a Vaiṣṇava temple are that there is always some image inside the temple and that the top finishes off with a

lotus, the conception of the blue lotus of ancient days. The Śaiva temple, on the other hand, has no image but a symbol only and has on its top the *stūpa* or the dome.

This characteristic division has a long and interesting history behind it. In the pre-Buddhistic period there was no conflict between Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. Both were integral parts of the same religious system. The *stūpa* and the lotus were simultaneously used by all. That this division without conflict and subsequent separation belonged to the Aryans before they came to India is proved from the fact that in a statue of Naram Sin in Assyria (about 1500 B. C.) both the *stūpa* and the lotus are found together. As there is no trace of this having been borrowed from India, experts conclude that the system had been adopted by the Aryans before their separation into the Indian and Iranian branches.

During the Buddhistic period the Hindu system of art and architecture was bodily adopted into the Buddhistic system. Thus at Sarnath we can see both the *stūpa* and the lotus *śikhara* in the buildings standing side by side and belonging to the coterie of the same system of buildings. But gradually as Buddhism spread in India and as time passed, we notice an important schism in the camp. The Mahāyānists of the north emphasised *bhakti* or devotion in their religious ceremonies, while the Hīnayānists of the south emphasised *jñāna* or cold reasoning or knowledge as the point *par excellence* in their religious life.

In the meantime an important historical event of far-reaching consequence to India had happened. After the death of Alexander there were many Greek settlements on the borders of India. Although there was little permanent effect of the invasion itself, the neighbourhood of the Yavana culture affected Indian art. Before now India knew little of sculpture, and therefore there was no image in a Hindu temple or a Buddhist monastery. The Yavanas, that is the Greeks, brought this to India, and the Gandhāra school of

art grew up as a result of this Greek impact. But the life of India was throbbing with great vitality in those days. So, it was no mere imitation. Sculpture was developed as an essentially Indian art, representing Indian ideas in visible external human forms. The Mahāyānists of the north, being so near to the new culture, readily adopted it and constructed noble images of the Great Buddha representing his various moods. As they belonged to the devotional school among the Buddhists, they naturally liked images as centres of their *bhakti* or devotion. Soon they started worshipping the Great Buddha in their temples. The Hīnayānists of the south resented this as they thought it to be degradation of their religion. They declared that in Buddhism there was no scope for images, and stuck to the old path of knowledge. Thus came about the great schism in Buddhism. As this gulf widened, images became a peculiar feature of the Mahāyānists and their exclusion that of the Hīnayānists. There also came about a division of the old Hindu symbols which had been adopted into Buddhism. The Mahāyānists representing the *bhakti* cult adopted the Vaiṣṇava symbol of the lotus in exclusion to the dome, while the Hīnayānists representing the *jñāna* cult adopted the symbol of the dome in exclusion to the lotus. Before Buddhism disappeared from India on the attack and revival of Hinduism under Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, and others this division had been fully accepted by all leaders of thought and firmly rooted in the breast of all the religious sects of India. Thus when Hinduism revived, it revived also the schism, and now Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism were mutually exclusive system and not, as in pre-Buddhistic India, part of the same homogeneous system.

In this way was finally established in India the Vaiṣṇavite and Śaivite schools. They further followed the lines of Buddhistic division in that the Vaiṣṇava whose stronghold was Northern India adopted the worship of images after the Mahāyānic fashion from whom he got the lotus, and that the Śaiva whose stronghold was Southern India adopted the

worship of symbol like the Hīnayānist from whom he got the dome.

With this schism followed a separation in cosmological personalities. The three-fold aspect of God as creator, maintainer, and destroyer—the last phase of *pralaya* having been long out of use—was attributed to the god of each school. As these two schools were the worshippers of Viṣṇu and Śiva respectively, Brahman was quietly dropped in worship although retained in idea. The stages were still represented as Brahman, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara, but, except at Puṣkara near Ajmer, nowhere else in India is Brahman actually worshipped as a separate entity. Each school gave all the three functions to its god. Thus Viṣṇu was given *cakra* and Śiva *triśūla* to represent *saṃhāra* which now meant destruction and not as before counter-evolution. Viṣṇu was also maintainer, which function the Śaiva attributed to his god as Hara, that is Śiva, along with his divine consort, Pārvatī.

Through ages from the dim past to the present we can thus trace the conception of Hindu pantheon as represented in the philosophy and religion of the Hindu. As the Hindu thought and lived in term of *dharma*, a term untranslatable into English with its full significance, his construction of the temple and the village and probably many other secular things bore and even now bear the impress of his speculative thought and religious conceptions.

Rasātala or the Under-World

IV

Paṇi is derived from the word *Paṇi*, the name of a tribe mentioned in the *Rg veda*,¹ which lived in Vala on the bank of the river *Vasā*. It should, however, be mentioned that Mr.

Phaṇi derived from Paṇi. Nagendra Nath Vasu in his *Vaiśya-kāṇḍa* states in one place that the *Paṇis* were a branch of the Aryan race,² and in another place that "the *Paṇis* could not have been non-Aryans, but they were Āryas or *Āryabhāvāpanna*" (endowed with the characteristics of Āryas).³ He further says that they were traders, and lived in India ; from India they went and founded the country known by the name of Phœnicia. Following Yāska, he derives from *Paṇi* the word "Fonik" (Phœnik), by which term the Phœnicians were known to the Greeks and Germans, and he further developed it into 'Vanik' i.e. the *Vaiśya* class of India.⁴

Mr. Vasu has made many assumptions and his conclusions are not warranted by facts. He says that the *Paṇis* were Aryans, though in the *Rgveda* they are called *Dāsas* or *Dasyus*.⁵ *Sāyaṇācārya* and *Mahidhara*, whom he

Paṇis were a non-Aryan tribe. has himself quoted, describe them as robbers and *Asuras*, that is as a non-Aryan race.⁶ According

to Mr. Vasu's own statement the *Bhāga-vata* has mentioned them along with the *Daityas*, *Dānavas*,

1 *Rgveda*, x, 108, 1 ; Max Müller's *Science of Language*, vol. I, p. 510.

2 *Vaiśya-kāṇḍa*, p. 8. 3 *Ibid.*, p. 13. 4 *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 13.

5 *Rgveda*, vii, 6, 3.

6 "*Paṇanti paradraavyair vyavaharanti ti Paṇayo'surūḥ*,"—*Mahidhara's* commentary on the *Vājasaneyī-saṃhitā* (35, 1) : see *Vaiśya-kāṇḍa*, p. 7 ; *Sāyaṇa's* commentary on the *Rg veda*, iii, 31, 5 ; x, 108.

and other inhabitants of Rasātala.¹ It will be observed also that in the same Purāṇa the word Paṇi "has been used as a synonym for a thief, and Śrīdhara, the commentator of the Bhāgavata, refers to the Paṇis as "Vṛṣalas" or Śūdras, and not as Vaniks or Vaiśyas.² Professor Max Müller and Dr. Macdonell, whom Mr. Vasu has cited as his authorities in connection with other matters on this subject, call them demons,³ and Dr. Macdonell even goes so far as to say that the place called Vala on the Rasā, where the Paṇis kept the cows concealed, has been personified into a demon (Asura).⁴ Mr. Vasu admits that the Paṇis lived on the bank of the river Rasā, which has been identified by Dr. Geiger with Raṅgha of the Vendidad. Drs. Keith and Macdonell have identified the river with the Jaxartes.⁵ In fact Rasā appears to be a variant, or rather a corrupted form of Araxes which, according to Herodotus⁶ and Strabo,⁷ followed through the country of the Massagetæ, or in other words, it has been correctly identified with the Jaxartes. That being so, it must be presumed that the Paṇis, who lived on the bank of the Rasā, were a tribe of the Huns, i. e. they were non-Aryans as stated by Śaṅkara, Mahidhara and the Bhāgavata. The Saranā story in the Rg-Veda further proves that the Paṇis never heard the name of Indra⁸ ;

1 *Vaiśya-kāṇḍa*, p. 7, citing *Bhāgavata*, iv, 24, 3 incorrectly ; see *Bhāgavata*, v, ch. 24.

2 *Bhāgavata*, v, ch. 9 ; see Śrīdhara's commentaries on verses 11 and 15 of the aforesaid chapter.

3 Max Müller's *Science of Language*, vol. II, p. 510.

4 Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 114 ; see also *Bhāgavata*, v, ch. 24.

5 *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, vol. II, p. 209 ; *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. IV, p. 3.

6 Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, bk. I, ch. 201 in vol. I, p. 103.

7 Hamilton and Falconer's *Strabo*, bk. XI, ch. viii, 6 in vol. II, p. 217.

8 *Rg-Veda*, x, 108, 3.

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they asked Saramā, "What kind of man is Indra, O Saramā?" Had they been Aryans they would not have certainly displayed such ignorance about Indra, and it further appears that "the land of the Paṇis does not seem to have fallen within the jurisdiction of the ruler of Div," in other words, they lived outside the Aryan country, and this is corroborated by *Rk* 5 : "Fair Saramā, here are the cows in whose quest thou art running down to the *ends of Div*,"¹ and it also appears from verses 10 and 11 that the Paṇis were on the outskirts of the Aryan country at the time, and therefore Saramā advised them, "O Paṇis, remove yourselves further hence."² Moreover, the *Devī-Bhāgavata* distinctly states that the Paṇis lived in the sixth sphere called Rasātala.³ It is often mentioned that one of their leaders was Śuṣṇa, and he is described by Dr. Macdonell as a "hisser" or "scorcher,"⁴ that is, he possessed all the characteristics of a Nāga or serpent which hisses and throws out flames from its mouth as described in Buddhist works.⁵ Ketu, another leader, is well known to have had the form of a snake. The leaders of the Paṇis, therefore, were Nāgas. The Paṇis were constantly at war with the Aryans, not because the priestly class of the latter stole their cows, as it has been said,⁶ but because the Paṇis themselves stole the cows of the Aryans, which to the agricultural people formed the most valuable property. Had they been Aryan themselves, they would not have certainly done so. It has been further stated

1 *JEBRAS.*, vol. xx, pp. 247, 248—*Three Interesting Vedic Hymns by Rājārām : Imā gāva Sarame yā aichha pari Divo antūna subhage patanti.*

2 *Ibid.*, xx, p. 246.

3 *Devī-Bhāgavata*, pt. 8, ch. 20.

4 Dr. Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 114.

5 Watters' *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. ii, p. 132 ; *Vinaya Piṭaka*, vol. I, pp. 24-35 ; *Surāpāna-Jātaka* in Cowell's *Jātaka*, vol. I, p. 206.

6 *Vaiṣya-kāṇḍa*, pp. 11, 13.

that the Panis tended cows and horses, and were traders.¹ The Scythic tribes were nomadic hordes ; they did not live in houses and towns², and what Herodotus says regarding the Massagetæ applies to the Panis also that "they sow no grain, but live on their herds and on fish, of which there is great plenty in the Araxes. Milk is what they chiefly drink."³ The Scythic tribes knew the art of getting increased milk by artificial means and the mares' milk constituted their chief article of food⁴. By the mistaken application of the Aryan root *Paṇa* to the Turanian word *Paṇi*, it has been sought to deduce that the Panis were traders in the modern signification of the word, and to evolve the word *Vanik* out of the Turanian word *Paṇi*, though we can understand that from the Aryan root *Paṇa* the Aryan word *Vanik* is derived. Hillebrandt says that by Panis "a real tribe is meant, the Parnians of Strabo, and that they were associated with the Dahæ (Dāsa)⁵. According to Strabo, the Parnis were a nomadic tribe which lived on the bank of the Ochus, a tributary of the Oxus, and belonged to the well known tribe of Scythians called "Dahæ Scythæ" after whose name Central Asia was called *Dāhinām Dakhynām*, "the country of the Dahæ"⁶. Paṇi, therefore, is evidently a corruption like all Sanskrit names of Nāgas, of the Turanian word Parni or its variant Paṇi. Mr. Vasu with a glow of patriotic feeling exults over the fact that the Vaniks went from India to Syria and founded a colony in Phœnicia which shed such brilliant lustre upon Assyria, Babylon, Greece, etc. by its civilisation⁷. But Herodotus says,

1 *Vaiṣya-kāṇḍa*, p. 8.

2 *JBRAS.*, IV, p. 555.

3 Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I, p. 109 ; Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 252.

4 *Herodotus*, bk. IV, 2 in vol. I, p. 287.

5 *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, vol. I, pp. 357, 359, 472 ; *Rg-Veda*, vii, 6, 3, where Panis and Dasyus are mentioned together.

6 Hamilton and Falconer's *Strabo*, bk. XI, ch. vii, 1 ; ch. viii, 2 ; ch. ix, 2 ; *Farvardin Yast* (XIII), 144 in *S. B. E.*, vol. xxiii.

7 *Vaiṣya-kāṇḍa*, p. 14.

"This nation (the Phœnicians), according to their own account, dwelt anciently upon the Erythræan Sea, but, crossing thence, fixed themselves on the sea-coast of Syria, where they still inhabit. This part of Syria, and all the region extending from hence to Egypt, is known by the name of Palestine"¹. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* also says that they originally lived on the Erythræan Sea and they settled along the Syrian coast. It further states, "The Phœnicians were an early offshoot from the Semitic stock, and belonged to the Canaanite branch of it...They called themselves Canaanites and their land Canaan; such is their name in the Amarna tablets, Kinahhi and Kinahni²." It is therefore clear that the Phœnicians lived on the Erythræan Sea, which by no dint of argument can be construed to mean India or any part of India; it meant either the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf³, usually the latter. They belonged to the Semitic stock and to the Canaanite branch of it, and their language is called Northern Semitic⁴. Hence the "*Fonik*" (Phœnicians) were not an offshoot of the Panis of the R̥g-Veda, who were Turanians, nor of the Vaniks of India, who are Aryans. It is possible that like other Scythic tribes, the Panis might have invaded India and founded settlements in the Panjab and other places, but that does not prove that they were the original inhabitants of India, as it has been sought to make out.⁵ Mr. Vasu's statement that the word Panī (cheese) is derived from the name of the Panis⁶ is as absurd as the word *dahi* (curd)

1 Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, bk. VII, ch. 89 in vol. ii, p. 153.

2 *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed.), vol. XXI, p. 449.

3 McCrindle's *Commerce and Navigation of the Erythræan Sea*, pp. 1, 209 note. Sālmala-dvipa or Chaldia (or Assyria), according to the Varāha Purāṇa (ch. 89) was bounded by Ghr̥ta Samudra or Sea of Ghr̥ta (or clarified butter): Ghr̥ta Sea is a corruption of Erythræan Sea or Sea of Erythras.

4 Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 16.

5 *Vaiśya-kāṇḍa*, pp. 14, 19.

6 *Vaiśya-kāṇḍa*, p. 22. *Panir* is a Persian word, though derived

is derived from that of the Dahæ, to which tribe the Paṇis belonged. The word *Phaṇī*, and not the word *Phanik* ('Fonik'), is derived from the word *Paṇi*, and *Phaṇī* means a Nāga as the Huns were called in ancient times, and the Paṇis lived in Rasātala or the valley of the Jaxartes.

It will be seen therefore that all the generic names of serpents have been derived mostly from the tribal or generic names of the Huns. Though the words Nāga, Uruga, Sarpa, Ahi, etc. appear to be very common words in Sanskrit, they were originally non-Aryan words absorbed in the Sanskrit language long before grammar as a science came into existence in its present form. The sly, deceitful and treacherous character of the barbarous hordes

of Huns, who frequently attacked and subjected the Aryans to cruelties and oppressions in those very remote times when they were living in Ariana, must have led the latter to apply their names to the serpents which resembled them in character and nature of their work¹. There cannot be any doubt that the original conception about these barbarous hordes was such, though by the lapse of time these Hunnic tribes by coming into frequent contact with Aryan civilisation, imbibed some form of religion from the Aryans and became their allies, for, during the Sūtra period we find the Nāgas invested with all the characters of demi-gods, though still imagined as retaining their ancient form of serpents, and a day called Nāga Pañcamī has been set apart as being sacred to them², when Manasā, the sister of Vāsuki, and other Nāgas are worshipped in various parts of India.

Śākadvīpa, generally known as Scythia, is a geographical

from the common Sanskrit words *Pai* (Payas=milk) and *Nir* (nīra=water) meaning milk without water.

1 See Conolly's *Journey to the North of India*, vol. I, chs. vi-viii.

2 *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, iii, 4, 1; *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* vol. I p. 440. *Varāha P.*, ch. 24.

conception, whereas under the name of Rasātala, the Purāṇas and other ancient Hindu works give an ethnological description of the same region. Herodotus and Strabo, under the comprehensive name of Scythians, included in it all the Hunnic tribes known as Mongolic or Turkic¹. The Persians use the word Sakā for the Scythians throughout their inscriptions². The Indo-Aryans also use the word Śaka as a general name for the Scythians and the Huns; while describing Śākadvīpa they call its inhabitants Śakas, and while describing Rasātala they call them Nāgas; in their later works³ and inscriptions, we find that the Huns are called Hūnas. They were called by different names by different nations of Europe and Asia. They were the Scythians of the Romans, the Sacæ of the Greeks, the Ephtalites or White Huns of the Byzantines, and Yue-chis of the Chinese⁴. According to the Mahābhārata⁵ Śākadvīpa was surrounded by Kṣīra Sāgara or the Sea of Kṣīra (or Inspissated milk) which is evidently a corruption of the "Sea of Shirwan⁶, as the Caspian Sea was called.

It appears that Airyana-væjō or Iran-vej was originally bounded on the north by the river—Araxes or Arras, on the east by the Turanian countries, including Caspium and Hyrcania—the countries of the Daityas and Dānavas and other descendents of Kaśyapa, and also by Śākadvīpa or Scythia—the country of the Nāgas; and on the west by Śālmala-dvīpa or Chal-dia, the Babylonian or Assyrian empire, the country of the Asuras or Assyrians who belonged to the Semitic race. The Aryans

1 Max Müller's *Science of Language*, vol. I, p. 361; *Herodotus*, bk. IV, 1-7; *Strabo*, bk. XI, ch. vi.

2 Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 146 note.

3 *Raghuvamśa*, IV, v. 68. 4 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 11.

5 *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣma, ch. 11.

6 Sir Henry Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 59 note.

were frequently subjected to the inroads and oppressions of barbarous races by whom they were surrounded, and it is very likely that they lived in a constant state of warfare with their Turanian neighbours, who robbed them of their cattle, so necessary for agriculture, their only means of livelihood, as their very name *Ārya*, meaning "one who ploughs or tills," seems to indicate. Professor Max Müller says, "The Aryans would seem to have chosen this name for themselves as opposed to the nomadic races, the Turanians, whose original name *Tura* implies the swiftness of the horseman."¹ The Aryans, however, gradually extended their territory, both to the north and to the east, by means of conquest and brought most of the Scythic tribes to their subjection; and long before the Indo-Aryans migrated to Hapta Hendu², the Sapta-Sindhu of the *R̥g-Veda*³, and settled in the Panjab, their country had extended towards the east to the north of the Hindu-kush up to the sources of the Oxus and the Jaxartes. The story of Bali and Vāmana, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, which has its germ in the *R̥g-Veda*, where Viṣṇu is said to have taken three steps⁴, and in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*⁵ where Viṣṇu is described as a dwarf, confirms this fact as Bali was confined in Sutala, one of the seven spheres of Rasātala, under the surveillance of Nāgas,⁶ which indicates that they had by that time become the allies of the Aryans and had been brought under their civilising influence. It is also mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁷ that from Varuṇa's

1 Max Müller's *Science of Language*, vol. 1, pp. 276, 277, 334; *S. B. E.*, vol. xxi, Intro., p. xxi.

2 *Vendidad*, ch. 1, *S. B. E.*, vol. iv, p. 2.

3 *R̥g-Veda*, iv, 28; Max Müller's *Hymns of the R̥g-Veda*, p. 286.

4 *Ibid.*, I, 22, 17.

5 *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, XIV, 1, 1, 6; 1, 2, 5, 5.

6 *Harivaṃśa*, ch. 262.

7 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara-kāṇḍa. chs. 23. 24.

house in Rasātala, Rāvaṇa went to Bali's house and it should be borne in mind that in the division of the world Varuṇa had been assigned the kingdom of the west¹ so Rasātala must have been a country situated on the west. It also appears from the Saramā Hymn² that the boundary of the Aryan country extended to the north as far as the river Rasā or the Jaxartes, which at the time of the invasion of Alexander the Great also formed the boundary between the Persian empire and the barbarous Scythian tribes³.

We can very well conceive that the habits, manners, and customs of the Scythians, at least of those who lived in the country washed by the Oxus and the Jaxartes, underwent a considerable change by coming into contact with their civilised Aryan conquerors.

Religion
of Scythic
tribes.

In course of time these Hunnic tribes became so much amalgamated with the Aryans that they gave up their nomadic habits, settled in towns, dwelt in houses and worshipped the Aryan gods⁴. In very early times the religion of the Huns was a sort of Mazdaism (*Magadharma* of the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa that is the religion of the Magii), or, in other words, a form of Mithraism, long before the advent of Zoroaster⁵, the Asura Ṛṣi Jaruthas of the Ṛg-Veda⁶, his full name being Zarathustru Spitama. It should be remarked that though Zoroaster was born in Ragh (modern Rae) in Media, or rather in Media Atropatene or Azerbaijan⁷, yet the scene of his religious activities has principally been placed in Bactria, especially in the court of

1 *Harivaṃśa*, ch. 262.

2 *Rg-Veda*, x, 108, 5.

3 McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 40; *Strabo*, xv, ii, 8.

4 Max Müller's *Science of Language*, vol. I, p. 282.

5 *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 567; Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. iii, p. 228.

6 *Rg-Veda*, vii, 1, 7; vii 9, 6; x, 80, 3.

7 *S.B.E.*, vol. iv, Intro., p. xlviii; Rawlinson's *Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 296.

Vitasa (Vishtaspa) or Gustasp, a king of the Bactrian dynasty of Kavja between the sixth and tenth centuries before the Christian era. Hence their subsequent religion must have been pure Zoroastrianism. Fire was the symbol of the Sun, and fire was the instrumental medium, by which offerings of worshippers were conveyed to heaven. The Purāṇas, therefore, describe the Śakas as Sun-worshippers,¹ and according to the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, Sun-worship was introduced into India by Śamba, son of Kṛṣṇa, from Śākadvīpa or Scythia² and by worshipping the god he was cured of leprosy. It is therefore no wonder that the Hindus should endow the Hunnic tribes in the valley of the Oxus with semi-divine power. It is said in the Vāyu Purāṇa that the Sun and the Moon were formerly the gods of the Asuras and that now they have been included among Suras or Aryan gods³. It is very probable that the Avestic and Babylonian 'Mithra' (Mith-Ra) and the Vedic 'Mitra' (Mit-Ra) and also the Avestic word 'Athro' the god of fire, and the corresponding Vedic word 'Rudra' (Rud-Ra) the "crying Sun" called Āditya or Śiva⁴ whose form is Fire which is the symbol of⁵ the Sun, ('Ra' in Sanskrit, meaning Fire), are the later developments of the word 'Ra' the Sun-god of the ancient Egyptians. Śiva, the later form of Rudra, has a serpent crest like that of Ra called *Uraeus* in ancient Egypt as a symbol of majesty, holding a trident in his hand like the rod of Ra; the bull Nandi also is as sacred to him as the bull Apis was to Ra (Osiris). Rudra there-

1 *Agni Purāṇa*, ch. 119:—

*Magā Magadhamānasyū Mandgās ca dvijātayah,
Yajanti Sūryarūpaṃ tu Śūkah Kṣīrābhināvētakah.* (21).

2 *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, Brahma, chs. 72-74; *Brahma P.* pt. I, ch. 140.

3 *Vāyu Purāṇa*, ch. 68, v. 12:—

*Śarabho Śalabhaś caiva Sūryacāndramasāv ubhau,
Asurūṇāṃ Surāv etau Surāṇāṃ sāmpratāv ime.*

4 *Kūrma Purāṇa*, pt. I, ch. 10; *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, ch. 28, v. 20.

5 *Ṛg-Veda*, I, 27, 10; vi, 50, 1; I, 98, 2.

fore appears also to **have been** originally an Asura god like the Sun and the Moon as **stated** in the Vāyu Purāṇa. Śiva was worshipped as Hāṭakeśvara Mahādeva in Pātāla¹. But it cannot be affirmed definitely whether the Egyptian or the Chaldian civilisation is the earlier of the two until the exploration at Ur and the neighbouring towns Tel-el-Obeid and Eridu is completed. According to the Tel-el-Amarna tablets political marriage between Egypt and Chaldia were of frequent occurrence, which must have affected the religious systems of both the countries. There is, however, no reasonable ground for holding in the absence of any strong evidence that Aryan civilisation was later than that of Chaldia or Egypt, as it has been asserted by some. The temple of the Moon at the mound of Mugheir, which marks the site of Ur of the Chaldees (Chaldians) of the Bible, appears to be the oldest temple in the world, containing an inscription dated 2630 B. C., and a wall of the Second Dynasty of the early Sumerian period (3600 B. C.). The Devī-Bhāgavata says that the people of Śālmala-dvīpa were worshippers of the Moon god. Besides the temple of the Moon-god Nanna or Sin at Ur, temple of the Sun-god Shamash existed at Larsam and Sippara, and also a temple of the Water-god Ea existed at the mound of Abu Sharain or Eridu, twelve miles south-west of Ur, all these temples were in Southern Chaldia near the Euphrates². But the words Sin, Nanna, and Urki, by which Moon-god is known at Ur,³ have no affinity with the Avestic Māo, or the

1 *Devī Purāṇa*, ch. 8.

2 *Devī-Bhāgavata*, pt. 8, ch. 12; *Bhāgavata*, v, ch. 20. Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization*; *Egypt and Chaldæa*, pp. 561, 648, 660. Mr. Wooley, who is now excavating the temple at Ur, calls it by the name of "The temple of Nanna, the Moon-god". The Sumerians were a branch of the Turanian race. (*ASB*, 1909, p. 418). The original inhabitants of Assyria and Babylon were Turanians.

3 Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 654.

Sanskrit Māh or Soma, though the Chaldian 'Inzu' closely resembles the Sanskrit 'Indu'¹ neither does Shamash resemble the Avestic Mithra or Vedic Mitra, nor Ea the Babylonian Uru-w-na or Vedic Varuṇa. But these are questions of comparative religion which have not yet been decided. Mahārakkhita was sent to the Yona country, and missionaries from Tibet were also sent to convert the Turanians into Buddhism; at present the Turanians of Central Asia have adopted the faith of Islam². Kāśyapa is said to have been the progenitor of the gods, daityas, dānavas, serpents, beasts, birds, yakṣas, rākṣasas and other living beings by different wives.³

Kāśyapa's He is perhaps the same as Colaxais, the ancestor of the royal Scythians, as stated before. Kāśyapa wives.

had thirteen wives : Vinatā and Tāmṛā were the mothers of the birds; Kadrū and Surasā of the Nāgas (Hiung-nu) or serpents; Surabhi and Krodhavaśā of the beasts; Diti and Danu of the Daityas and Dānavas; Irā of the trees and plants; Khasā of the Yakṣas and Rākṣasas; Ariṣṭā of the Kinnaras and Gandharvas; Muni of the Munis and Apsarases, and Aditi of the gods. We have already stated that Garuḍa the son of Vinatā, was also called Śālmali, from the fact of his being an inhabitant of Śālmala-dvīpa or Chaldia, which is very significant. His mother Vinatā was evidently an inhabitant of Śālmala-dvīpa and she perhaps represents the country of Biainas, the ancient name of Van—the Vanāyu of the Purāṇas, which now appertains to Armenia. 'Kadrū' represents Karduchi or Kurdistan, a country situated on the eastern side of the Tigris. Many of the Arabs still believe that the Kurds are Turanians, though they are now all Mahomedans. In fact, the Mahābhārata places the whole scene of the quarrel between Vinatā and Kadrū on the

1 Maspero, *op cit.*, pp. 637, 638.

2 Turnour's *Mahāwanso*, ch. xii; Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 14.

3 *Padma Purāṇa*, Śṛṣṭi kh., ch. 6.

western side of the Caspian Sea. Tāmṛā, the mother of the birds, used metaphorically to denote some Turanian tribes distinguished for the fleetness of their horses, represents Thamara, an ancient town on the Tigris in Mesopotamia on the present site of Kut-el-Amara¹. Surabhi, the mother of the cattle, that is, of those nomadic tribes which tended cattle, sheep and horses and lived on their milk, represents the country of the Khorasmi or Kharism, modern Khiva, on the north-eastern side of the Caspian Sea. Krodhavaśā, the mother of the beasts with sharp teeth and claws, by which is meant those non-Aryan tribes which could attack their enemies and defend themselves from them when attacked represents Kardunias or Babylonia.² The word beast perhaps refers to the barbarous wolf-folk race of Num-Ma or Babylonia.³ Diti represents the country of the Kaspī, which extended to the river Dāitya, the Avestic name of the river Araxes of Armenia, or the modern Aras.⁴ Danu represents a country or province situated on the river Udon (the modern Kuma) on the north of Albania in Sarmatia which was also the country of Saramā. It falls on the western side of the Caspian Sea. Perhaps the Dānus or Dānavas have given their name to the river Don. Surasā represents a country situated on the river Cyrus, the modern Kur which after flowing through Georgia, falls on the western side of the Caspian Sea; it divides Albania from Armenia. Irā represents a country on the river Rha or the modern Volga, which falls on the north-western side of the Caspian Sea. She is said to have been the mother of trees and plants, which evidently mean

¹ It appears that in early times Thamara was a common name of ladies in this part of the country. A reigning queen of Georgia, even in the 12th century A. D., was named Thamara (*As. Rev.*, 1923, p. 675).

² Maspero's *Passing of the Empires*, pp. 140, 141.

³ H. R. Hall's *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 200.

⁴ *Strabo*, bk. xi, ch. iv, 6; xiii, 6; xiv, 3, 4; ii, 15; *S.B.E.*, vol. iv, pp 4, 5.

nomadic tribes who had no house, but who lived in forests and jungles. Khasā represents a country on the Araxes of Scythia or the Jaxartes in fact, the word Khasā appears to be a corruption of Araxes. "Aristā," the mother of the Kinna-ras or Kimmerii, who originally lived on the Caucasus, perhaps represents the Ust Urt plateau between the Caspian Sea and the Sea of Aral. The word Aristā is a transposition and corruption of the word Ust Urt, evidently a variation of *Ura Urtu* meaning a "highland"¹. Muni the mother of the Munis and Apsarases, represents the country of Mannai, called also Mannu, which formerly did not appertain to the kingdom of Vau or Armenia. Mannai was situated on the northern and eastern sides of Lake Urumiah, the ancient name of which was Kapauta or Spauta Lake (*Sara*), which formerly appertained to Armenia. The inhabitants of the country were called Mannai or Minni², the Munis of the Padma Purāṇa; and perhaps the word *Apsaras* is an abbreviation or corruption of *Spauta sara* as probably the female inhabitants of Mannai were called. The name of Aditi, the mother of the Aryan gods Āditya³, etc., is a negative term used in contradistinction to Diti, the mother of the Daityas; and Aditi was designed as a mother of the gods, because Āditya or Mithra, the Sun, and also the Moon were, as stated before, non-Aryan gods accepted as gods by the Aryans. Aditi, however, does not represent any country. It will be observed therefore that most of the tribes, which belonged to the Turanian race, dwelt originally on the western side of the Caspian

¹ *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. I, p. 793, s. v. *Armenia*

² Maspero's *Passing of the Empires*, pp. 55, 61, 820.

³ The word *Āditya* is not derived from *Aditi*; see *Varāha P.*, ch., 26; being Āditya's mother she was perhaps called Aditi. Prof. Max Müller also says, "Aditi is not a prominent deity in the Veda. She is celebrated rather in her sons the Ādityas than in her own person." (*Rg-Veda Samhitā*; vol. I, p. 231).

Sea, and that almost all the **names** of Kaśyapa's wives represent the countries or their principal features, specially the rivers of the countries in which they lived. It will be borne in mind that these tribes were nomadic tribes, who dwelt on the banks of rivers for watering their cattle and for catching fish which was one of their staple food. From the story in the Mahābhārata that Garuḍa represented the Su tribe and carried his brother Aruṇa from the western side to the eastern side of the Caspian Sea, it appears that many of the Hunnic tribes, who dwelt on the western side of the Caspian Sea, must have migrated to its eastern side, not only on account of the growing power of the Semitic nations, but also to find food for themselves and fodder for their cattle and horses. In other words, they migrated from the *Atala* sphere to *Sutala*, *Vitala* and other spheres that is from Śālmala and Kuśa-dvīpas to Śāka and other *dvīpas* ; or divisions of Central Asia. We do not know whether the Chaldian theogony is older than that of the Aryans, but it seems that the conception of Prajāpati Dakṣa, whose daughters were married by Kaśyapa, is a development of some of the attributes of the Chaldian god Marodach, the son of Ea, corresponding to the supreme Vedic deity Varuṇa, who was entrusted by the other gods with the creation of men and beasts¹. The story in the Mahābhārata typifies Turanian migration to the east of the Caspian.

Besides the *Nāgas*, the other inhabitants of Rasātala, as it appears from the Purāṇas, were *Dānavas*, *Daityas*, *Asuras*, *Rākṣasas*, *Yakṣas*, *Siddhas*, *Gandharvas* and *Kinnaras*. The *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* also mentions the aforesaid tribes as residing on the northern side of the Niśadha Parvata, the Nysa of Arrian and the Paropanisos of Ptolemy, or the Hindukush range².

The *Dānavas* were the sons of Kaśyapa by his wife Danu.

¹ See Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization Egypt and Chaldea* p. 545.

² *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, ch. 44.

Their capital was Hiranyapura, which was evidently Hyrcania near Astrabad on the south-eastern side of the Caspian Sea. The Dānavas were identical with the Dānus of the Avesta, and they belonged to the Turanian race, as they were called "Dānunam Turanām."¹

The Daityas were the sons of Kaśyapa by his wife Diti. They appear to be Turanians. The word Daitya is perhaps a corruption of Dūraēkaēta mentioned in the Avesta along with the Dānus or Dānavas: "Grant us this. O good, most benevolent Ardvī Sūra Anāhita! that we may overcome the assemblers of the Turanian Dānus, Kara Asabana, and Vara Asabana and the most mighty Dūraēkaēta, in the battles of this world."² Being the descendants of Kaśyapa, they were most probably the tribe, now extinct, called Kaspī by Strabo, after whom the mountain called El Burz, the Durga-saila of the Mahābhārata³, on the southern side of the Caspian Sea, was known by the name of Mount Kaspīos. If we are right in our conclusion that the Daityas were the Kaspī, then there is every reason to hold that the word *daitya* has some connection with "the good river *daitya*" of the Vendidad as the Araxes of Armenia was called at the time of the Sassanides⁴, because the Kaspī, according to Strabo, lived on the banks of that river⁵. Pralīlāda, the son of Hiranya-kaśipu and grandson of Kaśyapa, was a Daitya, and is said to have been the king of Pātāla, which indicates that the countries on the western side of the Caspian Sea were also included in Pātāla⁶.

The Asuras have been considered to be Assyrians. Long

1 *Farvardin Yast* (xiii), 38, *S. B. E.* (vol. xxiii, p. 189).

2 *Ābān Yast*, Yast V, 73 (*S. B. E.*, vol. xxiii, p. 71).

3 *Mbh.*, Bhishma, ch. 11.

4 *S. B. E.*, vol. IV, pp. 4, 5.

5 *Strabo*, bk. XI, ch. iv, 6; ch. xiii, 6; ch. xiv, 3, 4; and also ch. ii, 15.

6 *Devī-Bhāgavata*, iv, ch. 8.

before the Aryans emigrated to India, Ariana seems to have formed a part of the Assyrian empire which was founded by Asshur, and the Aryans who remember the oppressions to which they were subjected, attached an odium to their name and associated with it all that is barbarous, tyrannical and cruel¹. Asshur was the capital of the Assyrians in 1820 B. C., and Asshur was the name of their national deity Rev. K. M. Bauerjea says that the word 'Asura' was both an ethnic appellative for the Assyrian nation and also a denominational epithet for the followers of Ahura Mazda². In the early hymns of the Rg-Veda³ the term was applied to Varuna as a supreme deity and not as an enemy of the gods. The Asura Bala was an Assyrian, and he has been identified with Bel or Belus, the successor of Nimrod whose lofty temple or "Citadel" was situated in Babylon on the Euphrates⁴. It should also be stated that all the three terms Daitya, Dānava and Asura are promiscuously applied in the Purāṇas to any of the aforesaid non-Aryan tribes⁵. But it is very doubtful that the word *asura* could have been derived from the Assyrians who belonged to the Semitic race, as we find that it was applied to all the Hunnic tribes who belonged to the Turanian stock. It is not at all likely that the ancient Aryans, who even in those early times distinguished themselves, their culture and civilisation, were unable to make any distinction between an Assyrian who belonged to the Semitic race and a Hun who belonged to the Turanian race. A Hun and an Assyrian must have differed widely from each other in their physical features, mode of dress, and manners and customs⁶. Neither the word *asura* was used in contradis-

¹ *Two Essays as Supplements to the Aryan Witness*, pp. 20-28.

² *Ibid.*, p. 27.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26; *Herodotus*, bk. I, chs. 181-183; *Strabo*, bk. xvi, ch. 1; *Bhāgavata*, v. ch. 24; Marshman's *Brief Survey of History*, p. 8.

⁵ *Mbh.*, Vana, chs. 170 f; *Udyoga*, ch. 99; *Vāyu P.*, ch. 68, v. 14.

⁶ For the physical features and manners of the Turks, see Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 266 note.

inction to *sura*, as in later times it has been sought to make out, for the word *asura* is the same as *ahura* or *asshura*, the chief Assyrian deity, the prototype, according to Rawlinson, of the Iranian Ahura Mazda¹, hence no negative meaning can be attached to it. It is, however, very probable that the word *Asura* as applied to the Turanians, originally meant an inhabitant of Osrushna. The ancient country of Osrushna bordered eastwards on Ferghana, southwards on Kesh, northwards on Djadj and westwards or south-westwards on Sogdiana, in short Osrushna was the name of the eastern part of Trans-oxania, or rather of the kingdom of Bokhara, commencing east of Samarkand running up to the Thienshan mountain,² comprising the Juzjak division³ which is evidently the "Dizek (now Djizzak)" of Vambery. It was therefore a part of Rasātala or the valley of the Jaxartes. In the pre-historic period the predatory hordes of Huns most probably spread themselves from this region to different parts of Central Asia. We can therefore very well conceive that from these inhabitants of Osrushna or Asuras, as they must have been called, their name was extended to all the Huns of Trans-oxiana and Turkestan, and in short, to all the people who belonged to the Turanian race. Burnes also thinks that the lands beyond the Jaxartes "may be safely fixed as the cradle of Scythian, Hun and Tartar inroad.' Hence the Assyrians were called 'Asura' as they lived in Assyria, and the Turanians were called 'Asura' as the original inhabitants of Osrushna. The word *Osiris* the name of the principal deity of the Egyptians, is perhaps a form of *Asura*. The term therefore found the general designation of all non-Aryan races and also of the worshippers of Ahura (Asura) Mazda of Iran.

(To be continued)

NUNDO LAL DEY

1 G. Rawlinson's *Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Great Oriental Monarchies*, p. 332.

2 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, Intro., pp. xxiii, xxiv.

3 Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. iii, p. 135. 4 *Ibid.*, p. 222.

Indo-China in the Records of Chinese Pilgrims

Chinese pilgrims who travelled to and from India did not pay much attention to Indo-China. Those who went by land did not go farther in the East than the frontier of Bengal; as for the sea-faring ones, they called only at a few unimportant ports. The only place in the southern seas where Buddhist culture prevailed and where a monk could stop with profit was Śrīvijaya (Palembang) in the island of Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra).

However, Hiuan-tsang and I-tsing have recorded at least the names of the main states which, at the time of their pilgrimages, occupied the Eastern shore, the valleys of the Mekhong and of the Menam, the Malay Peninsula and the Delta of the Irawadi. At least this was considered a fact till a distinguished Hindu scholar, Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Padmanath Bhattacharya Vidyabinod, thought he had sufficient grounds to contradict the prevalent views and prove that the countries mentioned in the Memoirs of Hiuan-tsang did all belong to Bengal, Assam, Manipur and Upper Burma.¹ Finding that these grounds lacked convincing evidence, I took the liberty to uphold the hitherto unquestioned opinion.² My arguments were not fortunate enough to convince M. Vidyabinod³, who stuck to his former theory

1 *To the East of Samatata* (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1920).

2 *Hiuan Tsang and the Far East* (Ibid., Oct, 1920).

3 My learned contradictor seems to have been somewhat offended at seeing himself mentioned in my paper under the initials Mr. P. B. V. I pray him to believe that I did it but *brevitatis causa*, without the slightest intention of undue familiarity, and that I would not have resented in the least his eventually calling me Mr. F. I hope he will not take offence at my using in the present paper only the last of the five words composing his name.

in a second article,¹ where flourish of language fails to add strength to the arguments. I take this opportunity to give a more detailed and complete account of what I may have too summarily laid down in my former paper.

The name of Hiuan-tsang

Let us first settle a side question : that of the name of the famous pilgrim who wrote the record. M. Vidyabinod calls him Yuan Chwang, and upholds this view, against the criticism I made of it, on the twofold ground that "this spelling continues to be adopted in English writing," and that "an Englishman who devoted his life to the study of the Chinese language (as the late Mr. Watters) is apparently a more reliable authority in spelling a Chinese word in his own mother tongue than a foreigner." The first argument is not correct : the spelling Yuan Chwang is not of current use in English. To take a few examples, the latest work on the history of India, the *Cambridge History of India*, adopts 'Hiuen Tsiang.' Vincent Smith writes 'Hiuen Tsang' and Sir Charles Eliot (*Hinduism and Buddhism*, 1921) 'Hsüan Chuang.' As for the other reason drawn from the undisputed Chinese learning and from the nationality of Watters, it is inspired from the time-honoured deference of the Hindu Śāstrins for the word of the Ācārya, but such an attitude is rather out of date in modern science, which looks up to the facts rather than to the persons. What are the facts ? The name in question is composed of two characters. The second one is regularly pronounced *chuang* ; but it is stated in the dictionary of K'ang-hi that in the name of the pilgrim, it has a special pronunciation, i. e. *tsang*. The first character is met with under two forms, viz. *hiuan* (*hsüan*) and *yüan*. The former alone is ancient and authentic ; the later is a voluntary alteration, introduced

¹ *To the East of Samatata. Second article in reply to a critic of the first article.* Reprinted from the *Hindustan Review*, July 1924, Calcutta. [In what follows I shall refer to these two articles as I and II].

in the XVIIth century, to avoid mentioning, out of respect, the personal name of Emperor K'ang-hi. It is therefore but an approximate form, the consequence of a politic taboo which we need not take into account. According to Watters, it is true, the form Yüan for Hiüan is to be met before K'ang-hi, but he gives no instance of it and, as long as none is mentioned, we consider that we must keep to the form Hiuan (or Hsüan) Tsan₂, as being the only correct one. All this has been clearly expounded by M. Pelliot.¹

The Records of Hiuan-tsang and I-tsing

The conclusions of M. Vidyabinod concern the record of Hiuan-tsang; but that of I-tsing being an important element in the discussion, it is useful to give first the literal translation of both.

Hiuan-tsang

"When leaving that kingdom (Samatata), in the North-East, alongside a broad sea, one comes across, in the middle of a valley, the country of *Shih-li-ch'ä-ta-lo*. Farther on, in the South-East, near a great bay, lies the kingdom of *Kia-mo-lang-ka*; farther on in the East the kingdom of *To-lo-po-ti*; farther on in the East, the kingdom of *I-shang-na-pu-lo*; farther on in the East, the kingdom of *Mo-ho-chan-p'o*, which is the one called Lin-i²; farther in the South-West, the kingdom of *Yen-mo-na-chou*".

I-tsing

1. I-TSING, *Record*, p. 12: "Setting out from Huan-chou right to the South, one will reach Pi-hing³ after a journey of rather more than half a month on foot, or after only five or six tides (days) if aboard a ship; and proceeding still south-

1 Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, V, 424 ff.

2 These last words have been omitted in the French translation by S. Julien. (*Mém.*, II, p. 82). Cf. Watters, II, pp. 187, 188.

3 The text of Takakusu incorrectly gives Kwan-chou and Pi-king.

wards, one arrives at Champa, *i. e.* Lin-i...Setting out south-westwards, one reaches (on foot), within a month, Poh-nan, formerly called Fu-nan....This region is the south corner of Jambudvīpa and is not one of the islands of the sea."

II. I-Tsing, *Religieux éminents*, p. 57: "They sailed across Fu-nan and tied up in the country of Lang-kia; they were entertained by the king of Lang-kia-shu with all the ceremonies used for distinguished guests."

III. *Ibid.* p. 69: "When still a child [Ta-ch'eng-teng] sailed away with his parents and went to the country of Tu-ho-lo-po-ti".

IV. *Record*,¹ p. 9: "Going east from the Nālandā monastery 500 yojanas, all the country is called the Eastern Frontier. At the (eastern) extremity, there is the so-called Great Black Mountain, which is, I think, on the southern boundary of Tu-fan. This mountain is said to be on the south-west of Shu-chuan (Ssu-chuan), from which one can reach this mountain after a journey of a month or so. Southward from this and close to the sea-coast, there is a country called Shi-li-ch'a-ta-lo; on the south-east of this is Lang-kia-shu; on the east of this is Tu-ho-po-ti²; at the extreme east, Lin-i."

Mo-ho-chan-po

Among the names mentioned in those records there is one, the identification of which is absolutely certain, and I shall begin with it, as we must proceed from the known to the unknown: it is the "Mo-ho-chan-po which is the one called Lin-i" (Hiuan-tsang) or the "Chan-po, *i. e.* Lin-i" (I-tsing). Chinese historians and geographers are perfectly

¹ Mr. Takakusu writes: "Note by I-tsing." But it is not certain that all the notes of the *Nan-hai-ki* are from the brush of the author.

² Written in the text She-ho-po-ti. The characters *she* and *tu* are very much alike and the confusion is easy.

well acquainted with Lin-i: it lay in the south of the province of Je-nan, that is in the place of modern Annam. Lin-i is the Chinese equivalent of Champa and never meant anything else.¹ It would be childish to pile up texts to prove what everybody knows, and an old mistake of S. Beal has no weight whatever in the matter.²

It is very likely that a Champa-nagara existed near Bhamo, but it does not concern us much in presence of the unquestionable identity: (Mahā) Champa = Lin-i = Annam. This fact alone is enough to refute most of the contentions of M. Vidyabinod. Now let us see the other names.

I-shang-na-pu-lo

In the west of Mahā Champa, that is, of Annam, Hiuan-tsang mentions the state of I-shang-no-pu-lo, that is Isānapura or Cambodia. That country, usually named by the name of its capital, was called in turn Śreṣṭhapura and Bhavapura. When Isānavarman or Isānasena ascended the throne (about 600 A.D.), "he dwelt in the town of I-shō-na," says the *Suei shu*, that is to say, he founded a new capital which he named Isānapura. All this is quite clear and I do not see why we should go and look in the state of Manipur for a town of Vishnupur,

1 M. Vidyabinod writes (p. 445) this note: "M. Finot means by 'Mahāchampā' the 'Kingdom of Champa', although it was stated in my previous article that 'mahā' meant 'great'. That 'mahā' means 'great' is a remarkable piece of information, for which I am greatly indebted to M. Vidyabinod. But how does it prevent the 'Great Champa' from being the 'Kingdom of Champa'?"

2 Mr. Takakusu has picked out (*Record*, p. LII, note I) the most serious mistakes of S. Beal, particularly his identifying Champa with Siam. M. Vidyabinod says about it (p. 445, n.): "Dr. Takakusu differs from Beal's view, but does not make the same allegation as put forward by Mr. Finot". This is doubly inaccurate: firstly, Mr. Takakusu does not only differ from Beal's view, but also asserts and proves that this view is untenable; secondly, he thoroughly agrees with me on the uncontested fact that Lin-i is Champa.

which would have become, by quite an hypothetical process, first Vishenpur and afterwards Ishenpur, unless Vishnupur had on the contrary come from Isānapura through a reversed process, for M. Vidyabinod kindly leaves it to the choice of his readers.

I-tsing mentions also Cambodia, but under its ancient name of Fu-nan, which probably outlived its conquest by the Khmers, especially among the population of the coast.

To-lo-po-ti

The third state, going westward, is To-lo-po-ti. I-tsing also mentions this country but does not locate it. The name of To-lo-po-ti is most likely a transcription of Dvāravatī, which is one of the names of Ayudhyā. M. Vidyabinod somewhat hastily decided against locating To-lo-po-ti in Siam, because Ayudhyā was founded only in 1350. True, but Ayudhyā has received the name of a more ancient capital, in the same way as it transmitted it to Bangkok, which is also called Dvāravatī. Anyhow, that To-lo-po-ti did lie on Lower Menam is clearly proved by the paragraph of the *History of the Tang*, which says that To-lo-po-ti borders in the west on the "Water-Tchenla". This last country is a part of Cambodia lying south of the Dangrek mounts; therefore Lower Menam lies due west of it. So the existence of a state of Dvāravatī in that district is based on strong evidence. M. Vidyabinod prefers to identify To-lo-po-ti with Tipperah, because that country had as protecting deity Tripurāpati (Mahādeva); and in case some people hard to please should object to the discrepancy between the two names Tolopot and Tripurapati, he deems quite easy to suppose that the capital might have been called, 1300 years ago, Tārāpati or even Dvāravatī. Quite easy indeed, but quite convincing is another matter.

Kia-mo-lang-ka

The country lying west of Dvāravatī is, in the record of Hiuan-tsang, Kia-mo-lang-ka. I-tsing mentions besides,

that the navigators, after making Fu-nan, called at Lang-kia-shu. Shall we take for granted with most authors, and against the opinion of M. Vidyabind, that Kia-mo-lang-kia = Lang-kia-shu? To begin with, what is Lang-kia-shu? This point has given rise to long discussions. Edouard Huber, was first to point out the likeness of Lang-kia-shu to Naṅkaśi, Peguan name of the town of Tenasserim (BEFEO., IV, 475). M. Pelliot,¹ after a new survey of the question, likewise comes to the conclusion that Lang-kia-shu is Tenasserim. M. G. Ferrand² contends that the names of *Lang-kia-siou* [Canonical historians], *Lang-kia-shu*, [I-tsing], *Lang-yu-se* (*kia*) [Chao Ju-kua], *Laṅkāśoku* [Inscription of Tanjore, 1050], *Lengkasuka*, [Nagarakretagama], belong to the same country, lying on the eastern shore of the Ligor Isthmus. M. G. Coedès³ believes, on the contrary, that the last three names at least, mean the southern part of the state of Kedah. In the account he gives of this work,⁴ G. Ferrand offers a plausible solution to the question, which satisfies both contentions: the state of Lengkasuka may have extended as far as the western shore of the Peninsula, which would explain why Malay texts locate it near Kedah.

Taking for granted that the Lang-kia shu mentioned by I-tsing lay on the isthmus of Ligor, is the Kia-mo-lang-kia of Hiuan-tsang the same country? Nearly all the authors believe it, taking their stand on the similitude of the records of Hiuan-tsang to those of I-tsing (or rather of the annotator of I-tsing), who locates, the former Kia-mo-lang-kia, the latter Lang-kia-shu, between To lo-po-ti and Shih-li-cha-ta-lo.⁵

1 *Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du viii^e siècle*, BEFEO., IV, p. 405.

2 *Malāka, le Malayu et Malayūr*, Paris, 1918, pp. 182-193.

3 *Le royaume de Śrīvijaya*, BEFEO., XVIII, no. 6.

4 *Journal Asiatique*, July-Aug., 1919, p. 174.

5 Watters (II, 189) does not decide: "The Ka-mo-lang-ka, restored as Kāmalaṅkā, is supposed to be I-ching's Lang-ka-su, and it

But we must own that the discrepancy between the two names is not easily explained. M. Sylvain Lévi, in a learned work on "austro-asiatic" elements in Indian names of places,¹ has explained the first part of the name as the austro-asiatic "préformante *kam*," which is found again in *Kamrup*, *Kamboja* etc., But there still remains to be explained why, in this particular case, the "préformante *kam*" has separated from the organic element *lañka*.

If, therefore, it is likely that *Kia-mo-lang-kia* and *Lang-kia-shu* are the same place, that is not quite certain; and should the *Kāmalāk-nagar*, of which M. Vidyabinod (I, p. 8) finds traces in the vicinity of Comilla, finally turn up to have been a state of some importance, it would be possible to look there for the *Kia-mo-lan-ka* of *Hiuan-tsang*. However, it is so far a mere name, which gives but scanty ground for an identification.

Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo

The last country, *Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo*, is not mentioned in the proper text of *I-tsing*, but only in a note which we cannot attribute for certain to the author. Even in the last case, the passage does not prove in the least that *I-tsing* went to *Sylhet*; therefore all that M. Vidyabinod says about that alleged voyage is to be let aside. But, anyhow, the record of the annotator mentions *Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo* after *Lang-kia-shu*, just as *Hiuan-tsang* locates it after *Kia-mo-lang-ka*

is said to be *Pegu* and the *Delta* of the *Irawadi*": upon which M. Vidyabinod observes (II, p. 444): "*Pegu* had one advantage, namely it was contiguous to *Prome*, whereas to reach M. Finot's *Tenasserim* one has to take a frog leap and cross over *Pegu*". I will simply answer that, under the *T'ang*, the kingdom of *Pegu* did not exist as a political entity and that the whole of the Lower *Irawadi*, from kingdom of *Piao* (= *Pyu*). Cf. *Pelliot*, *Prome to the sea made up the Itinéraires*, pp. 170-175.

¹ *Pré-aryen et pré-dravidién dans l'Inde*, J. A., juillet-septembre, 1923.

(going westward). The Chinese transcription corresponds exactly with Śrīkṣetra (Promé) and there is scarcely any doubt that this is the country concerned.

Such identification is, however, objected to by M. Vidyabinod on several grounds, of which only one, is of value: according to Hiuan-tsang, Shih-li-cha-ta-lo lies N. E. of Samatāṭa; but Promé lies S.E. of the delta of the Ganges. In order that Shih-li-cha-ta-lo = Śrīkṣetra or Promé we must necessarily correct "North-East" to "South-East". I have said before that this was not the only error of bearings in the text of Hiuan-tsang. M. Vidyabinod finds fault with my not mentioning any instance of it. Here is one (Watters, I. 249): "It would seem that North-East should be substituted for South-East in the statement of the direction of Sinhapura from Takṣasilā." We should have to reverse the correction in the present case.¹ The other objections are easy to refute.

(a) The first one is drawn from the alleged decay of Śrīkṣetra in the 1st century of our era. M. Vidyadinod says (II, p. 443): "M. L. Finot has cleverly brushed aside the fact that the kingdom of Tharekhattara had become extinct about 500 years before Yuan Chwang visited India, by saying that the dates in the native chronicles are of no value whatever, without quoting any authority in support of so sweeping a remark." Let us bring forth the authority called for. Mr. Chas. Duroiselle, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Burma, who is, so far as I know, the highest authority on Burmese history, says in the historical résumé he wrote for the book of General de Beylié, *L'architecture hindoue en*

¹ Prof. Foucher has recognized in a reef near Bāmiyān the "Buddha in Nirvāṇa, about 1000 feet in length" mentioned by Hiuan tsang. Says he: "It is true that in that case one must read, 12 or 13 li West (and not East) of the town; but although no philologist would admit without reluctance such a correction of text, the topography has the best of it." (A. Foucher, *Notes sur l'itinéraire de Hiuan-Tsang en Afghanistan*, dans: *Etudes asiatiques publiées à l'occasion du 25^e anniversaire de l'Ecole française d'Extrême Orient*, Paris, 1925, p. 251.

Extrême-Orient (p. 402) : "The date given and generally adopted for the destruction of Prome is about 104 A.D., but this date, as all the dates previous to the beginning of the XIII century, is certainly very inaccurate. I am inclined to place the fall of Prome between the Vth and the VIth century". On the whole, we have no accurate data concerning that event¹. Besides, M. Vidyabinod very sensibly says (p. 444): "Surely Prome was not left without any rulers after the extinction of the Tharekhettara kingdom". All right ; but why should not those new rulers have preserved the old name of Śrīkṣetra ?

(b) "Between the valley of Prome and the sea on the other hand, there is an extensive and almost inaccessible ridge of hills that made it apparently an inland kingdom". It is generally admitted that the "valley of Prome" is the valley of the Irawadi and that this river reaches the sea without leaping over a ridge of mountains.

I therefore believe that, apart from the correction of 'North-East' to 'South-East,' nothing prevents Shi-li-cha-to-lo from being the state of Śrīkṣetra, the capital of which was the town of Prome, but which extended probably as far as the sea. On the contrary, that situation of Shi-li-cha-to-lo "on the shore of a great sea" (Julien), "near the sea" (Watters) can scarcely agree with the contention of M. Vidyabinod, according to which that kingdom, located at Sylhet,² was cut out from the sea by that of Kamalanka. He alleges, it is true, that in 1778, a Mr. Lindsay, going from Dacca to Sylhet, crossed a lake 100 miles wide, on which he had to sail with a compass "as on a sea"; he mentions also a copperplate found at Sylhet, which gives as boundary of a certain piece of land "sāgara-

1 According to G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma* (London, 1925), p. 12 "Prome was overthrown probably not long after A. D. 800".

2 Let us bear in mind that the identification of Shih-li-cha-to-lo with Sylhet was offered long before M. Vidyabinod by Vivien de Saint-Martin in *Mémoire analytique sur la carte de l'Asie centrale et de l'Inde* (*Mémoires de Hiouen Thsang*, translation, Julien, II, p. 391).

paścime." I readily agree with the inhabitants of Sylhet giving their lake the name of "sea," but not to those of Bengal considering a country more than 100 miles inland as lying alongside the sea. I so far stick to my "superficiality."

Yen-mo-na-chou

I said nothing about Yen-mo-na-chou, having no satisfactory identification to offer. I dubiously gave Yava-dvīpa, because Java lies in the direction mentioned, but I don't fail to see the discrepancy between Yava and Yamana and that the surmise is very frail. It is better, anyhow, than that of M. Vidyabinod, viz. Yen-mo-na-chou = Jambudvīpa = Southern Burma, which rests on a simple error (beside ignoring the guiding mark provided by the mention of Lin-i). Never did Lower Burma bear the name of Jambudvīpa, which always meant for Burmans the whole of the two Indian and Indo-Chinese peninsulas. M. Vidyabinod bases it on a letter of the king of Burma, dated 1879, translated in the *Gazetteer of Northern Burma*, I, p. 103, which says: "The Burmese sovereign...who rules over the country of Thunaparanta and the country of Tambadeepa". He begins with changing quietly Tambadeepa to Tambudeepa and without much ado concludes: "This Tambudeepa is apparently Jambudvīpa". But that sentence is found under a more complete and explicit form in an inscription dated 1767 A. D. (*Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava*, pp. 18-19).

"Our present universe is the only one out of a hundred thousand others which has the honour of being the birthplace of the Buddhas. There are in it four continents and 500 islands and of these the Jambudvīpa is the starting place to Nirvāṇa and is therefore the chief continent. And in this continent the great empire of Āva is the greatest, because it comprises several tributary kingdoms namely Sunāparanta, Tampadīpa, Kamboja, Yonaka, Haripuñca, Khemāvāra, Khemāratha, Mahanagara, Zeyyavaddhana, Sirikhetta, Mahisaka, Ālavī, Ayuddhaya, Tāmalitti and the country of the Seins".

A parallel list is found in the inscription of Po : u : daung, of 1774 A. D. It ends with Tampadīpa (meant for Tambadīpa cf. in the same list *Kampoja*) "with its districts Pagan, Myinzaing, Pinya and Ava".

[Mr. Duroiselle (BEFEO., V, 155) quotes the *Vohāra-līnatthapanī*, p. 221 : "Sunāparanta...Tampādīpa which comprises Sarekhettarā, Pagan, Pañya etc."]

It is clearly shown by these texts that Tambadīpa (Tāmra-dvīpa) is the name of the districts of Pagan, Myinzaing, Pinya and Ava, and has nothing to do with Jambudvīpa or with the Yamana chou of Hiuan Tsang.

To sum up all, I believe that of the six names of the list of Hiuan-tsang, two are identified to a certainty, to wit :

Mo-ha-chan-po or Lin-yi=Champa (Annam) ;

I-shang-na-pu-lo=Isānapura (Cambodia).

Two are most probable, to wit :

Tu-ho-lo-po-ti=Dvāravatī (Lower Menam) ;

Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo=Śrīkṣetra (Lower Irawadi ; capital Prome).

One is likely :

Kia-mo-lang-ka = Lang-kia-shu, State of the Malay Peninsula, probably on the isthmus of Ligor.

One is unknown : Yen-mo-na-chou.

Patañjali

As he reveals himself in the Mahābhāṣya

II

Tradition about Patañjali—a mystical personage

According to the current tradition, as incorporated in Rāmabhadra's 'Pātañjala-carita' and elsewhere, Patañjali is an incarnation of Śeṣa—the serpent-king holding the lord Nārāyaṇa over his thousand heads. He is, therefore, deified as 'Bhagavat', an epithet that is usually applied to 'divine beings.' That he was an incarnation of Śeṣa seems to have been so popularly believed that the Mahābhāṣya is also called "Phaṇi-bhāṣya". Both Koṇḍabhaṭṭa and Śrīharṣa speak of this Great Commentary as कश्चिन्मयवित्ताय¹. Tradition that tends to make him entirely a divine personage runs as follows: "One day the body of the lord Nārāyaṇa had become so unusually heavy that Śeṣa, the upholder of the universe, could hardly support it. When the Lord awoke from his mystical sleep, Śeṣa curiously asked him as to the cause of his sudden preponderosity. Whereupon Nārāyaṇa narrated to him how the all-charming dance of the lord Śiva, as he visualised through mystical power, proved to be a sight of so excessive joy that he tremendously grew in weight. The lord came to know his mind and accordingly announced to his satisfaction that he would have the pleasure of such a sight at the land of "Cidambara" (somewhere in the southern coast of India) and entreated him further to popularise the science of grammar *i. e.* assigned to him particularly the task of composing the Mahābhāṣya as a distinct duty to be fulfilled by him in his mortal existence. This is how Śeṣa came to the earth and was born as a mortal

1 कश्चिन्मयवित्ताय : इत्युक्तौच्यं उद्धृतः—Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇa, Kār. I and कश्चिन्मयवित्तायवृत्तिरिति etc. Naiṣadhacarita.

being. While in search of a suitable place as well as a lady qualified to be his mother, Śeṣa came across a holy hermitage in the land of Gonarda, and found a female ascetic there named Goṇikā who by her pious nature and austere penance was pre-eminently fitted to be his mother. One day while she was as usual making offering to the Sun-god for having a learned son, Śeṣa considered it to be a very opportune moment and suddenly made his appearance in the form of a snake on her hands. Thus, he got his name as Patañjali from the fact of his falling from the 'aṅjali' of his mother.¹ The derivation of the word 'Patañjali' has thus given rise to a mysterious tradition that speaks for the transformation of Śeṣa into a human being. According to the narration of the Br̥had-Gaṇeśakalpalatā, Śeṣa fell, as ordained by Gaṇeśa, into the hand of a sage and divulged the secret of his earthly life before him. Nāgojibhaṭṭa has given this story in a slightly different way. His account is very brief. While discussing the grammatical peculiarity of the word 'Patañjali' in his Śabdendusekhara, Nāgoji² states that Patañjali is so called because he is said to have fallen down from the aṅjali of a sage while performing his daily worship in the city of Gonarda. As soon as he fell from her hands, he assumed the form of a brahmin boy resplendent in celestial beauty. Goṇikā at once felt filial affection towards him, taking him to be a reward of her long practised austerity and baptised him with the name Patañjali from the fact of his falling from her hands. Patañjali bowed down before his mother and obtaining her permission at once proceeded to the southern coast for the performance of penance. The lord Śiva got much propitiated on account of the severity of his penance and was consequently ready to fulfil his desire. Patañjali wanted the fulfilment of two boons—one to have the opportunity of seeing the divine dancing of Śiva and the other to possess the power

1 तवाञ्जली लक्ष्मणाय पतितोऽहं हिताय ते । P.-carita.

2 गोनर्द्धदेहि कस्तुषिहनेरक्षसि; कस्तुकारश्चक्षुसये पतित इत्यैतन्नम् ।

of composing a great commentary on the Vārttikas whereupon Śiva granted his two-fold prayer. Having received the favour of the lord, Patañjali marvellously succeeded in his arduous task. Then, he began to teach the Mahābhāṣya and numerous students gathered round him to avail themselves of this opportunity. He used to sit cautiously behind a screen at the time of giving discourses obviously for the purpose of concealing his awe-inspiring form from the eyes of his students. It was, however, a matter of much speculation among the students as to how one man could at a time answer so many questions as were usually put to him. This gave rise to suspicion and the students felt curious to know the secret of it. And at last wickedness prevailed upon them; once while Patañjali was giving instructions on the aphorism of Pāṇ. 3. 1. 94 one of them suddenly removed the screen. It was an act of great imprudence which enraged Patañjali to such an extent as to turn them to ashes with the single exception. It was from this student who survived the catastrophe that the Mahābhāṣya came to light. Thus, we see that the life of Patañjali is full of mysterious events from the beginning to the end. The way in which Patañjali is said to have obtained the literary power from Śiva is not, strictly speaking, a solitary instance in the domain of Hindu traditions, because Pāṇini is also reported to have been the recipient of similar favour from the lord Śiva. According to the orthodox belief, Śiva is the god of wisdom (ज्ञानं च सर्वप्रदिविद्) and one hankering after knowledge must necessarily propitiate the lord Śiva. We may or may not believe the entire tradition connected with the mystical life of Patañjali, but we must admit that a man who could bring out such a learned commentary was really recipient of some divine grace and was far above the intellectual level of ordinary mankind. However, it is almost ingrained in human nature, specially in that of Indians, to ascribe the cause of all great achievements to the interference of some divine power.

Patañjali the same as the author of the Yoga-Sūtra

Another question of vital importance is the identity of Patañjali with the author of the Yoga-Sūtra as such. As the name of the two authors is the same, one is naturally led to the conclusion that they are one and the same person. It has been, however, argued on the contrary that the author of the Yoga-Sūtra is much older than the author of the Mahābhāṣya. This contention is supported by the Vedānta Sūtra, 2. 1. 3. where a direct reference is made to the Yoga philosophy by so earlier a teacher as Vyāsa. We may set aside this line of argument by holding that the word "Yoga" in the aphorism ऐतन् योगः प्रबुद्ध does not necessarily refer to the Yoga-Sūtra of Patañjali, but to some earlier treatise on the subject. It must be, however, remembered that the practice of Yoga, such as different postures of sitting, meditation, concentration of mind, observance of some rules relating to body and mind, etc. was long in vogue in ancient India. Hiranyagarbha or Brahman is said to have been the first preacher of Yoga as what ultimately leads to final liberation of soul from the bondage of action. What Patañjali actually did in this direction was to systematise and co-ordinate all that were hitherto scattered here and there. It is therefore only in Patañjala Yogadarsana that we find the mysticism of Yoga in a consistently philosophical form, but we would be committing a mistake if we were to give him the credit of being the founder of the Yoga system of thought. Moreover, Bhartṛhari¹ while eulogising the author of the Mahābhāṣya has given a faint allusion to the effect that Patañjali's work i. e. the Yōga-Śāstra served to purge the mind of all foul elements. Patañjali is said to have been the author of three great works, namely, (1) Mahābhāṣya, (ii) Yoga-Sūtra, and (iii) Vārttika on the Āyurveda—these three works contributed to remove the

1. कायवासुखिविषया ये मत्ता समवस्थिताः ।

चिकित्सासम्प्रदायाद्यात्मनो विमुक्तयः ॥ Vākya. Kar. I. 148.

impurities of speech, mind and body respectively. Kaiyaṭa¹ as well as the author of the Pātañjala-carita also entertain the same view. As an internal evidence, we may proceed further to show that both the Mahābhāṣya and the Yoga-Sūtra open almost with a similar aphorism.² While all schools of Hindu philosophy have rejected the assumption of an imperceptible element distinct from letters, the doctrine of Sphoṭa is not openly criticised by the Yoga-Sūtra as such. But it has rather supported Sphoṭa, as is evident from the exposition of the Yoga-Sūtra, 3. 17. Vyāsa, the author of the Bhāṣya on the Yoga-Sūtra, seems to have made a thorough study of the Mahābhāṣya, because he has sometimes quoted *verbatim* passages from the Mahābhāṣya (e. g. न सत्तां पदार्थो व्यभिचरति ; श्रोत्रियश्चन्द्रोऽपीति). It is not, however, possible to find any parallelism so far as the texts are concerned, inasmuch as the two works deal with altogether different topics and have practically nothing in common. The word Yoga in the same sense, in which it occurs in the Yoga-Sūtra, is also to be found in the Mahābhāṣya. By the expression 'युज्यते योऽनं ब्रह्मचारी' the author of the Mahābhāṣya has undoubtedly referred to the practice of Yoga as enjoined in the Yoga-Sūtra.

Patañjali as the author of the Vārttika on Āyurveda

As we have pointed out in the foregoing discussion, Patañjali is said to have been the author of Vārttika on the Vaidyaka Śāstra. This work is no longer in existence. A reference to this work is made by Cakrapāṇi, the well-known commentator on Caraka. There are passages in the Mahābhāṣya which betray Patañjali's deep knowledge of the medical science. Bhartṛhari was right in his observa-

1 योऽनं चित्तस्य पदेन वाचां सत्त शरीरस्य च वेद्यकेन ।

योऽप्युक्तरीतिं प्रवरं मुनीनां पतञ्जलिं प्राञ्जलिरानतोऽस्मि ॥—Kaiyaṭa, Intro.

2 Cf. अथ शब्दानुशासनम् and अथ योगानुशासनम्—the word अनुशासन occurring in both the aphorisms.

tion that these three works from the able pen of Patañjali served to remove all impurities of body, speech and mind. We have proposed to show later on the extent of Patañjali's knowledge of Āyurveda. How great was Patañjali! a grammarian, a philosopher and a master of medical science in one. In him we find a rare combination of knowledge in three distinct branches of learning.

Parentage and birth-place

Very little is definitely known about the parentage and native place of Patañjali. The amount of information furnished by the Mahābhāṣya in this direction is the two terms गोनदीय and गोषिकापुत्र, the former possibly refer to his birth-place and the latter to his mother's name. This is quite in agreement with the current tradition as we have already alluded to. Kaiyaṭa also explains the term गोनदीय as the name of Patañjali by showing that the expression गोनदीयस्त्वाह is the same as भाष्यकारस्त्वाह.¹ Cūṇikā, a female ascetic, is spoken of as his mother. We know nothing about his father. Some scholars have, however, tried to prove with reference to the Kāma-Sūtra that गोनदीय and गोषिकापुत्र are two distinct authors on dramaturgy. It is, therefore, somewhat uncertain whether these two names really refer to Patañjali as such. We should, however, add that the contexts in which these two names occur in the Mahābhāṣya are in themselves sufficient indication that they refer to some grammarians whose views on grammar were authoritatively recorded in the Mahābhāṣya. We maintain, therefore, on the contrary that गोनदीय and गोषिकापुत्र, as mentioned by the author of the Kāma-Sūtra, are not necessarily the same authors as referred to in the Mahābhāṣya. As a matter of fact, it was not unusual in those days to call a man by the names derived from those of his mother or native

1 गोनद्दीये कस्यचिद्विषयकः सव्याकरणसमये पठित इत्येतिह्यम् ।

Compare also गोनदीयपदं व्याचष्टे भाष्यकार इति—Uddyota (Nāgeśa'.

place as the case might be. Pāṇini is thus often called by such epithets as ग्राशातुरीय and दाक्षीण¹ i. e. by names referring to his birth-place and mother. Whenever he is to give his own opinion on a controversial topic, Patañjali has judiciously sought to put forward those names. Moreover, it is not unlikely that our author, either out of typical modesty of Indian teacher or actuated by a sacred impulse of giving prominence to his mother's name, found it more convenient to use those names whenever necessary. The expression शिवतद्विः दाक्षिणात्यः is calculated to give us a clue as to the determination of the birth-place of Patañjali.

Gonarda must be a place somewhere in the Deccan. That he belonged to the southern country i. e. Deccan, and had intimate knowledge of that part of India is borne out by some references of the Mahābhāṣya. Patañjali² speaks of a peculiar linguistic characteristic of the Deccanese. The people of the Deccan, as he clearly shows, were very fond of using the words that end in Taddhita suffixes, for example, they would use 'laukike' and 'vaidike' instead of 'loke' and 'vede'. Patañjali³ also speaks of the big lakes and ponds of the Deccan and mentions particularly that they were generally called "Sarasī."

*Patañjali as an ideal brahmin and his lofty conception
of Brahminism*

Patañjali was very probably a high class brahmin and had purely brahmanical culture. He was born at a time when brahmins used to hold a very respectable position in the Hindu society. He possessed learning, 'tapasyā,' and noble birth,—all the important requisites of a typical brahmin. He was a repository of learning, as he seems to have mastered all the important branches of knowledge. He was not only an acknowledged master of the Vedas with all their subsidiary literature

¹ ग्राशातुरीयदाक्षीणी गोनर्दायै पतञ्जलिः—Abhidhānacintāmaṇi by Hemacandra and सर्वे सर्वपदादिना दाक्षीण्यस्य पाणिनेः—Mahābhāṣya, vol. III, p. 251.

² Mahābhāṣya, vol. I, p. 8.

³ Vol. I, p. 73.

but had a much more admirable gift, we mean the blessing of 'Tapasyā.' As identified with the author of the Yoga-Sūtra, Patañjali must have been an ascetic practising yoga. He mentions¹ austerity, Vedic learning and respectable birth as the qualification of a Brahmin in the real sense of the term, and we are sure that he possessed these qualities in an eminent degree. One is, as Patañjali observes, in agreement with the Dharma-Śāstra, only a Brahmin by caste² (जातिब्राह्मण) if he be devoid of both religious austerity and Vedic learning. It is evident from what he considers to be the essential characteristics of a Brahmin that Patañjali used to lay greater importance on religious austerities and Vedic learning than on the mere accident of birth. What made him an object of such respect and reverence (for he is often designated as 'Ṛṣi' and sometimes as 'Bhagavat') was not only erudition but also advancement in spiritual life. Patañjali had thus a lofty conception of Brahmanism. He has also enumerated the peculiarities of physical features that add largely to the qualities of a Brahmin. According to his opinion³, a brahmin yellowish in complexion, of pure conduct, and with tawny hair deserves special notice in the community of Brahmins. Again, he mentions⁴ particularly in a verse that a brahmin belonging to the highest class is marked out by the purity of culture, birth and action. Thus, we find that the consideration of two elements, namely, quality and action (गुणकर्मविभागः) which lie at the root of differentiation of castes in India, did not escape the notice of so orthodox a brahmin teacher as Patañjali. It is expressly stated in the ancient Dharma-Śāstras that the supreme Lord had divided men into four well-marked classes by the standard of their respective

1 M. B., vol. II, p. 363.

2 Ibid.

3 गौरः शुष्माचारः पित्राजः कपिलकेश इत्येतान्यभ्यन्तरान् ब्राह्मणे गृह्यान् कुर्वन्ति—M. B., vol. II, p. 336.

4 वीतिर्यस्यावदातानि विद्या दीनिश्च कर्मणः । एतच्छिष्यं विजानीहि ब्राह्मणाचारस्य लक्षणम् ॥ M. B., vol. II, p. 220.

qualities and actions. In a similar strain of thought Patañjali understands by Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra only an aggregate of qualities¹ (गुणसमुदयेषु वर्तते), but never lays any stress on the mere accident of birth or descent. The brahmin, if we are allowed to say so, did not usurp the enviable supremacy by undue supersession, but had those rare qualifications—purity with regard to both body and mind, devotion to knowledge, and above all a unique strength of ‘Tapasyā’ that really justified his position as the head of Hindu society. Patañjali has also mentioned some non-brahmanic habits: e. g. eating food while moving.² He also speaks of a class of brahmins who did not partake of any meal while invited on the occasion of Śrāddha ceremony (अश्राद्धभोजी नाहन्).

Patañjali as a priest

He seems to have an intimate knowledge of the priestly class. He used to perform daily worship including the five “great sacrifices” that are ordained to be strictly observed by every brahmin householder. The use of the terms पुष्याहुवाचन, अग्निवाचन, शक्तिवाचन etc., indicate his intimates knowledge of the Vedic rituals, acquired from their performance. Born in the midst of high traditions and trained in a purely ecclesiastical atmosphere, Patañjali acquired all the traits of a brahmanic life. He refers to both the sacrificial country (यज्ञियदेश) and the family of priestly brahmins that was specially qualified for the performance of sacrifice (यज्ञिनीयं ब्राह्मणकुलम्). Patañjali was not only a contemporary of Puṣyamitra but was intimately related to him as his family priest, and it is not unlikely that he served as the high priest on the occasion of his patron’s great sacrifice (Aśvamedha).³

His religious faith

Patañjali seems to have been an Advaitavādin, belonging

1 See Mahābhāṣya under the rule of Pāṇ. 5. 1. 115.

2 अनाश्रयोऽयं यो गच्छन् भक्षयति—M. B., vol. I, p. 411.

3 Cf. इह यज्ञिनीयं याज्याहः ।

probably to the Advaita sect of Śaiva religion. The Śaiva religion had become very popular in Southern India and continues to be so even in these days. It is not therefore unlikely that Patañjali as a native of the Deccan had an inborn regard for that particular form of religious faith. The tradition as well as certain references of the *Mahābhāṣya* tend to make him a Śaiva. The tradition, to which we have already alluded, states that Patañjali had practised Yoga for a long time with a view to propitiate the Lord Śiva and as a reward of his severe austerity he succeeded in visualising the dancing of Śiva. Turning to the internal evidence we find that Patañjali has mentioned all the popular names of Śiva¹, and has alluded to the last one in such a context as to support the inference that he was a worshipper of Śiva.² Direct reference is made to the Śaiva sect (vol. II, 282). If the identity of Patañjali with the author of the *Yoga-Sūtra* is acknowledged to be a fact, then he would be a Yogin believing in the existence of a personal god³ either Śiva or Viṣṇu. It is not possible to say anything definitely as to the particular form of religious faith which Patañjali actually acknowledged. Patañjali was endowed with a strong religious feeling and cultivated a life of spiritual elevation. The way in which he has expounded the doctrine of Sphoṭa is characteristic of his special inclination towards the Śabda-Brahma-Vāda. To him Śabda, or more properly Sphoṭa, was an emblem of Supreme Divinity, as Praṇava is spoken of in the *Yoga-Sūtra* as a veritable symbol of God (सत्यवाचकः प्रणवः 1. 27). Moreover, his definition of *निव्ययम्*⁴ as प्रवं कूटस्थमविद्यास्थनपायोपजनविकार्युत्पत्तादहमस्ययोगि प्रकृतिवत् etc., wherein he has made use of all the epithets that are popularly attributed to Brahman, is an indication that he identified Śabda with Brahman and worshipped it as such.

1 शिव, भव, रुद्र, महादेव, सङ्क, शर्व ।

2 आत्मकं यजामहे

3 नैवेन्द्र आजापयति—M. B., vol. I, p. 115 and *Yoga-Sūtra*, I. 24 (एकमविद्यं ईश्वरः) .

4 *Mahābhāṣya*, vol. I, p. 7.

The scope of his knowledge

Now we come to consider the most conspicuous feature of Patañjali's career. No phase of his life appears more prominently than his literary attainments. His was a life devoted entirely to the pursuit of knowledge, and his was a master mind that fully grasped all that was noblest and best in the domain of learning. The range of his knowledge was very wide. A study of the Mahābhāṣya will serve to convince us that it would be a great injustice to his many-sided genius and powerful intellect if we take Patañjali only as a grammarian without making a proper estimate of his activities in various other departments of learning. He was a grammarian first, as everybody will admit, but the extent of his knowledge was not absolutely confined to the narrow area of grammar ; it encompassed the far wider field of the Vedic and classical literature in all their aspects. His command over language was equally great. He could express all his ideas gracefully and this was possible because Sanskrit is considered to have been a spoken tongue at the time of Patañjali.¹ He was, moreover, endowed with a keen intellect. Durga Siṃha² rightly compares his intellect to the sharp point of Kuśa-grass. His knowledge was so wide that it is simply impossible to give a detailed account of it within the short compass of these pages. We propose to deal briefly with the different branches of studies with which Patañjali seems to have had a thorough acquaintance.

(1) A well-read Vedic scholar

In Patañjali we find a well-read Vedic scholar. He inherited early a strong impetus to make a thorough study of the Vedas and was singularly successful in his attempt. The study of the

1 See my *Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus*.

2 बह्वच भामहकारस्य कुशावर्कविद्यावली ।

Vedas was considered in those days as an obligatory duty on the part of every Brahmin student. He was, as we shall see later on, master of the four Vedas, specially of the Rg-Veda. While giving an idea as to the extent of the use of words, Patañjali¹ has not only enumerated the four Vedas and their subsidiary literature but has gone further to mention the actual number of Śākhās of each of the Vedas. What we learn from this account is that the four Vedas with all their Śākhās were known to Patañjali and there is ample evidence in the Mahābhāṣya to believe that he made a masterly study of them in pursuance of the time-honoured custom. He has shown his admirable knowledge of the Vedic texts in many ways. As a grammarian, Patañjali has treated of both the Vedic and popular words. His Śabdānuśāsana takes notice of both the classes of words, and he could not have succeeded in such an attempt without an adequate knowledge of the Vedas. His quotations are, however, mostly taken from the Rg-Veda. He was not only a Vedic scholar of great reputation but had an accurate knowledge of the Vedic rituals. He was fully alive to the importance of the Vedic studies. He refers to the ancient custom when Brahmins used to take up the studies of grammar just after their sacrament of "holy thread" was over.² He was born at a time when a Brahmin student could not afford to neglect the study of the Vedas. His mastery over the Vedas was of such an order that he could reproduce any passage from the Vedas whenever he proposed to do so. He was a staunch believer in the eternity of the Vedas. He states in unambiguous terms that the Chandas (Vedas) are not created by men but they are existing from eternity³. Further, he states that the Vedic words are to be learnt directly from the Vedas just in the same way as "laukika" words are learnt from popular usage. His

1 See Mahābhāṣya under the Vārt. सर्वे देशान्तर—vol. I, p. 9.

2 उरुजले एतदासीत् । संस्कारोत्तरकालं ब्राह्मणा व्याकरणं आसीद्यते—M. B., vol. I, p. 5.

3 न हि कदापि क्रियन्ते. निजानि कदापि—M. B., vol. II, p. 315.

intimate knowledge of the Vedas is testified to by his frequent reference to the Vedic texts. We give below some such passages for example. In the first Āhnika of the Mahābhāṣya Patañjali has given five Vedic verses in full from the R̥g-Veda and in other instances he has only given them in parts. The first lines of each of the opening verses of the four Vedas are quoted by Patañjali just in the beginning of his Śabdānuśāsaṇa.

Vedic verses quoted in full :—

1. सुदेवो असि वरुण इत्य ते सप्त सिन्धवः ।
अनुवरन्ति काकुदं सूर्यं सुषिरामिव ॥ R̥gveda, VIII. 69. 12.
M. B., vol. I, p. 4.
2. सक्त निव तितलना पुनन्तो यत् धीरा मनसा वाचमकृत ।
अवा सखायः सखायि जानते भद्रं वां लक्ष्मीर्निहिताधि वाचि ॥ R̥gveda, X. 71. 2.
M. B., vol. I, p. 4.
3. उत त्वः पश्यन्न ददर्श वाचसुत त्वः शृणुन्न शृणोत्येनाम् ।
उतो लभ्ये तन्व' विसृजे जायेष पत्य उशती सुवासाः ॥ R̥gveda, X. 71. 4.
M. B., vol. I, p. 4.
4. चत्वारि यज्ञा तयो अस्य पादा द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य ।
विधा बह्वो वृषभो रोरवीति सङ्घो देवो मन्त्राणि आविवेश ॥ R̥gveda, IV. 58. 3.
M. B., vol. I, p. 3.
5. चत्वारि वाक् परिमिता पदानि तानि विदु ब्राह्मणा ये मनोविषाः ।
गृहा लोचि निहिता नेत्रयानि तुरीये वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति ॥ R̥gveda, I. 146. 45.
M. B., vol. I, p. 3.

Vedic verses given in parts :—

1. इन्द्रो मा वचत् ॥ M. B., vol. II, p. 77.
2. नामा इधिव्यां निहितो दविद्युतत्—Av., VII. 61. 1. M. B., vol. II, p. 437.
3. देवो वः सविता प्रार्पयतु अं हतमाय कर्मणे । V. S., I. 1. M. B., vol. II, p. 816.
4. जर्मतो तूर्फरी तु—R̥gveda, X. 9. 106. M. B., vol. I, p. 363.
5. महश्चिरम् आ गच्छि—R̥gveda, I. 19. 1. M. B., vol. I, p. 184.
6. न ते दिवो न इधिव्या अधि ब्रुवु—V. S., XVII. 14.
7. आ नो मित्रावरुणा हृतेमैव्युतिमुच्यतम्—R̥v., III. 62. 16.
8. दिवो हृष्टि'मन्तो ररीजम् ।
9. ताव' नो देवा निजुरो हकस—R̥v., II. 29. 6.
10. प्र च आर्यं वि वारिषत्—R̥gveda, I. 25. 12. ; M. B., vol. II, p. 44.
11. ऋजायमानं यो अहिं जघान—R̥gveda, II. 12. 11. M. B., vol. II, p. 21.
12. अमर्षां वृषभं मद्भजिद्वुम्—R̥v., I. 190. 1. M. B., vol. I, p. 220.
13. दावा चिदर्थे इधिवो नमेते—R̥v., II. 12. 12. M. B., vol. II, p.

*His acquaintance with the subsequent Vedic literature—
Brāhmaṇas, Sūtras—Śrauta, Grhya and Kalpa,
Chandas etc. etc.*

Patañjali was not only well-versed in the R̥gveda but he had familiarity with the other Vedas as well. He distinctly mentions the "Uktha" of the Sāma-Veda (under Pāṇ., 4. 2. 60) and refers to the musical recitation of the Sāma hymns (कालिधं चान गीयते). As he belonged to the priestly class of Brahmins, Patañjali had surely made a special study of the Yajur-Veda and the Brāhmaṇas. No department of study, specially in the field of the Vedic literature, was left unnoticed by Patañjali. The Atharva-Veda could not escape his all-absorbing attention. He explains the term "आथर्वैधिक¹" as denoting one who makes a study of the Atharva-Veda, and particularly refers to चर्म and आन्नाय as relating to the fourth Veda. His minute knowledge of the Vedas is further manifested by his references to the Anuvākas, namely, वसिष्ठोऽनुवाकः² and "विश्वामित्रोऽनुवाकः". That he was specially acquainted with the Vedic rituals is clear from the following passages which have direct bearing upon the performance of a sacrifice as enjoined by the Brāhmaṇas :—(i) पञ्चसु कपालेषु संकृतम्³ (ii) ब्राह्मण-वस्यति चर्कः⁴ (iii) आग्नावैश्वरं चर्कं निर्वपेत्. He has by way of example mentioned some specific objects that are used only in connection with a sacrifice viz. खा, घृण, चपल, कुक्. The passage⁵ वेत्सुरा हिलयो हिलय इति कुर्वन्तः पथान्मुहुः is in all probability taken from some Brāhmaṇa. This passage occurs in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa with slight modifications. He mentions the names of two treatises on the Brāhmaṇa literature,⁶ namely, Yājñavalkya and Saulabha and various works coming under the Sūtra class of literature⁷, such as

1 M. B. vol. II, p. 320.

2 M. B. vol. II, p. 320.

3 " " II, p. 239.

4 " " III, p. 213.

5 " " I, p. 2.

6 " " II, p. 285.

7 " " 284 and 286.

Vārttika-Sūtra, Saṃgraha-Sūtra, Kalāpaka-Sūtra etc. Mention is also made of the Kalpa-Sūtras which form an important part of the Vedic literature : 'Pārāśara-Kalpa, Para-Kalpa, Paingī-Kalpa Kāśyapa-Kalpa, Kausika-Kalpa etc. etc. The passage¹ दशस्युत्तरकार्त्तं पुनश्च जातस्य नाम विदध्यात् is undoubtedly taken by Patañjali from some Grhya-Sūtra. Cf. जननादशरात्रे नामधेयकरणे Gobhila-Grihya, 2. 8.8. So far as the Vedic metres are concerned, Triṣṭubh, Anuṣṭubh and Jagati are specifically spoken of by Patañjali.² This review of Patañjali's career as a Vedic scholar, however brief and imperfect, will serve to give us an occasion to see how great was his command over the entire range of the Vedic literature.

His familiarity with the Dharma-Sūtras and Smṛti texts

In more than one instance Patañjali has given unmistakable evidence of his respectable knowledge of the Dharma Śāstras that were current in his time. The numerous reference to the Smṛti-texts indicate that Patañjali, besides being a Vedic scholar of great reputation, made a careful study of the Dharma-Śāstras such as Bodhāyana, Āpastamba, Gotama, etc. He has sometimes quoted *verbatim* the passages from the texts and sometimes given only the substance in his own inimitable language. Passages like दक्षिणाधिरपि यत्र पतिना संयुज्यते (M. B., vol. II, p. 334) and सर्वेषु च गृहस्थेन पञ्च महाव्रतं निर्वर्त्तयः (vol. II, p. 21) are taken from the Dharma Sūtras and relate to the daily duty of a householder. The "five great sacrifices", as the Bodhāyana and other Dharma Sūtras enjoin are दीव्यव्रत, पित्र्यव्रत, भूतव्रत, दयव्रत, and ब्रह्मव्रत. The sacrificial fire as referred to above falls under three well-marked classes namely, दक्षिण, गार्हपत्य and आहवनीय. These and other instances where Patañjali has made direct references to the Smṛti texts are calculated to prove that he was not only conversant with the texts but put them into practice in the daily performance of his religious rites. Of the ten hol sacraments (संस्कार) ordained by the Dharma Sūtras, h

1 M. B., vol I, p. 4.

2 M. B., vol. II, p. 283.

particularly mentions two, namely, Nāmakaraṇa and Upanayana. He states in agreement with the Dharma Śāstras that the "Nāmakaraṇa" ceremony should take place on the tenth day from the birth (दशत्वां जातस्य पुत्रस्य नाम विदध्यात्) and gives even a detailed account as to how such names should be formed. Regarding the ceremony of "holy thread" he points out in the very language of the Dharma Sūtras that (i) "a Brahmin should kindle the sacrificial fire in spring¹" and (ii) "the Upanayana of a Brahmin boy should be celebrated on the eighth year counting from the date of his mother's conception"² (cf. गर्भाष्टमे ब्राह्मणमुपनयोत—Bodhāyana Grhya-Sūtra 2. 5). (iii) He speaks of both drinking and brahminicide³ as what entail great sins on the part of the perpetrators. These two, as everyone knows, are included in the list of the "five great sins" (पञ्च महापातक). It is not only in the Dharma Śāstras⁴ that we meet with a description of these five offences of serious nature, but even the Chāndyogya Upaniṣad⁵ has also enumerated them in the same way. The seriousness of these two kinds of sins is clearly pointed out by Patañjali when he observes that one who commits Brahminicide and drinks wine even through ignorance is also liable to unmitigated sin.⁶ (iv) In dealing with the question of eatables and non-eatables Patañjali says that only "five, as laid down by the Smṛti-texts, among the five-nailed animals are permitted to be eaten⁷." The text of the Mahābhāṣya (पञ्च पञ्चनखा भक्ष्याः) has striking similarity with that of the Bodhāyana Dharma-Sūtra (I. 5. 12. 5). Patañjali draws the usual inference that the above text lays down a restriction with regard to the eatable. In the same context he has also drawn our attention to the fact that sometimes restriction is meant by prohi-

1 M. B. vol. III, p. 57 "वसन्ते ब्राह्मणोऽग्नीनादधीत"।

2 " " " " "गर्भाष्टमे ब्राह्मण उपनयेत्"।

3 ब्राह्मणो न हन्यः सुरा न पेयेति—M. B., vol. III, p. 57.

4 Vide Manu-Saṃhitā.

5 Chānd., 5. 5. 10.

6 M. B., vol. I, p. 2.

7 M. B., vol. I, p. 5.

bitive injunctions, as for instance, the proposition “*अमल्लो गान्धकुकुटोऽमल्लो गान्धयुक्तः*”¹ (Domesticated fowl as well as domesticated pig should not be eaten) implies indirectly that wild fowls and wild pigs are permissible for eating. Here too Patañjali’s texts are almost the same as what occur in the Dharma Sūtras (cf. *अमल्लः पशवो गान्धाः* and *तथा कुक्कुटश्चकम्*—Bodhāyana 1. 5). (v) With direct reference to the Vedas, as he himself admits, Patañjali has specified the food of different classes of men during the period of their observing religious rites²: “Milk is said to be the main food of the Brahmins, barley-corn of the Kṣatriyas, and curd of the Vaiśyas.” This statement is quite in agreement with the Smṛti texts. Cf. *पयो भक्ष्य इति प्रथमः कल्पाः, यवान् राजन्यो वैश्व आभिचारम्*—Bodhāyana 3. 7. (vi) Patañjali has made reference to another prohibitive injunction viz. “oil and meat (beef) should not be sold.” But he has recorded his consent so far as the sale of mustard-seeds (the entity as a whole) and cows is concerned. Manu has strongly prohibited the sale of both oil and meat. (vii) In the same context Patañjali continues to say that “one should purify himself (by bathing and the like) if he happens to touch hairs and nails as detached from a human body.”⁴ (viii) Patañjali had undoubtedly some Smṛti-texts in view when he specifically mentioned the place and time where and when study is strictly prohibited. It should be noted here that both time and place have been particularly fixed in connection with the study of the Vedas. Patañjali says that “one should not read in a cremation-ground or at a place where four paths have met together”⁵; so far as the question of time is concerned, he states further that “one should refrain from the study in both “Amāvāsyā” and “Caturdasi”

1 M. B., vol. I, p. 6.

2 M. B., vol. I, p. 8.

3 *तेषु न विज्ञेयम्* नां न विज्ञेयम्—M. B., vol. I, p. 25.

4 *लोमनखं च वा जीवं कर्तव्यम्*—

” ” ”

5 *अश्रावे नाज्यं दत्तम्। अशुश्रूषे नाज्यं दत्तम्। कालः खलुप्याश्रावे निवतः। नामावासायां अशुश्रूषाभिति*—vol. II, p. 386.

(cf. Bodhāyana, I. 11. 21. 22; and Manu, 4.113 and 4.116). Instances may be multiplied to give further evidence of Patañjali's intimate knowledge of the Dharma-Śāstras. Under the Vārttika "धर्मे शास्त्रमपि तथा" on Pāṇini, I. 2. 64, he has clearly shown what he really meant by Dharma-Śāstra by referring to an oft-quoted Smṛti-text. Now, considering the range of study as is disclosed by the aforesaid texts and the manner in which these references have been made, we should be really justified in holding that Patañjali was not only an erudite scholar in the field of Śrauta and Smārta literature but he lived a strictly religious life following the lofty ideal of Brahminism as set up by the Vedic and Smṛti literature. He did practically what he learnt from the Dharma Śāstras; he adhered to the religious creed of the Brahmins in a spirit of inborn devotion and never deviated an inch from the path chalked out for a pious devotee. That he performed everything in strict conformity with the ordinance of the Dharma-Śāstra is perfectly clear from his own statement. He states emphatically¹ that "something that is done against the dictates of the Dharma Śāstra is liable to be defective and as such is not attended with the desired **fruit**." This shows the magnitude of regard he had towards the ordinance of the Dharma-Śāstras.

The Dharma-Śāstra is generally called Smṛti² which comprehends the works of many revered sages, and deals with almost the same subject *i. e.*, Dharma in its various aspects. Among these the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra (popularly known as Manu Samhitā) is by far the most comprehensive and authoritative work, obviously for the reason of its close touch with the Vedas.³ The date of this valuable work has not yet

1 अशास्त्रोक्तं क्रियमाणं विपुलं कर्म भवति, विपुलं च कर्मणि फलान्भवति:—vol. I, p. 243.

2 "धर्मे शास्त्रं तु वै स्मृतिः—Manu, 2. 10.

3 वेदाद्यैर्मनित्वमनुत्वात् प्राधान्यं हि मनोः अदम्—Bṛhaspati quoted by Kullūka under Manu, I. 1.

been determined with certainty. Some antiquarians have, however, assigned to it a much later date, taking it to be a work of the sixth century A. D. We venture to differ from this view. There might have been several recensions of the *Manu Samhitā* but the work in its present form cannot be placed at a date later than the second century before Christ. The argument in support of our view is based on a verse¹ of the *Mahābhāṣya* which appears to have been quoted *verbatim* from the *Manu Samhitā*. We are, therefore, confronted here with a question of historical importance. As it is not likely that Bhṛgu (who is said to have made this collection of Manu's sayings) took a verse from the *Mahābhāṣya* and incorporated it into the so called *Manu Samhitā*, we have decided to give the credit of priority to the *Manu Samhitā* in preference to the *Mahābhāṣya*.

His knowledge of Itihāsa—Purāṇa—Mahābhārata etc.

There was a distinct class of literature in Sanskrit known as *Itihāsa* (which comes from the word "iti ha" meaning ancient stories). There were many stories current in ancient India ; in course of time they developed into beautiful poems at the hands of the renowned poets. Ancient stories beginning with such particles² as इति, एवमासीत्, ह वै or इति होवाच, as they are usually narrated in the early Sanskrit literature viz. *Brāhmaṇas*, *Upaniṣads* and elsewhere, were significantly called *Itihāsa*. The two great national epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, come under this class of literature. The word *Itihāsa* is sometimes found jointly with the word *Purāṇa*. *Itihāsa* is mentioned along with *Purāṇa* in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*³ as one branch of study, that is, they occur in such a way as if the two formed a particular depart-

1 Compare *Manu*, 2. 120 with the verse quoted in the *Mahābhāṣya*, vol. III, p. 58.

2 इति ईवमासीदिति वनोचते च इतिहासः—*Durga under Nirukta*, p. 197.

3 अतुर्वैदिकविद्यासुखाद्यम्—*Chānd. Up.*, VII. 2.

ment of study in their homogeneous combination. Yāska¹ has, however, used the word Itihāsa only and did not annex the word Purāṇa to it. Patañjali² too has enumerated both Itihāsa and Purāṇa in the list of Śāstras as two distinct branches of studies. By Itihāsa we generally understand works like the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa which mainly deal with the dynasties (viz. the solar and the lunar dynasties) and the war-like activities of the ancient kings, and by Purāṇa³ we usually understand those treatises (such as Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Matsya, Kūrma, Devī, Padma Purāṇa, etc.) which are characterised by such accounts as relate to cosmogony, description of different Yugas or cycles, dynasties of kings and so on. Both Itihāsa and Purāṇa have thus traversed almost the same field and consequently belong to the same class of literature. It was probably on account of their allied nature that Itihāsa and Purāṇa were put together as constituting essentially one and the same branch of study. However cognate in both external and internal aspects, they have their distinct characteristics as well. The so-called Itihāsas give an account of ancient stories in a highly poetic form and are more or less authentic from a historical point of view ; the Purāṇas, on the other hand, deal with many extraneous things (fables and superstitions) that are less reliable, advocate the worship of many minor deities, and have practically served to give prominence to two religious sects of India, namely, Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva.

Patañjali seems to have been acquainted with both Itihāsa and Purāṇa, as he not only mentions them as two departments of studies but distinctly speaks of the Aitihasika and the Paurāṇika. The Mahābhārata is the oldest specimen of Itihāsa preserved in Sanskrit literature. It had to pass

1 तत्रेतिहासमाचक्षते—Nirukta, p. 195.

2 इतिहासः पुराणम्—vol. I, p. 9.

3 Vyāsa designates the Mahābhārata as an Itihāsa—भारतखेतिहासश्च पञ्चाव्यवसंयुतम्—M., I. 19.

through many stages before it could have assumed the present form. The earliest recension of the Mahābhārata was however known to Yāska and Pāṇini. The account of Devāpi¹ and Śāntanu, two scions of the Kuru family, as it occurs in the Nirukta,² was probably taken from some earlier recension of the Mahābhārata, though Yāska does not specifically mention the source but simply alludes to that legend as an historical fact (Itihāsa). Pāṇini has indirectly mentioned the Mahābhārata in the aphorism 6. 2. 38 but has clearly given the names of certain important personages of the Mahābhārata, namely, Vāsudeva, Yudhiṣṭhira, Arjuna, etc. (see rules 4. 3. 98 and 8. 3. 95).

Patañjali was probably acquainted with the Mahābhārata in its very form in which it has come down to us. Mention is not only made in the Mahābhāṣya of all important Kaurava (Pāṇḍava) and Yādava heroes, but some anecdotes of considerable interest relating to the sages and other minor events, as they occur in the Mahābhārata, are also to be found. Patañjali³ has particularly given the names of the five Pāṇḍavas, namely, Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīmasena, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva, and has put the example इषिष्ठिराजुनी (vol. I, p. 437) in such a context as to indicate that Yudhiṣṭhira was the elder brother of Arjuna (see Mahābhāṣya under the Vārttika—चातुश्च ज्यैष्ठ्यः). In the expression धनञ्जयो रणे रणे⁴ Patañjali has evidently given another name of Arjuna, viz. Dhanañjaya, which is significant as pointing to the fact of Arjuna's acquisition of immense wealth resulting from his numerous conquests. The incident connected with the name "Dhanañjaya"⁵ is narrated by Arjuna himself in the Virāṭa-parvan. This and other instances might be

1 The legend of Devāpi and Śāntanu is a very old one ; it can be traced in the Ṛgveda. See Ṛgveda, X. 8. 98.

2 Nirukta, p. 195 (Bombay ed.).

3 Vol. II, p. 257.

4 Vol. II, p. 150.

5 सर्वान् जगददान् जित्वा वित्तमादाय केवलम् । सख्ये धनस्य तिष्ठामि तेनाहुर्मम धनञ्जयम् ॥

Mahābhārata, Virāṭa, 44- 13.

put forward to show that Patañjali had closely studied the Mahābhārata with every minute detail. So far as the case of Kaurava heroes is concerned, Patañjali has mentioned the names of Duryodhana¹ and Duṣśāsana. Of the other heroes figuring in the Mahābhārata we find the names of Aśvathāman,² the son of Droṇa, and of Bhīṣma Gāṅgeya (vol. III, p. 72). Both Kāṇina and Pārtha,³ as two names of Karna and of the three Pāṇḍavas also occur in the Mahābhāṣya. From the explanatory note added to the word Kāṇina, it is quite clear that the incident underlying the history of Karna's birth,⁴ as we find it depicted in the Mahābhārata, was well known to Patañjali. Even the names of females such as Kuntī and Gāndhārī⁵ are also mentioned by Patañjali. As narrated in the Mahābhārata, Kuntī was the daughter of a Yādava king named Śūrasena. She was called Pṛthā in her early life and subsequently came to be known as Kuntī from the fact of her being placed under the care of Kuntibhoja, a friend of her father. Undoubtedly an allusion to the battle of Kurukṣetra is made by such passages as "धनेन च कुरवो युध्यन्ते"⁶ and "असिद्धिनीयोऽनुसचार पाण्डवम्"⁷ (meaning respectively "Kauravas fought virtuously" and "the Pāṇḍava was followed by a hero having nothing but a sword in his hand"). By the former statement, as quoted above, Patañjali has expressed his own view that the Kauravas fought virtuously, that is to say, they did not violate the rules of warfare as enjoined by our Dharmā Śāstras. Patañjali has mentioned the names of two Yādava kings, namely, Ugrasena and Kamsa, and has directly alluded to a kindred family, viz., "Vṛṣṇi" as well as to a scion of that family, namely, Viṣvaksena. He has given prominence to the Yādava line by mentioning such well-known names as those of

1 Vol. I, p. 157.

2 Vol. I, p. 311 and 237.

3 Vol. II, p. 258. 4 Mahābhāṣya under Pāṇ., 4.1. 167—प्रागभिसम्बन्धान् ।

5 Vol. II, p. 206.

6 Vol. II, p. 122.

7 Vol. II, p. 257.

Vasudeva, Baladeva and Vāsudeva, the last two passing for the veritable incarnations of Viṣṇu under the more popular appellations of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa respectively. The various incidents associated with the mysterious life and mission of Kṛṣṇa appear to have been well-known to Patañjali. He has used the names Rāma, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Baladeva as well as Kṛṣṇa, Vāsudeva, Keśava and Govinda as different names of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa respectively. Both Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa were sons of Vasudeva, but it is Kṛṣṇa alone who is popularly called Vāsudeva. By the compound “रामकेशवी”¹ Patañjali has clearly pointed out to the historical fact that Balarāma was older of the two brothers. The association of Rāma with Kṛṣṇa is further brought out by a benedictory verse “सहवैष्णवित्तीयस्य बलं कृष्णस्य वर्धताम्”² “Let Kṛṣṇa grow in strength while in the company of Balarāma.” Patañjali has made use of another metrical line “जघान वंसं क्षित्वा वासुदेवः”³ describing the slaughter of Kāṁsa by Kṛṣṇa. This incident in particular turned to be so popular a fact that Patañjali has not only alluded to it more than once but has clearly shown that the “slaughter of Kāṁsa” as well as “the bondage of Bali” formed the popular subjects for theatrical representation. It is really of historical importance to note that the practice of theatrical performance was in vogue at the time of Patañjali. He has given here a very vivid and exhaustive description of such stage-representations as if he had the occasion of witnessing them with his own eyes. In the course of such dramatic performances, as Patañjali describes,⁴ the actors were divided into two groups, one as the followers of or belonging to the side of Kāṁsa, and the other to that of Kṛṣṇa. But this was not all; they had to colour their faces in different dyes such as red and black, so that the audience might have distinguished them by their artificial physical peculiarities. The account of Kāṁsa’s slaughter does not really occur in the Mahābhārata ;

1 Vol. I, p. 436.

3 Vol. II, p. 119.

2 Vol. I, p. 426.

4 Vol. II, p. 36.

it was probably taken by Patañjali either from the *Harivaṃśa* or from some *Purāṇas* (e.g. *Viṣṇu*) that contain a more detailed account of Kṛṣṇa's career at Mathurā. The *Mahābhārata* deals only with the later phase of Kṛṣṇa's career as it was exhibited during his residence in the city of Dvārakā and Kurukṣetra, and speaks very little about his mysterious activities in connection with Mathurā and Vṛndāvana. It is practically the *Bhāgavata*, the authorship of which is popularly attributed to Vyāsa that gives us a pretty long history of Kṛṣṇa's career in all its various aspects. Patañjali was also, as we have already pointed out, acquainted with the *Purāṇas* which form an important branch of Sanskrit literature. He has again expressly used the words ऐतिहासिक and पौराणिक¹ in such a context as to indicate that *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* constituted two different branches of studies. The *Mahābhārata* was distinctly called an *Itihāsa* by the ancient sages (see *Mahābhārata*, *Ādiparvan*, verse 19, भारतख्येतिहासश्च). Besides 'Kāṃsa-badha' and 'Bali-bandha', Patañjali has mentioned two more Ākhyānas², namely, यावक्रीतिक and यायातिक relating to Yavakṛita and Yayāti respectively. These two stories are fully narrated in the *Mahābhārata*, (*Vana-parvan*, chs. 135-138 and *Udyoga-parvan*, chs. 120-122). Yavakṛita, the son of Bharadvāja, was slain by Raibhya through the instrumentality of two demons, on account of a serious crime committed by him. Patañjali has given an account of Viśvāmitra with particular reference as to how he attained the R̥ṣi-hood³ on behalf of his grandfather (Kusika), father (Gādhi) and himself. The account so far as it relates to the attainment of R̥ṣi-hood by Viśvāmitra is found in the *Mahābhārata* but the rest of the account, as is given in the *Mahābhāṣya*, does not occur there; it is therefore supposed to have been taken from some *Purāṇas*. By the passage दिनेरपथं दैत्यः, चदिनेरपथमादिहः⁴ he has unmistakably referred to the popular legend of Kaśyapa Prajāpati

1 Vol. II, p. 284.

3 Vol. II, p. 254. विश्वामित्ररूपख्येदे ।

2 Vol. II, p. 284.

4 Vol. I, p. 185.

(the first progenitor of mankind) and his two wives, namely Diti and Aditi who gave birth to the demons and the gods respectively. Again, the expression 'वैयासकिः शुक्रः' ¹ is calculated to indicate that Patañjali was acquainted with the history of Śuka's birth as the son of Vyāsa. Śuka is said to have imbibed all knowledge even while he was in the womb of his mother, and figures as the principal speaker in the Bhāgavata. The compound नारदपर्वती ² is based on the story of the two celestial sages i. e. Nārada and Parvata, as narrated in the Mahābhārata. Similarly अम्बरीषपुत्रकः ³ refers to the anecdote of the king Ambariṣa. The expression अहल्यायै नमः at once reminds one of the ancient story relating to Ahalyā and Indra and her consequent transformation into stone. Mention is also made of दिवोदास (vol. III, p. 132) and शुक्रः श्रेष्ठः of whom we hear so much in the Vedic literature as well as in the Purāṇas. The name of सत्यभामा, who is described in the Mahābhārata as a consort of Kṛṣṇa, also occurs in the Mahābhāṣya. Thus, there are good many references in the Mahābhāṣya which are to be found in the Mahābhārata and other Purāṇas of respectable antiquity.

It really excites our wonder to a great extent when we find that no definite reference has been made by Patañjali so far as regards the other great national Epic or Itihāsa, as we may call it, namely, the Rāmāyaṇa. It is almost strange that while Patañjali makes such copious and frequent references to the Mahābhārata he shuts his eyes to the importance of the sister-epic and speaks nothing definitely about the Rāmāyaṇa as such. The conclusion that naturally forces itself upon us is that the Rāmāyaṇa in its present form was either unknown to Patañjali or he had had no occasion of referring directly to the stories of the Rāmāyaṇa just in the same way as he had done with regard to the Mahābhārata. Neither the name of the epic itself, nor the names of heroes therefrom actually occur

¹ Vol. II, p. 253.

² Vol. III, p. 371. See Mahābhārata, Śānti Parvan, 30.

³ Vol. I, p. 281, see Ibid., Droṇa Parvan, 62.

in the Mahābhāṣya. Is it possible that a sacred and beautiful poem, dealing with such a popular legend of antiquity, could have escaped the notice of so orthodox a brāhmin scholar as Patañjali? The Mahābhārata contains altogether 18 consecutive chapters, describing the manifold activities of Rāma from his birth to his final accession to the throne after exterminating the Rākṣasa-race of Lankā. This is, however, considered by the critics as a later interpolation. But it cannot be gainsaid that the story of the Rāmāyaṇa is decidedly older than that of the Mahābhārata, the former dealing with the events of the second Yuga (Tretā). The popular story of the Rāmāyaṇa is believed to have been current as an old tradition or had already passed into a myth long before Vyāsa had conceived the plan of writing such a comprehensive history of India as the Mahābhārata. The epic-kernel of the Rāmāyaṇa was really in existence in some form or other when the Mahābhāṣya was written, though neither the work nor its author (Vālmīki) is directly mentioned by Patañjali. However scanty and inadequate, the few references made by Patañjali may be relied upon in forming the conclusion that the Rāmāyaṇa as a whole or at least some principal events associated with the career of Rāma were well known to our author. Patañjali has in a verse made use of the word रावण¹ which, as everyone knows, distinctly refers to the son of Rāvaṇa, viz. Indrajit. A more convincing evidence is afforded by the expression वानरसेन² so far as the army of Rāma is concerned. Thirdly, the historical account underlying the passage अहल्यायै नमः as used by Patañjali, has been fully given in the Rāmāyaṇa. Reference is further made to the "Kiṣkindhā cave"³ and to such names as Sāketa, Kośala, Kekaya, etc., which are all associated with the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. The sages, namely, Vasiṣṭha,

1 Vol. I, p. 144.

2 Vol. I, p. 281—यस्य वानरसेनेऽस्मिन् यदहं सुपतिरसे ।

3 Vol. III, p. 96.

Jābali, Auddālaki, Viśvāmitra, who appear both in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa are also mentioned by Patañjali. On the basis of these facts we venture to believe that Patañjali was acquainted with the Rāmāyaṇa.

Stories and anecdotes known to Patañjali

Besides the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, other minor stories and anecdotes were also known to Patañjali. He has made a distinction between *Ākhyāna* and *Ākhyāyikā*, long stories as those of Yavakrīta, Priyaṅgu and Yayāti coming under the class of *Ākhyāna*, while smaller stories or anecdotes describing the legends of Vāsavadattā and Udayana and those of Sumanottara etc. being generally known as *Ākhyāyikā*. Many stories were current in ancient India that were transmitted through generations as the common heritage of man. We cannot assign any particular dates to those stories which have come down to us from time immemorial; reference is often made to such tales in ordinary conversation and sometimes moral lessons are derived from them for the instruction of boys. Most of these stories have not only been well preserved, but treated by the poets so ingenuously as they have developed into good poems. Such is the case with the two popular ancient stories that grew into beautiful epic poems in the hands of Vyāsa and Vālmiki. Patañjali has referred to one of such ancient stories in वासवदत्तिक. The story of Udayana and Vāsavadattā has been long known in India as the tale of Troy had been in Greece. Kālidāsa has only incidentally referred to this much talked of story in his Meghadūta¹; while Śrīharṣa has perpetuated it more effectively by selecting this story as the main theme of his famous drama Ratnāvalī. The earliest reference to this story is to be found in the Pāli texts and latterly in the Bṛhatkathā. Mention is also made of another *Ākhyāyikā* by Patañjali, namely, सुमनोत्तर which probably relates

1 प्राप्तावन्तीमुदयनकथाकोविदश्यामहद्वाद्—31.

to the story of "Sumanottara." An anecdote under the title *वृद्धकुमारी* is fully narrated in the *Mahābhāṣya* (vol. III, p. 388). This short story runs as follows: "When *वृद्धकुमारी* (probably a lady who continued to be unmarried even in her advanced age) was requested by Indra to ask a boon from him. She entreated him to grant her such a boon so that her sons might eat rice with milk and butter in a brass-made utensil. Now, as she had no husband, how she could have sons as well as cows and rice? Thus, by a single boon or prayer she skilfully managed to secure all that she desired, viz. sons, cows and rice." We do not know if this story occurs elsewhere, either in the *Purāṇas* or in any earlier poetry. The *Sāṃkhya-kārikās*, it must be remembered, pre-suppose in some cases a number of such popular short stories. These stories sometimes prove useful in elucidating a difficult point in course of literary discussion.

(To be continued)

PRABHATCHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI

The Trade of India

(from the earliest period up to the 2nd century A. D.)

III

XVI. The land trade with western Asia, which revived in the time of Darius, declined in the next age. Alexander, after conquering Egypt, founded the city of Alexandria. He then sacked the city of Tyre and thus its ancient trade was ruined. After the death of Alexander (323 B. C.) there was anarchy in Assyria; a new empire arose in Parthia, and Scythian tribes began their raids on Bactria. These events rendered the great overland caravan trade almost impossible. At the same time Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-246 B.C.), who was ruling in Egypt, strove to take advantage of it and develop the Red Sea trade to the advantage of Egypt. Under him the Suez canal was partially opened and rendered available for commerce. Various caravan routes, provided with wells and stopping places, were opened between the Nile and the Red Sea. Ports were established where the routes terminated, the chief of which were:—Arsinoe (the modern Suez) close to the Egyptian capital; Hormus, the principal port of the Egyptian trade with India, six or seven days' journey from Koptos or the Nile, whence merchandise was floated down to Alexandria. Berenike also an important centre of Egypt's eastern trade. Ptolemias near the Nubian forests, the centre of the elephant trade; and Adutis, the present Massovah, the natural port for Abyssinia and the Soudan.¹ Trade was limited to these ports and supervised by Government officials who levied duties. Egypt to some extent recovered her former wealth and glory. It is said that in the procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus were

¹ Atheneus, quoted by Rawlinson, *India and the Western World* pp. 93-94.

to be found "Indian women, Indian hunting dogs, and Indian crows...also Indian spices carried on camels." But this Indian trade was mostly indirect, for, notwithstanding the attempts of the Ptolemies to free Indian trade from the hands of the Arab intermediaries, Indian goods continued to be transhipped¹ at Muza (Mocha) and Aden, till Trojan reduced the Arabs to subjection in 105 A. D.

XVII. Tsin-chi-hwangti (221-209 B.C.), the great emperor of China, began the Great Wall across the Gobi desert and prepared the way for direct communication with Bactria, and regular caravan trade between China and Bactria began in 188 B. C.² But the Hiung Nu, ancestors of the modern Turks, dominated from Sogdiana to Manchuria, and it was only when Wu-ti, the great Han emperor, (140-86 B. C.) drove them north of the Gobi desert, that the silk trade of China with Europe developed. At first³ it took the following routes: by Khotan across the Himalayas to Kashmir, Gandhāra and Kabul; the Indian and Yavana merchants of Kabul carried the bulk of the silk goods overland skirting the Karmanian desert to the head of the Persian Gulf³, the smaller part went across the Khyber pass to Takṣaśilā and thence down by the Indus to the port at its mouth called Barbaricum (Pātāla ?) by the Greeks or to Mathurā, Ujjain, Bharukaccha, and thence to the head of the Persian Gulf whence it was carried overland by way of Palmyra to Syria or to the coast of Arabia, whence Arab traders took it to Leukē Cōmē at the head of the Red Sea. Chinese silk goods were also, in this age, carried across the Tibetan plateau, by way of Lhasa and Sikkim to the Ganges, on which they were floated down to Tāmralipti, whence they were carried in ships

1 Strabo says that "formerly not even 20 [Greek] vessels ventured to navigate the Arabian gulf". *J.R.A.S.*, 1912, p. 985.

2 A century later, silk was carried *via* Kashgar and Yarkand to Bactria.

3 Kennedy in *J.R.A.S.*, 1912, pp. 990-1.

or overland, skirting the eastern coast of India, to the ports of the Choḷas, the Pāṇḍyas, and the Cheras in Tāmīḷakam. This was supplementary to the sea trade in silk goods with India *via* Indo-China, which developed to a large extent, when on account of the exploits of the Han emperors, Chinese boundaries were extended in the 2nd century B. C. Then gradually the Chera backwaters became a meeting point of the trade from China to the Gulf of Suez.

XVIII. The trade described above, *via* the north-west of India, was much fostered by the Yavana (Indo-Greek) princes who ruled over this region. That explains the wealth of coins issued by these princes during the 2nd and 1st centuries before Christ. Along with this trade Indian culture spread to western Asia. The spread of the Bauddha cult and mystic practices and esoteric societies connected with it to Persia, Syria, Greece and Rome in this period is so well-known that it need not be described. But one particular cult, that was established in Armenia, is worth mention here. In the time of the first Arsacide monarch of Armenia Valarshak (149-127 B. C.), two Indian chiefs established a colony at Vishap on the western Euphrates, west of Lake Van and founded temples for the worship of Gisanī (Kṛṣṇa) and Demeter (Devamitra, Balabhadra?). St. Gregory, the illuminator, led a band of Christians against the colony in the 4th century A. D. In the fight that ensued, the chief priests of the Kṛṣṇa cult were slain, the idols broken, and the temples razed to the ground. A church was built on the site of Demeter's temple, and a cross set up where the Gisanī idol stood. More than 5,000 of the colonists became Christians and 438 sons of the priests and temple servants who remained obdurate had their heads shaved, and were transported to a distant place.¹

In this age, or perhaps much earlier, Indian fairy-tales such as those of the purse of Fortunatus, the league-boots,

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, pp. 309-314 (Kennedy)

the magic mirror, the magic ointment, the invisible cap, etc., found their way to Europe.

XIX. Augustus conquered Egypt in 30 B. C., and he and his successors strove to suppress the Arab traders and pirates, and to develop a direct sea-trade between India and the Roman empire. Strabo says that he saw in 25 B. C. about 120 ships sailing from Hormus to India.¹ In the same year went an Indian embassy with gifts to Augustus, from a king called Porus by some and Pandion by others. Strabo, quoting Nicholas Damaskinos, says that this writer met the Indian ambassadors at Antioch. "It appeared from the letter (of embassy) that their number had been more than three reported as seen by him. The rest had died chiefly in consequence of the length of the journey. The letter from Porus was written in Greek on parchment and that though he was the sovereign of 600 kings, he nevertheless set a high value on being Cæsar's friend, and was willing to grant him a passage at any time through his dominions, and to assist him in any good enterprise. Eight naked servants carried the gifts. They had girdles encircling their waists and were fragrant with ointment. The gift consisted of Hermes, born without arms from the shoulders, large snakes and a serpent ten cubits long and a river-tortoise three cubits long, and a partridge larger than a vulture. They were accompanied, it is said, by the man who burnt himself at Athens. [He], with a smile, leapt upon the pyre naked and anointed and with a girdle round his loins. On his tomb was this inscription, 'Zermanochegas, an Indian from Bargosa having immortalized himself according to the custom of his country, lies here'². Zermanochegas seems to be the Greek rendering of Śramaṇācārya or Jaina guru and the self-immolation, a variety of *sallekhana* or suicide by those who

¹ Quoted by McCrindle, *Anc. Ind.*, p. 6.

² *Ib.*, pp. 10, 77-78.

obtain mokṣa. Dion Cassius says that the presents included tigers, which the Romans as also the Greeks saw for the first time. They gave also a lad without arms, like the statues of Mercury one sees, but who made up for the want of hands by employing his feet, with which he could bend and throw a dart and play on a trumpet."¹ Florus² says that "the Indians, who live under the Sun together with jewels and precious stones, bringing elephants also among their presents, reckoned nothing so much an obligation upon the emperor, as the length of the journey, which they had finished in four years." The Indian king, who sent the embassy, cannot be identified, as the party started from Barygosa (Bharukaccha). It was probably one of the Śātakarni kings. The name Porus, in the account, seems to be a reminiscence of the expedition of Alexander; and the name Pandion is due to the fact, that many Roman traders were in those days settled in the Pāṇḍya-capital. Neither can it be the proper name of the king who wanted to befriend Augustus.

XX. The Indian trade grew rapidly. In 22 A.D. Emperor Tiberius (14-37 A.D.) thought it necessary to write to the Roman Senate, "If a reform is in truth intended, where must it begin? How are we to deal with the peculiar articles of female vanity, and in particular with that rage for jewels and precious trinkets which drain the empire of its wealth, and sends in exchange for baubles the money of the commonwealth to foreign nations?"³ In the time of Emperor Claudius (41-54 A.D.) Arabian domination in the Red Sea was well brought under control. Hippalus, the Roman pilot, 'discovered' about 45 A.D. the periodic change of the monsoon winds. The Romans rewarded the discoverer by giving the name Hippalus to the S. W. monsoon, and utilized the discovery by developing a great direct sea-trade in gems and pearls, sandalwood and ebony, balms and spices and especially pepper of India. This trade grew to enormous proportions in the

1 Ib., p. 79.

2 Ib., p. 78.

3 Tacitus, *Ann.*, iii, 53.

times of Claudius and Nero (54-68 A. D.) so that Pliny complained in 70 A. D. that India drained gold to the value of nearly million pounds a year, "giving back her own wares, which are sold among us at fully a hundred times their first cost."¹ From Pliny we also learn that Nero paid one million sesterces for one cup of emerald (which the Roman writer calls Indian agate)."² Pliny denounced the use of pepper on grounds other than its cost.³ It was during this age that Greek mariners, who had sailed to south Indian ports, carried to Europe tales from the great Epic *Mahābhārata* to which Dion Chrysostom refers.

XXI. About 60 A.D. an Egyptian Greek merchant, whose name we do not know, an inhabitant of Berenike wrote the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* which forms "the first record of organised trading" between the east and the west. It marks the establishment of the direct trade of Rome with India without the intervention of the Semitic races of Mesopotamia, Arabia or Syria, or of the Yavanas, who had settled along the overland trade-routes.

The chief East African ports at this time were Ptolemais, the centre of trade in elephants, ivory and tortoise-shell, and Adulis (Massowa), from which ran a road to Axum, the ancient capital of Abyssinia. Indian traders, who wanted to avoid the intervention of Arabs, who still infested the Red Sea, landed their goods at Adulis, and took them to Axum and

1 Pliny, *Nat. His.*, vi. 26.

2 *Ib.*, xxxvii. 7. 8.

3 "It is quite surprising that the use of pepper has come so much into fashion, seeing that in other substances which we use, it is sometimes their sweetness, and sometimes their appearance that has attracted our notice; whereas, pepper has nothing in it that can plead as a recommendation to either fruit or berry, its only desirable quality being a certain pungency; and yet it is for this that we import it all the way from India! Who was the first to make trial of it as an article of food? And who, I wonder, was the man that was not content to prepare himself by hunger only for satisfying a greedy appetite." *Ib.*, xii. 14; Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

thence to Alexandria overland. Ujjain, Bharukaccha, Axum, and Alexandria were in close connection during the first and second centuries, and the observer of the early relations between Buddhism and Christianity may find, along this frequented route, greater evidence of mutual influence than along the relatively obstructed overland route through Parthia to Antioch and Ephesus.¹ One such evidence Fergusson notes in the great structure at Axum, about which he says, is "the idea is Egyptian, the details are Indian, an Indian nine-storied pagoda, translated in Egyptian in the first century of the Christian era;" he also remarks that it represents "the curious marriage of Indian with Egyptian art which we would expect to find in the spot where the two people came into contact and enlisted architecture to symbolize their commercial union."² Along this route, probably, came to Ujjain, Greek astrology and astronomy, which, blended with the pre-existing Indian astronomy, reached a high degree of development on Indian soil.

The chief Somali ports were Avalites, Malce, Mundus, Mosyllum, Cape Elephant, Acanuce "where alone is produced the far-side frankincense in great quantity and of the best grade," and the Cape of Spices (Cape Guardafui). To these ports were brought from the opposite coast of Surāstra flint glass, wheat, iron, cotton cloth, Indian copal (dammar), rice, ghee, sesame oil, girdles and jaggery. These articles were exchanged for ivory, tortoise-shell, but chiefly cinnamon and frankincense.³ This trade has persisted to some extent to this day.

The chief places of trade with Arabia were Muza (Mocha), Saphar, Eudæmon (Aden, the great meeting place of Egyptian, and Arabian traders), Cana, Syagrus, the island of Socotra Moscha, and the island of Sarapis. The Indian articles imported were coloured cloths, saffron, muslins, rice, wheat,

¹ Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 64.

² *Hist. of Arch*, I, 142-3.

³ *Periplus*, 7-18.

female slaves and sesame oil, and those exported were myrrh, frankincense, aloes, and tortoise-shells.¹

The chief Persian Gulf ports were Apologus and Ormana, where white pearls, dates, wine, gold and slaves were exchanged for copper, sandalwood, teakwood, blackwood and ebony from India.² These "slaves" were Greek girls, wanted for service in Indian courts, both in the north and south of the country.

The chief port of Sind, which the *Periplus* calls Scythia because it was ruled by Śaka kings, was Barbaricum, "subject to Parthian princes who are constantly driving each other out and whose capital was Minnagara."³ "The ships lie at anchor at Barbaricum, but all their cargoes are carried up to the metropolis, by the river, to the king. There are imported into this market-place a great deal of their clothing and a little spurious figured linen, topaz, coral, storax, frankincense, vessels of glass, silver and gold plate, and a little wine. On the other hand there are exported costus, bdellium, lycium, nard, turquoise, lapis lazuli, Seric skins, cotton cloths, silk yarns and indigo." The *Periplus* says that the Parthian (Śaka-Pallava) princes of the Indus valley were "constantly driving each other out." Perhaps this disorganised state of "Indo-Scythia", the Śaka dominions in the North-western India, was due to Vikramāditya Śakāri's signal defeat of them in 56 B.C., which is commemorated in the Vikrama Era.

XXII. The premier port of India in those days was Barygaza (Bharukaccha) on the coast called Syrashtane (Surāṣṭra). The country adjoining was Abiria (Ābhira) "a fertile country, yielding butter, wheat, rice, sesame oil and clarified butter, cotton and the Indian cloths made therefrom of the coarser sorts; very many cattle are pastured there (the Ābhiras were from time immemorial famous herdsmen) and the men are of great stature and black in colour. The metropolis of the country is (another) Minnagara, from

1 *Periplus*, 21-33.

2 *Ib.*, 35-36.

3 *Ib.*, 39.

which much cotton cloth is brought down to Barygaza."¹ From Ujjain in the east, "formerly a royal capital," were brought all things needed for the welfare of the country about Barygaza, and many things for trade: agate and cornelian, Indian muslins and mallow cloth, and much ordinary cloth,"² besides spikenard, costus, and bdellium from the Himalayan regions, silk-cloth from China, *via* Kabul, and yarn and pepper from South India. The articles imported at Bharukaccha (now Broach) were, "wine (Italian preferred, also Laodicean and Arabian), copper, tin, lead, coral and topaz, thin clothing and inferior sorts of all kinds, bright coloured girdles a cubit wide, storax, sweet clover, flint glass, realgar, antimony, gold and silver coin, on which there is a profit when exchanged for the money of the country, and ointment but not very costly and not much. And for the king there are brought into those places very costly vessels of silver, singing boys, beautiful maidens for the harem, thin clothing of the finest weaves and the choicest ointments,"³ Apparently some of these luxuries for the king⁴ were as much from other parts of India as from foreign countries.

(To be continued)

P. T. SRINIVASA IYANGAR

¹ *Periplus*, 41. Fleet identifies this Minnagara with Dohad in the Panch Mahals. *JRAS.*, 1912, p. 788.

² *Periplus*, 48.

³ *Ib.*, 49

⁴ The author of the *Periplus* calls him Mambanons or Nambanus, and Fleet identifies him with Nahapana (*JRAS.*, 1907, p. 1043); but R. D. Banerjee has proved that Nahapana must have died long before this date (*JRAS.*, 1907, pp. 273-289). Mambanos was probably a Raja, of whom the Andhra Emperors were suzerains (*Samvāt*).

A Comparative Survey of Indian Painting

'In the house in which there are paintings, fortune prospers' is a sentiment which occurs in the *Viṣṇudharmottaram*, one of the earliest technical books of the Hindus, so far discovered, dealing with art. It is a truly Indian sentiment. So, long before we read of art galleries among the foremost western nations of the present day, Indian kings had their *Citraśālās* or art galleries. The *Pāli Vinaya Piṭaka* and *Jātakas* and many Sanskrit works mention them.¹ The allusion to the "Hall of Paintings" in a famous Chinese work of art of the ninth century B.C. or earlier has been declared by a well-known orientalist, Dr. Voretzsch, to be unsupported by Chinese literary evidence. May we not, therefore, consider that the expression was borrowed from India, for 'chamber of paintings' is a literal translation of the Sanskrit *Citraśālā*? Should this be so, it would go to prove the antiquity of galleries or museums of art in India, and the love for art which must have been prevalent in this country. To return to our subject, practically nothing of the very early period in which painting as an art must have been practised in India exists. According to the evidence afforded by early literature and technical works of a later date like the *Viṣṇudharmottaram*² and *Śilparatnam*³ the art of painting frescoes on the walls of religious edifices, public buildings and even private houses must have been practised in ages much anterior to these works and had been handed down as a living tradition. It was indeed something much more than a tradition. From the elaborate instructions given in the technical books it would appear that mural painting must have been widely practised. The two

1 Vide Journ. Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc., 1923.

2 Publ., Venkatesvar Press, Bombay, 1923.

3 Publ., Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 1922.

books mentioned are the principal sources of our information regarding the theory and practice of painting amongst the Hindus. The Citrasūtras, concerning which we read, are lost precepts of a much older date on art. Besides fresco, the Viṣṇudharmottaram also speaks of tempera painting on wood, cloth and even leather but it makes no mention of painting on silk or palm leaves.

The Jogīmārā cave paintings were till very recently considered to be the earliest paintings, of which traces still exist. These contain some apparently very old and almost unrecognizable paintings "vigorously outlined" and some not so ancient in which the line work has been described as "tolerably dexterous and bold."¹ The colouring or so much of it as remains may have been repaintings of a later date and the red, crimson, black and yellow bands which divide the panels painted in concentric circles are indifferently executed. What is even more important than the excellence of some of the drawings is the fact that the figures delineated, the chariots and caitya halls, all recall early Buddhist reliefs.² Eminent archæologists have ascribed these primitive paintings variously to the third century and to the first century before the Christian era. Even anterior to these paintings are some paintings described as prehistoric at Singhanpur in Ruigar state discovered by Anderson and pre-historic paintings have been discovered at Hosangabad and elsewhere. Probably the oldest 'graffiti' drawings are in the Kupgal hill in the Bellary district and are associated with neolithic remains discovered by Capt. Newbold.³ Pre-historic outline drawings in red ochre were found in the Nizam's dominions by Bruce-Foote.⁴ These pre-historic drawings and paintings have some

1 Cambridge History of India, I, p. 642.

2 Arch. Surv. Ind., Ann. Rep., 1903-04, pp. 130-131.

3 Madras Jour. Lit. and Science, vol. 7, 1838; R. Bruce-Foote, Indian Prehistoric and Proto-historic antiquities, pp. 88-89.

4 R. Bruce-Foote, op. cit., p. 127.

common elements of resemblance to prehistoric art remains discovered chiefly in Spain and France. The Singhanpur paintings¹ of men and animals are said to resemble those at Cogul in Spain. Apart from the primitive art of these rock paintings which are inchoate efforts to picture hunting scenes and the life of the tribe, early Indian art is intimately connected with religion.

A legend in the *Divyāvadāna* speaks of the paintings of Buddha's portrait from life by the painters of the court of Bimbisāra from which it would seem that even portrait painting was known long prior to Buddha's time but European scholars deny this and consider the story an anachronism.²

With Ajanta we come to what may be called the historic period of Indian art. The paintings in the different caves of Ajanta are supposed to have been executed at various periods from the 1st to the 7th century A. D., but these dates have not been conclusively proved to be final and it would not be surprising if more adequate scholarship and research put back the earliest date a few centuries earlier. Critics who have never visited India have said that the Ajanta paintings must be considered as 'primitive' but to our mind many centuries of artistic development, the history of which is now lost, must have contributed to the making of these precious mural documents which represent that Indian painting arrived at perfection. Who, capable of artistic enjoyment, can remain unmoved at the sight of these wonderful art productions of the glorious past which baffle description, and attempts at reproduction can never convey the monumental grandeur and beauty of the originals. Ajanta could not have been an isolated instance of contemporary painting. When the Ajanta frescoes were painted, there must have been

1 C. W. Anderson, *The Rock-paintings of Singhanpur*—*Journ. Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc.*, 1918.

2 Vide *Sur les Illustrations Tibétaines d'une Légenda du Divyāvadāna* par J. Hackin, *Ann. d. Mus. Guimet*, tome 40, pp. 145 ff.

many other artists richly decorating many a palace and shrine but these have long perished. The Ajanta paintings were discovered only in 1817. Let us hope that other equally old, if not older, paintings, though we dare not hope better, will be found in the future, for much yet remains to be done by the archæologist. In the Ajanta frescoes there is a vastness of conception, force of expression, perfect grace, a complete mastery of the materials of the painter and an Indianness which are unique. They are the greatest examples of figure painting in the whole range of Indian art. Next to them in importance are the paintings in the Bagh caves and those at Sigiriya in Ceylon. These frescoes are not splendid monuments of luxury like the late Hellenistic art of Pompeii. They are the fruits of the pious labour of Buddhist monks whose life's pleasure it was to enrich the living rock with the life history of the Divine Master.

The art of Ajanta is not *merely* the religious art of a nation. The Ajanta artists found their inspiration in the human and animal life surrounding them. Hence we have representations of human scenes. Many nations appear on these walls and we think we can detect even men from Bengal. Again the paintings of animals and birds are extraordinarily sympathetic while there are exquisite gems of decorative art in the panels of foliage and bird life. Immediately following the latest paintings in the Ajanta caves, we have the remains of cave paintings in Bagh in Gwalior State, copies of which have been made by pupils of the Calcutta School while the Principal of the Lucknow School of Art has published a small monograph¹ on them. These follow the Ajanta tradition and strengthen the view that there must have been through many centuries a great school of mural painters. Cave paintings have been newly discovered in the Madras Presidency at Sittanavasal near Pudukottai and ascribed to the seventh

¹ The Bagh Caves by Asit Kumar Halder in the 'Bengalee'; vide also the 'Rûpam,' No. 8.

century.¹ These paintings are in a Jain rock-cut temple again akin to the Ajanta style though less forceful and impressive. It is a moot question whether this great tradition suddenly disappeared from the land with the first Muhammadan invasions or whether it spread far and wide with the growth of Buddhism and was assimilated by local schools, and in that process lost its pristine vigour and assumed forms, the parentage of which has become in process of time and in course of development or deterioration a matter of uncertainty. There can be no doubt, and the Chinese themselves are the first to acknowledge it, that China borrowed from India not only the religion of Buddha but along with it the literature and the culture of Indian Buddhism. When China looked up towards India for inspiration in her higher thought, can it be doubted that her art, too, was profoundly influenced by the mother country of her religion? There is a device used in the Ajanta frescoes of shading to obtain relief wholly unknown to Chinese art but which appears in the wall paintings of the Golden Hall at Horyuiji in Japan. We are told in Chinese books² that the principal painter of the Liang dynasty introduced this purely Indian technique into China and it was thence carried into Japan. This is perhaps not a great matter by itself but the testimony of the Chinese witnesses is of great importance. Through China this art tradition was brought to Japan. It was carried into Central Asia, Khotan, Tun-huang, Turfan and other places either north-ward from India or through that great country which reached such a marvellous perfection in art as to outshine the best that India could give at a later age. In recent times it is becoming a fashion with western students of art to deny or under-rate the art influence of India on other Asiatic countries but we think such an attitude does India no small injustice. On the other hand it would be equally unjust to say that any of

1 G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *The Pallava Painting*.

2 A. Waley, *Chinese Painting*, p. 83.

these countries owed its art entirely to India. Each had its indigenous art, probably each was largely influenced by Indian art but that art was so assimilated that it was the country's art which remained though made immensely richer. Banners and wall-paintings occur in the Central Asian find-spots notably at Tun-huang in which we can glimpse the art of Nepal and through her Ajanta. But the greatest influence exercised, and quite naturally, on the art of these Central Asian regions was by the contemporary art of China then in a truer sense a living inspiration than Ajanta on account of China's intimate relations with them. Each of these Central Asian remains is in consequence hardly anything more than Chinese provincial art. The picture of the child in the painting from the grottoes of the Thousand Buddhas¹ is typical of those paintings in which Chinese art stands out vividly.

After the cave paintings the next documents in the art history of India are not temple walls but the miniatures of palm-leaf manuscripts of the Buddhist religion. The scene has shifted and these manuscripts do not come from western India or from the south. They come from Bengal and Nepal (Plate I, A.)² but still in the graceful attitudes of the divinities and in the scenes from Buddha's life they are an echo of the art of Ajanta though a far-off echo. We are told that the miniatures of the two most important of the existing manuscripts are copies of older paintings executed in Nepal before the end of the 11th century. The painting of mythological pictures in Nepal and Tibet was, and still is, a stereotyped art which has descended from old times. If this be true then these are not the earliest but probably the last remains of an art of illuminating manuscripts which may have existed for several centuries earlier. Here, too, we have drawings which depend for their beauty mainly on the sure handling of the brush in

1 The Thousand Buddhas, Pl. XLVI.

2 A. Foucher, *L'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, Pl. V. v., pp. 38-40.

PLATE I



Hālāhala Lokeśvara

Miniature from a palm leaf Ms. of the Pālā period
A. S. B. Ms. A. 15



The birth of Mahāvīra

Miniature from a Kalpa-sūtra Ms. dated equivalent to 1480 A. D.
Ghose Collection



Malkaus Rāga
Early Rājput Rāgini painting. Circa 1580 A. D.
Ghose Collection

I. H. Q. June, 1926



A Mughal portrait—seventeenth century
Ghose Collection

PLATE IV



The bearers of offerings to Kṛṣṇa
Old Bengal painting on cotton cloth
Seventeenth century or earlier
Ghose Collection

I H. Q., June, 1926

PLATE V



The Tāntrik worshipper surprised by Vaiṣṇavas
Painted Bengal manuscript cover of the seventeenth century
Ghose Collection

I H. Q., June, 1926



The Musician
Kangra drawing—Early nineteenth century
Ghose Collection

drawing the outline though the simple but vivid colour schemes, in which again as in all the cave paintings mineral colours have been employed, are most striking. We find Nepalese manuscripts on paper in succeeding centuries all repeating this same hierarchical art but the hand of the painter has now lost its magic touch and compared to the earlier palm-leaf examples the later work is poor and weak. The painting of the Nepalese and Tibetan banners is analogous to this art though on a larger scale. The debt of Tibetan art, whether plastic or pictorial, to Nepalese art, and I would say through Nepalese art to Bengal art under the Pal emperors, admits of no doubt.

We go back again to Western India—to Guzerat and Rajputana, and there, almost in the beginning of the fifteenth century, we find another art—the art of the Jainas, which, though not wholly dissimilar to some of the manuscript paintings of the Buddhists, nevertheless, has some strongly marked characteristics in the peculiarly angular physiognomy of the men and women and in the extraordinary drawing of the big eyes which are unduly elongated and often projected to the nose and even beyond (Plate I, B.). One of the earliest dated illustrated Jain manuscripts of the 15th century, a beautifully written and beautifully illustrated *Kalpa Sūtra*, is in my possession. In these manuscripts we for the first time come upon that lavish use of gold by painters which later became such a feature of Mughal, Rajput and Kangra art. These people wrote on silver and painted on gold and in the early manuscripts the whole space¹ filled by a miniature appears to have been coated with gold which was covered with a rich scarlet pigment to form the background while on the shining gold itself were outlined the forms of gods and heroes, colour being used only for the dresses and ornaments. These manuscripts, too, we would say, are survivals from an earlier age when Jain artists

1 According to Coomaraswamy, *Notes on Jaina Art*, Journ. Ind. Art., vol. 15, p. 91, but the statement seems to be not strictly accurate.

decorated palm-leaf manuscripts with these identical scenes and which goes beyond the earliest Jain illustrated palm-leaf manuscript now known. This hieratic art gradually changes its characteristics after the sixteenth century under the influence of Mughal and Rajput art as we now know it; it gravitates towards the latter till in the eighteenth century it becomes, indeed, a form of Rajput art. Of very great importance in the history of Indian painting are the painted covers of Jaina Mss., very early examples of which are in my collection. From the religious art of the Jainas, let us turn to what has been called Jaina 'secular art'. Our knowledge of these is derived mainly from a series of paintings illustrating the story of Lor and Cāndā and an illustrated manuscript of the Vasanta Vilās about which we have heard lately.¹ In all these illustrations we find the characteristic features of Jaina religious art but there is nothing in them for which we must connect them with Jainism. I am convinced that these examples of the so-called Jaina secular art are in reality survivals of the early art expression of the people of Rajputana prior to its development under the court patronage of the rapidly growing Rajput principalities, which, as is well known of Chitore, prized the art of painting equally with poetry and music. We find the salient characteristics of these paintings—this very type, indeed,—far and wide in the painted book covers of the United Provinces, of Orissa and even of Bengal, examples of all of which are in my collection, but there appears no reason for calling the art of any of these countries, associated as they were when these specimens were painted with the worship of Rāma or Kṛṣṇa, Jaina art or even Jaina secular art. A maturer expression of this art is to be found in the so-called "primitive Rajput Rāginis," examples from the earliest series of which are in my collection (Plate II). An apparently later series is represented

¹ N. C. Mehta, *Indian Painting in the Fifteenth Century—Rūpam*, 1925.

in the Coomaraswamy collection in Boston.¹ Have we not the same eyes here though more naturally drawn? The faces and dresses have changed, Now we are in the age of Rajput chivalry and kings and warriors figure in these paintings. It is not possible to deal with this absorbing theme of the origin of Rajput art in this paper but I throw out my suggestions which I hope to work out later. It is certain that Rajput art was not a sudden outcome of the Mughal rule. A foreign civilization cannot affect the arts of a conservative people unless there is peaceful intercourse between the two. This relationship certainly did not exist between the Rajput states and the Mughals till we come well into the reign of Akbar. Authenticated specimens of wall-paintings at Bikaner, Amber and Udaipur go back to the seventeenth century and earlier examples may exist at other places.

Before proceeding to deal with the art of Rajputana and the Western Himalaya it would be proper to say a word regarding the Mughal painting. Persian painting was introduced into India by Babur and was patronised by Humayun. But it was in Akbar's reign that that phase of Indian art which we style Mughal art developed. The emperor, who was passionately fond of painting, was the most magnificent patron of arts that India, or possibly the world, has ever known. His painters, the great majority of whom were Hindus, were no doubt at first considerably influenced by the great Timurid and Safavid schools, especially by the former; but they soon developed an absolutely distinctive style from which foreign elements vanished. This was Mughal painting—the painting fostered by the Mughal emperors. It was the product of the combination of Hindu talent with Muhammadan technique. It drew its inspiration mainly from history and was pre-eminent in portraiture. It drew marvellously realistic portraits full of character and individuality (Plate III); it delighted

1 A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Paintings*, vol. II., Pts. I, II, IIIA and IIIB.

in depicting battle fields and court scenes, in illustrating the hunt and anecdotes about monarchs—it was an art patronised by kings and existing for their pleasure and glorification. It rarely makes that strong appeal to the imagination which much of Rajput art and Kangra art does. Mughal art at its inception like Persian art was an art of illustration. Akbar employed his court painters in magnificently illustrating beautifully written manuscripts. As illuminators they are scarcely inferior to the Persian masters while as portrait painters they stand unrivalled in Islamic art. Altogether Mughal art is more virile than the more pleasing art of Kangra. Rajput painting in the seventeenth century was largely influenced by Mughal art, though characteristic differences of style and temperament are observable. The *Rāgamālā* paintings above referred to are the finest products not only of Rajput but of all Hindu art. The term Rajput painting has been used so far to include both the paintings of Rajputana itself and the paintings of the numerous small hill states of the western Himalayas. But, while the art of Rajputana, especially of Jaipur, after approximating closely to Mughal art had in the latter part of the eighteenth century deteriorated considerably, the hill states, led by the Kangra school, developed an altogether new style which was known locally as the *Kangraqalm*.¹ The best products of the Kangra painters date from about the middle of the eighteenth century till about a hundred years ago. As the political power of these small states almost vanished with the rise of the Sikh power, their art, which was the product of kingly patronage, also suffered and though painters continued for

1 Kangra District Gazetteer, 1883-84. The passage is of such importance that no apology is needed for giving it in full: "Kangra ki qalm is a phrase occasionally heard among native draughtsmen, who profess to be able to distinguish the qalm—meaning touch or style in this case—of a sort of school of illumination and picture-painting that is supposed to have flourished at Kangra."

The art of Bengal, and of Orissa (which is closely related to Bengal art) must be mentioned here, though neither has been recognised so far by writers on Indian paintings. The subject is unfamiliar owing to the rarity of examples. The painting reproduced on Plate IV is a remarkable specimen of painting on cotton cloth so often mentioned in Sanskrit literature. The painted manuscript covers of Bengal (Plate V) with their vigour of draughtsmanship, their wonderful colour composition and their illustration of the spirit (of devotion for they deal mostly with Vaiṣṇava subjects such as the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa or Caitanya's *samkirtans*) are of surpassing value in the history of Indian art. A word should be said about the early Rāmāyaṇa rolls which in colour and composition have the qualities of mural painting in spite of their technical deficiencies and which vividly recall Egyptian paintings and the paintings on Greek vases. It is worthy of note that they were the work of rustic wandering minstrels who recited their songs as they unfolded their graphic representations of the Rāmāyaṇa story.

In the ancient art of Ajanta the bold linear construction is easily recognisable and is most effective. The line drawing is brushwork. For beauty of outline the great Mughal and Rajput painters are hard to beat. Their line is a fine sensitive but firmly drawn line, often done, as in the case of Mughal paintings, with a single squirrel's hair though the Kangra artists did not disdain the use of ochre and even pencil. We find the line drawing again asserting its claim as a powerful medium of expression in the folk-art of Bengal from the beginning of the last century right down to about fifty years back. Once again the line is drawn with the brush, not with a fine hardly visible single hair, but with a brush which with one sweep as it were boldly draws whole figures in which line and curve blend in rhythmic harmony. The drawing of Śiva at the foot of this article is a fair example of this art. Apart from this folk-art, what has been the art history of India from the middle of the last century? Under the strange assumption that the fine arts never existed in India and that western art principles

sometime longer their art has nothing of the beauty of the earlier work. Some earlier paintings which have been attributed to Jammu but probably belong to the Kangra and neighbouring districts are remarkable for their rich mineral colouring, bold draughtsmanship and vigour of composition. The best examples of this earlier art are the large Rāmāyaṇa paintings of the siege of Lāṅkā in the Boston and New York museums and in my own collection. Love was the absorbing theme of Kangra art and the theme the artists selected viz., the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, has been the favourite theme of Indian poets from Jayadeva to Rabindranath. Here I may mention that I have been fortunate enough to secure a unique series of lovely illustrations of the Gītagovinda and an illustrated Nayikā Ms. by Mahākavi Ray.¹ The special charm of Kangra paintings lies in their delicacy of line and grace and their use of colours of extraordinary richness and purity which European artists may well envy. There are marked characteristics in the drawing. The figures are nearly always in profile and the pictures of ladies with long fine eyelashes, unusually lengthened and beautiful languishing eyes, straight and slightly pointed noses, slightly pointed chins and fine delicate faces less oval than the Mughal ladies are a type in themselves—the loveliness of which a poet alone can describe (Plate VI).² Whereas the painters of Mandi, Garhwal, Guler, Judd and Jammu looked to Kangra for their inspiration we have no evidence that the painters in Rajputana—in Jaipur, Alwar, Udaipur—ever developed the distinctive technique and manner of Kangra. Mention must be made of the painters of Basohli, who developed a distinctive and rich style anterior to Kangra and excellent examples of whose work are the Gīta Govinda illustrations in my collection mentioned above.

1 See Introduction by Percy Brown to the Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Paintings from the Ghose Collection, 1925.

2 The reproduction very imperfectly conveys the rare quality of the original.

were good and wholesome for the Indian, the art schools in this country for a long time confined themselves strictly to the teaching of western art without taking into account the natural instincts and traditions of the race. Opinion has changed mainly owing to the efforts of E. B. Havell, and the importance of a study of old Indian art as a part of an artist's training is now generally recognised. On the other hand, it is worthy of note that one of the foremost exponents of old Indian art has recently made this weighty pronouncement: "Tradition is a living thing and utterly unlike the copying of styles, which has replaced tradition in modern life. No such failure of energy, as archaism represents, appears in Indian art before the twentieth century". The new Calcutta school is a reaction against the Europeanised art of which Ravi Varma remains the type. It is the outcome of a renaissance of Indian culture brought about by that very education which in the domain of art had such a baneful effect. Disillusionment has taken place as regards the utility of copying western models. We see born out of the tense yearning for the revival of the glorious traditions of old Indian culture a new enthusiasm for the fine craftsmanship of the older schools. It is thus really a resuscitation of artistic craftsmanship modelled upon old Indian art. The new school is first and foremost Indian. From this Indianness has arisen its respect for a long neglected medium and rejection of a medium altogether foreign not only to Indian but to all Asiatic art. In its imitation of the conventions of the old schools, in its insistence on the forms of art of a bygone age beautiful in their simplicity and in their choice of subjects for artistic treatment from the old mythology and romantic traditions, it is a revival of Hindu painting at its best. But there are modern artists who are not content to follow the old tradition. In their attempt to strike the imagination they are essaying the best methods of the Far East and all that is new in the West. Let us wait and see where all these efforts will lead us. Mere

copying of old models can never produce great art ; what is required is creative power. Happily a few of the leading exponents of the new school have shown proofs of this gift. They are the teachers of the coming generation. With the joy of hope we await a new dawn fragrant with flowers which have bloomed in the night to illumine the artistic life of the people.

To conclude, the old art of India ever haunts us like a sweet enchantment wafting faint perfumes of lost ages, lost beauties, lost glories. The passion for that art will grow in the fullness of years. While the art of India will continue a revivifying and ever present influence in the land of its birth, it will receive the respectful homage of all who will try to understand it in every country and in all times to come.

AJIT GHOSE



Śiva

Bengal Paṭa drawing — Ghose Collection.

The Kedārpur Copper-plate Inscription of Śrī Candradeva

PART I. INTRODUCTORY

This copper-plate inscription was discovered at Kedārpur village, Police station Pālaṅg in the district of Faridpur in 1325 B. S. and it is now deposited in the Dacca Museum.

The copper-plate bears on the top an inscribed seal with the emblem of the Buddhist Dharmacakra and two couchant deer on two sides. Below the wheel is inscribed 'Śrī-Candradevaḥ.'

The epigraph is of a quite peculiar type, for it comes abruptly to an end after a description of the lineage of a certain Candra family. The inscription begins with a benedictory verse wherein the Triratna is mentioned. Next, is mentioned one Pūrṇa Candra who seems to have led his army in expeditions. From him sprang Suvarṇa Candra noted for his purity of character. His illustrious son was Trailokya Candradeva. He seems to be the first person in the family to have carved out a considerable kingdom and to have assumed the title of Mahārājādhirāja. Though he conquered his opponents he was not much attached to worldly passions and was a Buddhist. From him sprang Śrī Candradeva who first assumed the imperial title. The copper-plate ends by mentioning him, as in camp at Śrī Vikramapura.

Two other inscriptions of this family are already known, viz., the Idilpur copper-plate inscription of Śrī Candradeva of which a summary by late Bābu Gaṅgāmohan Laskar, M.A. was published in the *Dacca Review*, (1912, October) and the Rāmpāl copper-plate inscription, also of Śrī Candra edited by Professor R. G. Vasāk, M.A. [*E. I.*, vol. XII, (1913-1914)].

Mr. Nalinī Kānta Bhaṭṭaśāli published a version of the text and a reduced facsimile of this new epigraph in the Bengali monthly *Pratibhā* for Āśvin, 1326 B. S.

As the engraving was badly done, the epigraph must be carefully examined before accepting the important conclusions drawn by Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin from the apparently unsatisfactory version of the text, published by him. Accordingly, I was directed by Bābu Akṣaya Kumāra Maitreya

to re-read the inscription, with the help of the reduced facsimile impression issued in the *Pratibhā* and also of a rather unsatisfactory ink estampage, (procured from the Dacca Museum), and placed at my disposal.¹

The copper-plate bears an inscription on one side only in Bengali letters of the early 11th century and the language is Sanskrit throughout, the first fifteen lines being in poetry divided into 7 verses, and the rest in prose.

From a more careful examination of the text, it is evident that the composition is not really so corrupt as Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālini thought it to be.

But in restoring a corrupt text the proposed emendations should as little alter the metrical arrangement or sequence of thought and sense as possible. Also to make out a text from the confusion and interchange of the five nasals and anusvāra, 'ja' and 'ya', 'ba' and 'va', 'ṇa' and 'na', and of the three sibilants, etc. is not philologically impossible. Besides these difficulties, mistakes might also result from the composer's and the

1 The first and the chief part of this article was prepared (as early as the first quarter of 1920) during my tutelage to Bābu Akṣaya Kumāra Maitreya, C.I.E., as a Govt. Post-graduate Research Scholar in Archaeology at Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, when Professor Rādhā Govinda Vasāk, M.A. (now of the Dacca University) was the Hony. Secretary of the Institution.

Then, I took note only of the Bengali paper on the epigraph in question, published at the time by Mr. Nalinikānta Bhaṭṭaśālini, Curator, Dacca Museum. He has also lately published an English version of the text in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVII, No. 12. In the latter version, which I have duly referred to, Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālini has fully modified his chief conclusions, on a line with the suggestions made in this paper, though no reasons are stated for this change of opinion. My paper, however, could not unfortunately be published previously, as a typed copy of the paper, together with the only estampage in my possession submitted to the *J. B. O. R. S.*, was, I was told, somehow lost.

It was however possible for me to proceed to the Dacca Museum in the first part of July, 1924, in order to examine the plate and to check my readings and conclusions.

As I do not find any reasons to change or modify any of these, my paper is published practically in the original form—as the necessity for bringing out my new edition of the epigraph still remains intact, especially on account of the importance of the critical notes given and the problems discussed.

engraver's insufficient knowledge of the language and lastly from lack of the latter's technical skill.

A comparison of Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's readings and interpretations with those, herein proposed, will show the points of agreement and difference. As the latter are striking and the epigraph is peculiar, it is absolutely necessary to consider one by one, the more important points of difference as they seriously modify the propositions adduced by Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin.

Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin reads and translates the 3rd *śloka* as follows :—

नासी विशुद्धो न कुलाधिपदः
किंतु प्रकृत्यैव पूतो गरिष्ठः ।
तथापि कल्याण सुवर्णकल्पः
सुवर्णं चन्द्रं सुकृती ततोभूत् ॥

'Pūrṇa Candra was not purified, did not ascend to such a position in a good family—pure and respectable, by nature, therefore, he was not' [Vide प्रतिभा, आश्विन (१२२६), पृ० २३६]

Some pages, later, Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin reads the same lines as follows :—

नासी विशुद्धो न कुलाधिपदः
किन्तु प्रकृत्यैव पूतो गरिष्ठः ॥
तथापि कल्याण सुवर्णकल्पः
सुवर्णं चन्द्रं सुकृती ततो भूत् ॥

The first two lines he further corrects as नासी.....गरिष्ठः ॥ The 4 lines are translated as follows :—

"He was not pure ; he did not ascend the balance, i.e., he was not pure or born in a princely family—though, by nature he was of good character and respectable. Nevertheless, from him sprang a son, possessed of virtue and likened to the auspicious gold, Suvarṇa Candra by name." [Vide प्रतिभा, pp. 238-239]

Also "there is a *śloka* in the *śloka*, viz.—'Gold is freed from impurities and weighed in balance. Pūrṇa Candra was not made like that, but was, by very nature, of pure character and noble ; and in spite of the above-named deficiencies (a son named) Suvarṇa (gold) was born from him. More plainly speaking,—he was not personally 'Suvarṇa' (gold) but was the father of 'Suvarṇa' (gold). There is also a little more indication in the two words विशुद्ध and कुलाधिपद that Pūrṇa Candra was not pure like the Brāhmaṇas, etc., nor had he the position of Kṣatriya princes who are weighed in balance i.e. he neither belonged to a high class nor was born in a princely family." [The quotations are literal translations].

But all the above conclusions of Mr. Bhaṭṭasālin are based upon erroneous readings of *śloka* 3, which should be read as follows :

नामो विग्रहो न तुलाधिष्ठः
किन्तु प्रकृत्यैव युतो गरिष्ठा
तथापि कल्याणसुवर्षकल्पः
सुवर्षचन्द्रस्मृकती ततोभूत् ॥

Its proposed translation is also given herein, some pages below.

1. Mr. Bhaṭṭasālin's [previous] readings violate metre and also his corrections are unnecessary, while he takes (both in the Bengali and the English versions) the first two lines of *śloka* 3 to belong to Pūrṇa Candia, though they really refer to Suvarṇa Candra. For the above reasons, Mr. Bhaṭṭasālin's readings of *śloka* 3 and consequently his interpretations, also, are untenable.

2. Mr. Bhaṭṭasālin secondly puts forward a very important proposition, viz., the identification of Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna Atiśa with the 2nd son of king Śrī Candra and his descent from the (Sādhu) Sāhu or Śāhā caste. Before accepting this important proposition it is necessary to examine if there are the necessary and sufficient grounds for such conjecture.

Mr. Bhaṭṭasālin's arguments may be stated as follows under three heads :—

a. Atiśa was the 2nd son of his father Mahārājā Kalyāṇa Śrī, the then king of Vikramapura. As Atiśa was born in 980 A.D. consequently his father must have ruled at Vikramapura towards the last quarter of the 10th century. According to Tibetan historians Atiśa belonged to the great Kṣatriya race called Dsahor (डाहोर).

b. "The copper-plate is inscribed in Bengali letters of the 10-11th century. That a certain king Govinda Candra by name ruled in Eastern Bengal is known. But the fact that he was a king of the region governed by the Candra family, i.e., was a successor of Śrī Candra is undoubted for his name does not appear among Pūrṇa Candra's three successive descendants, whose name we know. Consequently Śrī Candra's date may be fixed with certainty as 975-1000 A.D., approximately." [Translation]. [Also, vide Introduction, pp. 6-7 of *सयनात्मकीर गाथा* edited by Mr. N. K. Bhaṭṭasālin, and Mr. Vaikuṇṭhanāth Datta].

c. "Another fact is to be remembered here. While speaking of Pūrṇa Candra, the founder of the Candra dynasty, the composer of the Kedārpur Inscription writes, as in the following verse" [3]:

....."that is, Pūrṇa Candra was not purified, and did not ascend to such a position in a good family—pure and respectable, by nature,

therefore, he was not." "In this, has not a clear hint been given, that Pūrṇa Candra did not belong to a caste whose water could be used ?". Also, "following upon Mr. R. G. Vasāk's publication of the Rāmpāl Inscription of Śrī Candra, Mr. Śiva Candra Śrī wrote a note in the *साहित्य* proposing a restoration of text, viz., 'Rohita-gīrī'...therein the point discussed was that 'the Candras did not belong to any caste whose water could be used'. "From the Kedārpur copper-plate Inscription, we know of Śrī Candra-deva's complete freedom from worldly attachment" [Translation].

From the above agreements Mr. Bhaṭṭasāli comes to the following conclusions :—

"The name and time of Atiśa's father Kalyāṇa Śrī are in complete agreement with those of Śrī Candra, the grantor of this copper-plate. The conclusion is inevitable that the famous Buddhist learned man Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna Atiśa was the second son of Śrī Candra, the grantor of the Vikramapura copper-plate....Of him alone, could naturally be a monk son like Atiśa...Again, we learn by another way that according to the Tibetans Atiśa was of the Dsahor race. Perhaps mention is unnecessary, that the Tibetans hinted that Atiśa belonged only to the Sāhu (Sādhu) caste, who are known at present in the society as Śāhās. Consequently it is found, there is agreement about caste also. We are enabled, somewhat, to be sure of Atiśa's nationality and family."

Taking first, the last set of Mr. Bhaṭṭasālin's arguments, the proposed reading in the Rāmpāl plate, viz. रोहितानि [रि] and its identification are open to objection on linguistic and other grounds :—

(i) For, the present Rohtāsgaḍh (Dist. Sāhābād) cannot represent the ancient site रोहितानि[रि ?]. The word गड़ (fort) appears in Bengali language also, and is generally derived from Sanskrit कौट, possibly because the Prākṛt गड्डी is from Skt. गर्त meaning (ditch) [vide *प्राकृतप्रकाश* and *वङ्भाषाचन्द्रिका*]. But the word गड़ does not appear, on the contrary, in the Bengali compound कौटाल (generally derived from Skt. कौट-पाल fort-commandant), while it is a component part of the old and modern Bengali word गड़खौड़ the second member of which (खौड़) is probably of Deśī origin. The word गड़ therefore is very probably traceable to a Deśī or even non-Aryan source, and it cannot stand for कौट, much less for गिरि; or the word गड़ is to be derived from Skt. कटक ? [Cf. old Bengali form गड़ु from Skt. कटुक]¹.

1 According to my learned friend Prof. Sunতিকুমার চট্টো-

Rohitās or Rohtās is very probably derived from रोहिताश्व. As the maxim “आमेकदेशेन नाममात्रयङ्गम्” is inapplicable रोहिता cannot stand for रोहिताश्व. Also रोहिता is in the feminine, while गिरि is masculine. In the second verse of the Rāmpāl copper-plate exigencies of the शार्दूल-विकीर्णितम् metre also require the 8th *akṣara* to be long, and the 9th and 10th *akṣaras* to be short. It is not therefore certain if the restoration should be रोहितानि[रि* ?] and also whether the word is to be construed as रोहिता + ग* [?] or as रोहित + अगि* [?]

(ii) Also, Trailokya Candra is mentioned in the Rāmpāl copper-plate, as “the support of the royal majesty smiling in the royal umbrella of the king of Harikela”, and as king of चन्द्रद्वीप [vide *E. I.*, vol. XII]. Though ‘it cannot be definitely known what political relation, if any, this king of Candradvīpa had with the king of Harikela,’ it is probable that their mutual relationship was friendly; it might have been one of (a defensive and offensive) alliance or the one might have been a faithful feudatory of the other. In either of the cases, the two kingdoms occupied contiguous positions. Also रोहितानि[रि* ?] the original seat of the Candra family cannot be far removed from these two kingdoms; for, to put the site in Dist. Sāhābād would lead to a presumption (unsupported by facts), viz., that the whole area from (Dist. Sāhābād) रोहितानि[रि* ?] to Candradvīpa was under the sway of the Candras.

Probably रोहितानि[रि* ?] refers to some hill (originally surmounted by a fort ?) of red रोहित (रौहित) sandstone or ochrous rock and is to be located in East Bengal.

But the theory of Pūrṇa Candra’s descent from a low stock is, as has been already shown, unfounded.¹

But it is interesting to note that the mention of Śrī Candra’s absolute freedom from worldly passions gains additional weight as Śrī Candra probably became a Buddhist monk, being clad in yellow (पीतः). But it is strange that he should nevertheless undertake conquering expeditions in all directions. Again it does not appear if his father’s capital (and so naturally his also) was at Vikramapur, where he is

pādhyāya, Ind. Germ. *ghṛdh *घृध् → *gr̥dhz (construed from Skt. gr̥ha) → Pkt. gaḍha, Bengali গড়, Hindi गढ़.

1 This mistake is however still not rectified in the English version. For see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVII, No. 12 and contrast pp. 190, 192, v. 3.

mentioned as in camp at the time of issue of the Inscription. It would be interesting to compare side by side the descriptions of the princes of the Candra family found in the two copperplates.

Rāmpāl Copperplate

Pūrṇa Candra was born in the Candra family of रोहितगि[रि* १]. It seems, he dedicated holy images, erected pillars commemorating victories and also issued copperplate grants (verse 2).

He was not a king.

His son was the Bauddha *Suvarṇa Candra*, so named as his mother, while pregnant was satisfied of her desire to see the rising lunar orb with a golden-moon (v. 3-4).

His renowned son was *Trailokya-Candra*.

He was a most virtuous person among his paternal and maternal relations, and his fame spread in all quarters.

'The support of the royal Fortune, smiling in the royal umbrella of the king of Harikela', he was the powerful and politic king of Candradvīpa (v. 5).

He was a devout Buddhist (परमहीनतः) and Mahārājādhirāja. His much esteemed and devoted spouse was the fair *Śrīkāncanā* (v. 6).

The handsome *ŚrīCandra* was born of Trailokya Candra and Śrī-

Kedārpur Copperplate

Pūrṇa Candra was a prosperous man. He led his armies on expeditions (verse 2).

From him sprang *Suvarṇa Candra*, who was by nature possessed of purity and dignity (v. 3).

Trailokya Candra possessed auspicious and handsome appearance and was fearful of the other world. He comforted the kingdom of animals and was famous for his virtuous deeds (v. 4).

Covetous of conquering the tract (of earth) encircled by waters (and yet unattached to objects of enjoyment) he vanquished his enemies in battle (v. 5).

Trailokya Candra was a patron of the Good Path and was a devout Buddhist (परमहीनतः) He was a Mahārājādhirāja.

From him sprang a son, the handsome *ŚrīCandra*. He shunned

Rāmpāl Copperplate

kāñcanā under the auspicious *Rājāyoga* asterism. From his bodily marks astrologers foretold of his future kingship (v. 7).

A prudent and famous king, he brought the whole country under his sway by throwing his enemy (or enemies) in prison (v. 8). He assumed the Imperial Title. He was the donor of the Copperplate grant.

Kedārpur Copperplate

cruel deeds, appreciated merits and avoided finding faults with others. Slightly, clad in yellow (चैतः), he was free, possessed of many virtues and was free from worldly attachment (v. 6).

He undertook victorious military campaigns in all directions (v. 7) and first assumed the imperial title of परमेश्वरपरमेश्वरक महाराजाधिराजः ।

It is not clear if the epigraph was at all meant for issue, for it does not give the occasion and purpose of such. Mr. Bhaṭṭasālī is of opinion that the epigraph is not a deed but might have been one of the copper-plates kept ready beforehand in the royal archives as sorts of blank forms, the other portions of which were filled in, whenever necessities arose for the issue of deeds of gifts.

But, if such plates (with only the preamble of documents inscribed) were kept ready for future use, why should Śrī Vikramapura be at all mentioned? Copper-plate records might have been issued from other places also, which would lead to the presumption (until recently unsupported by facts) that similar other records with names of other places were also kept ready for immediate future use.¹ It is not certain if Śrī Vikramapura in the plate is a proper name at all indicating a particular locality. Or, possibly the military encampments were made generally at points of strategic importance like Vikramapura.

The composition of the copper-plate is poor. The verses are full of useless repetitions and unintelligent play over words, and there are some grammatical mistakes, too; but these are mostly trivial.

The engraver's work is also unsatisfactorily done and seems to be that of a novice or an illiterate man. It cannot be the work of a clever forger.

¹ For see Yājñavalkya, Ācārādhyāya, Rājadharmaprakaraṇa, śloka 318-320 and Vijñāneśvara's commentary thereon.

The seal, however, seems to have been attached after the plate was inscribed, as the letter 'bha' (भ) in l. 1 is destroyed in the process of fixing the seal.

But it is not clear when were royal seals attached to deeds,—whether before or after their formal execution. There are no authorities on the point supporting the theories.

But for the seal it would have been possible to find in the plate an unsuccessful attempt on the part of an engraver to carry into execution an equally poor specimen of a composer's work.

PART II

In the preceding pages have been discussed at length Mr. N. K. Bhaṭṭaśālin's highly unscientific attempts to patch up a relationship of Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna Atīśa with the Candra kings. It is unfortunately yet necessary to deal with another series of equally wild speculations of his, again, to connect the Candra kings with Kāntideva, who is known for the first time in Bengal history by the recent discovery of an unfinished copper-plate inscription. Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's arguments are given in his recent Bengali article 'বিক্রমপুর' published in the vernacular monthly, *সাময়িক* for *শ্রাবণ*, 1332 B. S. and may be translated as follows :—

(a) "Historians were in the belief that, of the distinct royal

The discovery, lately, from Chittagong of a Copper-plate Inscription of Kāntideva of a similar type, purporting to have been issued from Vardhamānapura, however, in the opinion of the editors of the epigraph "seems to confirm the view, entertained after the discovery of the Kedārpur plate of Śrī Candra, that the common (metrical) portion of copper-plate grants made by the same king used to be inscribed previously in large numbers in the manner of printed forms, the formal grant being actually inscribed subsequently on respective occasions."

Vide the new Chittagong Copper-plate of Kāntideva by D. C. Bhattacharya, M.A. and J. N. Sikdar, M.A. in the *Modern Review*, November, 1922, pp. 612-14.

Could these two plates represent attempts to prepare Kūṭa-śāsanas (forged charters)? None of the charters is however a clever piece of work so far as the literary composition of each is concerned.

families of East-Bengal, the Candra kings were the first. Now it is seen that Kāntideva's family is older than the family of the Candras.

This conclusion had to be arrived at chiefly through a comparative study of the alphabets of the copper-plates of Kāntideva and Śrīcandra. Besides this, the manner of drafting this Copper-plate record also testifies to its antique character. Copper-plate inscriptions of the Candras—Varmans—Senas are all fashioned after the same way. But in Kāntideva's copper-plate, the name of the capital is mentioned first, following the ancient charters as खसि श्रीमच्छस्त्रावारात् वर्द्धमानपुरवासकात्. It has been stated already that the copper-plate inscription is incomplete, the donative portion does not exist in it. The portions which would occur in all copper-plates, viz., ode to deities, recital of the merits of the royal family and proclamation of the royal order, were engraved on several copper-plates which remained in the royal archives, and when necessities arose the donative portions were engraved and the plates handed over to the Brāhmaṇas receiving land as legal deeds of gift. A similar unfinished copper-plate of Śrīcandradeva of the Candra family has also been found. The contents and the readings of this were published by me in the *Pratibhā* for 1326 B.S., its better readings having been published in the *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVII, p. 188. The copper-plate of Kāntideva's inscription has many defects,—the unfinished inscription of Śrīcandra mentioned before is full of mistakes on account of the engraver's deficiencies. Perhaps for this reason only these two plates were not utilised. Also, it would not be improper to suppose that, both these royal families having lasted for a short period only, no sufficient time could at all be found to turn the engraved copper sheets into charters."

(b) "However, both these unfinished inscriptions are invaluable for historical purpose. In Kāntideva's inscription we got information of a new royal family. Śrīcandradeva's inscription also has rendered great help in determining the history of the Candra family. Kāntideva's copper-plate was to have been issued from *Vardhamāna-pura-vāsaka*, i. e., at *Vardhamāna-pura* site was situated the capital of Kāntideva. Where is this *Vardhamāna-pura*? My friend Mr. Rādhā Govinda Vasāk has supposed that it is not different from the present *Vardhamāna* situated in *Rāḍha*! But Kāntideva has addressed in his copper-plate to future kings of *Harikelā maṇḍala*. From this the clear meaning understood is that he was himself king of that very *Harikelā maṇḍala*. That *Harikela* is another name for *Vaṅga* only—there is no doubt about this; and though the name is found in the copper-plate of

Kāntideva in the form *Harikelā*, still there can be no serious objection on the part of anybody to admit *Harikela* and *Harikēlā* as not different. That by *Vaṅga* was meant in olden times a piece of land, defined by boundaries as in the following way—is my opinion. Of old *Vaṅga*—the *Meghanāda* was on the East, the *Madhumatī* on the West, the *Dhavalēśvarī* on the North and the sea towards the South.

If Kāntideva be determined as king of this limited region, then it is unnecessary to say that his capital could not possibly exist at all in *Vardhamāna* of *Rāḍha*. Consequently the location of the capital *Vardhamānapura* is to be looked for within this limit. The ruins of a big city are still observable at a place now familiar by the name of *Rāmapāla*, situated at the confluence of the old *Brahmaputra* and the *Ichāmātī*, on the North-Eastern part of *Vikramapura*. Besides this, ruins of another old city are existent at the place called *Koṭāli-pūḍā* of Faridpur District. But the city of *Koṭāli-pūḍā* belongs to the Gupta period and the proof of it has been given elsewhere. It has also been stated elsewhere that the ruins observable in the environments of *Rāmapāla* are the remains of the ancient city of *Vikramapura* (प्रवासी, १३२६, श्रीविक्रमपुर चो दाक्षर उपपन्न). This ruin extends over an area covering about 5×5 miles. This extensive city appears to have been founded by Kāntideva's family. This city founded at the confluence of the *Ichāmātī* and the *Brahmaputra* grew up very quickly through commercial prosperity and became *Vardhamānapura* truly in name."

(c) "Among the ruins of this *Vikramapura* city, a copper-plate of Śricandradeva was discovered. Mr. Rādhā Govinda Vasāk has published its readings in the *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII. "In this inscription there is written an enigmatic statement regarding Śricandradeva's father Trailokyacandradeva, who was born in that line of the Candras, (of whom there were many families), which possessed Rohitāgiri. This family was of great prosperity *i. e.* was possessed of money and wealth. Rohitā-giri is clearly the name of बाह-बाह hills in Tripurā District. After this the enigmatic statement about Trailokyacandra is this—

बाहारी हरिकेलराजकुलद्वन्द्वविविधानां विद्यात्
यत्रन्दोपपदे वसुव वपतिर्द्वि दिवौपोपनः ।*

1 & 2 Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's transcriptions of proper names and of Skt. texts are characterised by sad mistakes. बाह-बाह is the correct name (and not बाह-बाह) for the hills. हरिकेल and हरिकेला have been always written wrongly as हरिकेल and हरिकेला. The Skt. texts have also to be totally rewritten.

Let attention be paid a little to the hidden meaning.

Candradvīpa is the ancient name for the major portion of Bakhargañj Dist. It falls within *Harikela* kingdom. Consequently, Trailokyacandra grew to be a vassal prince under the *Harikela* king. But, by the way, Trailokyacandra was also likened to the receptacle of the royal fortune of *Harikela* i. e. the king of *Harikela* had to depend on Trailokyacandra either for pecuniary help or fighting strength. What resulted from this reliance upon others, on the part of the *Harikela* king is clearly understood from this. Trailokyacandra had received the *Candradvīpa* by offering help of money or arms. His son Śricandra became the king of *Harikela* himself, after supplanting the sovereign family. *Rohitāgiri* and its surrounding area were already in the hands of the Candras. So Śricandra became now master of *Tripurā*, *Naṅkhālī*, *Dacca*, *Faridpur*, *Bākhargañj*. To mention old names, he became paramount king of *Samatāla* and *Vaṅga*."

(d) "Who is this particular king of *Harikela*, possessor of the *Kakudacchatra*. Opening the dictionary, one would see that *Kakuda* has many meanings. One meaning is 'snake'. If this meaning be accepted, then it must be understood that the royal parasol of this *Harikela* king was engraved with 'serpent.' Of course it could be taken in other way too. Now look at Kāntideva's copper inscription. It is observable in the royal seal attached to its top that there is in it the figure of a four-footed lion in a temple with thrice bent arch—which seems to be the figure of *Nṛsiṃha* from the mention of the destruction of *Hiraṇyakaśipu* in the inscription. Below it is written in raised letters—श्रीकान्तिदेवः । Encircling the lower portion of the whole seal are two big hooded serpents with tails intertwined.

These two serpents are so big and conspicuously engraved that they do not seem to have been used simply for decorative purposes. It seems to me, it is the *Kakuda* mark of the royal parasol of the *Harikela* king. And that from the hands of this Kāntideva, Śricandra-deva snatched away *Harikela*."

(e) "Śricandradeva's copper-plate inscription is issued from the city of *Vikramapura*. What was named *Varaḥamānapura* in Kāntideva's time, became, being won by the price of valour (*vikrama*), famous as *Vikramapura*. In 1030 A. D. approximately, the Varman kings purchased with this price of valour *Vikramapura* from the Candras. From the last Varman king, at the same price of valour, Vijayasena purchased *Vikramapura* in 1090 A. D. approximately. All copper-

plates of the Candra and the Varman kings and many plates of the Sena kings are issued from the capital *Śrī Vikramapura*."

It is necessary to deal first with Mr. Bhaṭṭasālin's most important arguments contained in sections (c), (d) and (e)

The learned editors¹ of the new Chittagong copper-plate of Kāntideva have tentatively fixed the date of the inscription on palaeographical considerations as between 750-850 A. D. Another great Bengalee epigraphist² has proved conclusively that Śrī Candradeva's copper-plates are older than Bhojavarman's copper-plate, by comparing two test letters 'śa', and 'ha', of the epigraphic alphabets of both. But it is impossible to push the date of Śrī Candradeva's inscriptions earlier than the 11th century A. D.

The determination of Kāntideva's time is based on especially the comparison of the letters 'ma' and 'na' of the epigraphic alphabet of his copper-plate and even if the period 750-850 A. D. be a little too early, more than a full century at least intervenes between Kāntideva and Śrī Candradeva, and by no stretch of imagination could both be regarded as contemporaneous. If there be no proofs of the synchronism between the two kings, the one could not be supplanted by the other. However it is not relevant here to discuss the dates given by Mr. Bhaṭṭasālin for the seizure of *Vikramapura* by the Varman kings from the Candras and later on of the same, by the Senas from the Varmans. But it is not yet possible to fix them with such certainty as Mr. Bhaṭṭasālin has done so dogmatically. The data are not yet available to arrive at such close approximations.

In his previous Bengali paper in *प्रतिभा*, Mr. Bhaṭṭasālin had put the Rohitāgiri at Rohtāsgaḍh but he has now transferred it to the other extreme of the compass from N. W, to S. E. and placed it at Lālmāi (লালমাই) hills in Dist. Tippera. There are seven hill ranges stretching N. to S. and separated by valleys or marshes, in Tippera District and Hill Tippera, between the Mayanāmāti hill on the West and the Lushai hills on the East. All these hills are of red colour. But the Tripurā hills are of red earth, not of stone. The colour

1 Profs. D. C. Bhattacharya, M. A. and J. N. Sikdar, M. A.—The New Chittagong Copperplate of Kāntideva—*Modern Review*, Nov., 1922.

2 Mr. Rākhaldās Vandyopādhyāya—*बाह्यार इतिहास* । १म भाग १९२१ । परिशिष्ट क. पृष्ठा २७७ ।

might be due to admixture of iron in earth. Five miles to the west of the city of Comilla midway between *Pāṭikāḍā* and *Meherkul Parganas*, there is a hillock called मयनामतीर पाहाड़, from which, in the southern direction, extend the लालमाड़ hills for 12 miles, averaging only 30 cubits in height, and inhabited at places by the Tiprās.

Many are the stories or legends connected with it *e.g.* there are at places on it, blocks of stone 8 to 10 cubits long and 2 to 2½ cubits in circumference said to be fossilized bones of *asura* hosts killed in battle with Caṇḍī. There is on the लालमाड़ hill a temple with an image of goddess, most likely चण्डी, and the place (hillock) is called चण्डीमुड़ा. There are holes in front of the *manṭir* said to be sunk at the pressure of the knees and elbows of Hanumat while paying obeisance to the goddess!

According to the local legends,¹ a king called गोपीचांद (Gopīcāṇḍ), dwelt in the northern portion of the hill range, while his daughter dwelt in the southern portion. The northern part where Gopīcāṇḍ dwelt personally was called after his mother, Mayanāmatī, मयनामती पाहाड़ and the southern part was called after his daughter, लालमाड़, the लालमाड़ पाहाड़. The name has nothing to do with the red colour of the earth. All the seven hill ranges are red, and every one might have been so named if colour was in question; while the local legends associate लालमाड़ पाहाड़ with the daughter of Gopīcāṇḍ—लालमाड़ ‘the fair damsel’, as the word might mean.²

The North Indian early vernacular literatures have preserved many different legends, in diverse versions, about गोपीचांद, मयनामती and the

1 I am much indebted to Bābu Satīścandra Ghoṣa, Asst. Manager, *Sarail Estate*, Tippera, and to Paṇḍit Rajanikānta Majumḍār, village *Kenduyāi* (किन्दुयाई) P. O. *Agartala*, Tripurā (Hill Tippera) for these local informations and my thanks are due to them. See also विपुलर सुगोष श्री भारतवर्षर विवरण। श्रीचन्द्रकान्त भौमिक। चान्दपुर। १८९१।

2 Cf. the early literature of the local dialect: गोरक्षविजय—शेख फयज़हा मरहूम प्रणीत। सुन्नी आबदुल करिम साहिब्य विशारद सम्पादित। साहिब्य-परिषद् शम्बावली—सं ६४। कलिकाता। १३२४।

सूत्र ४: ५५—“एके राउखेर खरे दुइ चारि माह।

सोण सुय कदलि एकला मिनर ठाह ॥” ३०५

परिशिष्ट ४० ४०—“पा, मा.....प्रभति शब्दगुलिर पाष वा पाषी, माष वा माषी वा माषप्रभति रूपे व्यवहार प्रणिधानेर योग्य। संस्कृत भाषाय उक्त शब्दगुलि यथाक्रमे पाह, माता.....प्रभति। ‘मिथे’ (चन्द्रानेर ‘माहमा’) चर्चो ‘माह’ चनेक जायगय व्यवहृत हइवाहे।”

masters of the Nāthapanthin (Yogi) sect—गोरक्षनाथ¹ etc. The travels of गोपीचन्द्र form some of the finest specimens of early Bengali literature. The sect however, is very old and probably grew up gradually during the Pāla period, though the masters (गुरु) were possibly more ancient still.

Rohitāgiri must be expected to have been of respectable height and of rock. As the names of places generally survive in popular memory, and the लालसाइ hills etc. are connected with the legends of गोपीचन्द्र and probably not older in age,² so far as the name is concerned—for these reasons, and on account of the insignificant size and difference in structure, the identification of Rohitāgiri with it must be rejected. Rohitāgiri must be looked for elsewhere, possibly farther in the S. E., within Hill Tippera near Rāṅgāmāṭi. We have authentic record of the name being older. An inscription in stone of the Buddhist *Mahānāvika* Buddhagupta of *Rakta-mṛttikā* has been discovered in the Wellesley Dt. of the Federated Malay States. This *Rakta-mṛttikā* is identical with Rāṅgāmāṭi on the *Karṇaphuṭi*.

One more important issue was raised by Mr. Bhaṭṭasālin, regarding the *Kakuda-cchatra* of the *Harikela* king. The generally accepted senses of the word *Kakuda* in the *Kośas* are all given in the *Śabda-kalpadruma* under ककुदः । (प्राधान्यम् ॥ राजचिह्नम् ॥ तत् तु चैतच्छब्दादि । इषाहं सुट इति भाषा । इत्यमरः ॥ पर्वतायभागः ॥ इति तट्टीकायां खामी ।)

Roth and Böhtlingk's *Sanskrit Wörterbuch* gives one other meaning of *Kakuda*, on the authority of Suśruta, 'a species of serpent' 'eine

1 Bendall, *Subhāṣitasamgraha*, fol. 1, p. 1. "Wassiliev gives authority for the identification of one Anaṅgavajra with Gorakṣa skilled in magic (*tantra*) who lived under Gopāla. The latter reigned in 'Eastern India' (Gopāla I of Bengal, A. C. 800) ? "

2 Some antiquities have been discovered from time to time in the Lālmāi hills. About 40 years back, as my informant Paṇḍit Rajant Kānta writes, the half-buried remains of a brickbuilt house was discovered there, thickly overgrown by shrubs and creepers. The Comilla Dt. Board utilised these materials as rubbishes for constructing roads! All traces of these remains are perhaps obliterated, by now. In the northern portion of the hills i. e. near नवनाथती, are still to be found heaps of old bricks underground. Lately, a small brick temple has been unearthed near the *dak bungalow* of Mahārājā of Tripurā in making excavations along the direction of an underground passage. Some ascetic appears to have performed sacrifices and worshipped here.

Schlangen—art.³ According to the latter, the serpents which have hoods, with marks of disc, plough etc. on their heads and which move with rapidity, are called (दर्वीकर) *Darvīkaras*. This class of serpents is further subdivided into कृष्णसर्प, महाकृष्ण, ककुद, पद्म, महापद्म etc. *Kakuda*, as the name of this subclass of *Darvīkara* serpents, is an arbitrary designation given by Suśruta,¹ and as the copper-plate or stone inscriptions—*Praśastis* or *Śāsanas* are not Vaidyaka works, the *Kośas* of Amara etc. would have greater authorities, there, to determine the *Śakti* of any particular word, in accordance with the accepted principles of the *Śābdikas*²

आधुनिकस्तु सङ्गतो न शक्तिर्नित्यस्यैव तस्य तथात्वात् । तदुक्तं भर्तृहरिणा—

आजानिकश्चाधुनिकः सङ्गतो द्विविधो मतः ।

नित्य आजानिकस्तत्र यः शक्तिरिति गीयते ॥

कादाचित्कत्वाधुनिकः शास्त्रकारादिभिः कृत इति ।

This *kakuda* is an arbitrary and obscure proper name for a species of serpents, given by Suśruta and does not mean serpents in general. As this word in the compound *kakuda-cchātra*, also cannot be proved to have been used as a proper name, it cannot be taken to mean 'a serpent' and so the meaning of the compound must be taken in the only possible sense 'an umbrella with royal device.' What this particular device on the royal parasol was, it is not now possible to know with certainty, for it might not necessarily have been the same as that on the royal seal (the *lāñchana* or crest) of copper-plate charters. We know of the originally uniform practice of having one device for the *lāñchana* or crest, and another device for the *dhvaja* or banner.³

According to the prescribed rules⁴ for affixing royal seals to copper-plate charters, the *Rāja-mudrā* of Kāntideva's inscription not only consists of the two hooded serpents but the most important and indispensable portions are constituted by the crest and the legend contained in the heart-shaped projection of the copper-plate. It is now necessary to discuss the possible significance of this royal seal with a view to identification of the figure, engraved thereon.

The comparison of Kāntideva to Nṛsiṃha in a *śloka-bhāṣa*, firstly on one hand cannot be taken as offering sufficient clues to the determination, exactly of his religious faith, when we take into consideration

1 सुश्रुते कल्पस्थानम्—अध्यायः ४ ।

2 शब्दशक्तिप्रकाशिका । नामप्रकरणम् । कारिका २३ ।

3 Imp. Gazetteer, vol. II, (1909).—J. F. Fleet—Epigraphy, p.

32. Also see Ditto.—D. K. D., 299 note 4.

parallel cases. On the other hand the inscription opens with a salutation to the *Jinendra*, and Kāntideva is called distinctly a परम-जीनन्. We know that all existing copper-plate inscriptions of the Pāla emperors begin with invocations to the *Buddha* but they and their wives or daughters were often compared to Brahmanic heroes and heroines, gods and goddesses, while Nārāyaṇapāla himself compared to श्रीपति, अग्नि, नक्ष, etc., offered lands for शिवभट्टारक and पाशुपत आचार्यपरिषद् in his Bhāgalpur copper-plate. Even if the copper-plate charters of the Pālas did not mention by name the *Dharma-cakra-mudrā*, no scholar would suggest that the Pālas were not Buddhists and the device in their seals was that of the *Viṣṇu-cakra*.

On the other hand, the liberality to Brahmanic shrines on the part of the Buddhist kings and their familiarity with the sacred lore and traditions of Brahmanic faiths indicate the want of sectarian bias and religious intolerance of the period. Kāntideva's inscription also reflects the same spirit of religious freedom. In view of the above facts and the consideration that worshippers of such a *vāma* (वाम) form of Viṣṇu as Nṛsiṃha were always rare even among the Vaiṣṇavas, it is unthinkable that a devout Buddhist king like Kāntideva would be a devotee of Nṛsiṃha. The identification, suggested by Mr. Bhattachālin, of the figure in the seal with this deity must therefore have to be altogether rejected. And for its possible identification, we are not entitled to go beyond the indications suggested by the inscription itself and to drag in and raise issues otherwise unconnected. If Kāntideva was a Buddhist, his royal seal must be also Buddhist or at least non-sectarian in character. We must have to interpret the devices in the seal accordingly.

We know of the existence in ancient India of architectural and sculptural motifs, decorative devices, and artistic, religious and social traditions and other institutions which were perfectly non-sectarian in character and formed the common heritage of all the great Indian religious faiths. To such categories belong, for example, the symbols of the lotus, the *vajra* and the lion, the elephant and the figure of Lakṣmī, which have been freely represented or made use of by all Indian sects. Though to a शक्त the symbol of the lotus has the additional significance of *Sahasrūra*, the lotus, *par excellence*; and the fiery eyes of the lion peering through the darkness of night stands for *jñāna-dṛṣṭi*, and the elephant in rut for *moha*, as it knows not the goad. While, the Buddhist would understand by the symbol of *vajra*, the *viśva-vajra*, and the symbol of the lion would suggest to him the Lion of the *Śākya* clan (शाक्यसिंह) or the voice of the *Tathāgata* pro-

There seems to have been times really, in India, when the Tathāgata himself was not yet represented in images or figures but the principal events of his life were indicated by symbols. Thus the bull, the constellation of Taurus under which the Tathāgata was born, stood for the Nativity, or the *Mahābhiniṣkramana* was indicated by a pair of foot-prints and so on.

Considering the early period to which the copper-plate of Kānti-deva belongs, the figure in the seal must be taken on the above grounds as that of the Lion, symbolising शक्रसिंह, the Lion of the Śākya clan or लोकेश्वर promulgating in thundering voice (सिंहनाद), which has been heard through ages, the sacred Law, the *Saddharma*.

Again, look at the form of the seal in Kāntideva's copper-plate; it is the form of a leaf of the *Bodhidruma*, the *Nyagrodha* perhaps. Or, the form is that of a lotus-bud half-opened seen from the profile, or of the shooting rays of a fire-flame (रश्मदीप) with which the *Dharma* dispelling the darkness of ignorance¹ or guiding the *Samgha* across the ocean of existence² is compared. Compare also the form of the Cintāmaṇi—the flaming jewel, the Buddhist touchstone of fabulous efficacy—of the shape of a half-opened lotus-bud (ईषद्विद्विजयकोरक). It is also one of the prescribed forms³ of the *ghaṇṭā* of a Buddhist shrine (चैत्य)—“महागुम्भीखटभोजमुखी।”

The question might be asked, what do this pair of serpents stand for, or signify? What could be the purpose of choosing a pair of serpents for portrayal? The reason would be the same, as why Indian artists choose garlands of flowers and jewels to hang down pillar-capitals, and creepers to twine around or *nāgas* to coil about pillar stems. The determination of the exact types and forms of the decorative motifs and ornamental devices was in each case guided by artistic necessities or suggested by artistic possibilities of the situation. On the one hand, the curved formation of the seal, shaped like the

1 In Śrī Candradeva's copper-plates.

2 In Kāntideva's copper-plate.

3 Also compare the form of the Buddhist votive terracotta medallions, some of which have pointed leaf-like shapes (of the *Nyagrodha* leaf?).

lotus-bud, would fit in more harmoniously with the sinuous grace of serpents. On the other hand, the jewelled *nāga-mithuna*, coiling their tails in close embrace, would more fitly support between themselves both, something of a form suggesting the Cintāmaṇi, the fabled jewel shaped like lotus-bud.

Contrast with this seal of Kāntideva, the seals in Śrī Candradeva's Kedārpur and Rāmpāl copper-plates. In the Rāmpāl plate, the *dharmacakra-mudrā* is enclosed by successive rings, the outer-most of which is beaded¹ and capped by a jewel. This simple ornamental ring as it rests on a small oblong pedestal without decorations.

In the Kedārpur copper-plate the outermost enclosing ring of the *dharmacakra-mudrā* is highly decorative. The ornamental pattern suggests the *śaṅkha-latā* or a halo of curling tongues of fire, rather *śikhā* of a flaming lamp (दीप) to which Dharma is compared. The pedestal on which this halo rests, is accordingly highly decorative, suggesting the graceful lotus-leaves.

From the above considerations, we come to the conclusion that the *nāgas* in Kāntideva's copper-plate were necessitated simply by the artistic exigencies (of attaching a seal of peculiar shape, for example,) of the metal worker's craft.

I. is now necessary to discuss Mr. Bhaṭṭasālīn's minor arguments contained in sections (a) and (b).

Kāntideva does not seem to have been a paramount king. Certainly Mr. Bhaṭṭasālī was right in rejecting Prof. R. G. Vasāk's identification of *Varāhamūnapura* with Vardhamāna, the town of Burdwan in *Rāḍha*, for the simple reason, that the capital of a kingdom, could not be situated outside its territorial limits. But as it is impossible to prove that the Candras took by conquest from Kāntideva, who flourished a century earlier, this city capital of theirs, the changing of its name, subsequently, to Vikramapura, by the Candras is unthinkable.²

1 This enclosing beaded rim might be suggestive of the string of counting beads, *japa-mālā*, enclosing a figure of the *līṭa-devatā* or his *Pratīka* (symbol).

2 Kāntideva might have been probably contemporaneous with Pūrṇa Candra, Śrī Candradeva's great-grand-father, who might have flourished hundred years earlier. From Kāntideva and Pūrṇa Candra there might be synchronisms between these two royal lines.

Also, though we have instances of important capitals bearing double names, e. g., Gauḍa and Lakṣmaṇāvati, Pāṭaliputra and Kusumapura, really these were instances of new cities being built on older sites. The older names of places would survive in popular memory for centuries unless, for instance, more magnificent cities grow up there completely out-shining the older ones.

Vardhamānapura must therefore be regarded as different from Vikramapura, though its exact location is at present indeterminable on account of the lack of exact data. Again the doubt may be expressed if Vardhamānapura be a proper name at all, or वरुमान corresponds to the 'अभिर्वरमान—' or 'प्रवरमान—' put before विजयराज्य। वरमान-पुरवासकात् would then simply mean 'from the prosperous (पुर—capital) city.' Though the land given away need not necessarily belong to the province from which any deed be issued as Mr. Bhaṭṭaśāli however thinks, apparently the name of Vardhamāna is found only much later in Vallāla Sena's Sītāhātī copper-plate as श्रीवरमान-भुक्ति, and not वरमान-पुर।

*Text of the Kedārpur Copper-plate Inscription of
Śrī Candradeva.**

- L. 1. [Om] svasti ।
Vandyo Jinaḥ sa bhagavān karuṇaika-pātram
- L. 2. Dhammo = pyasā vijayate jagad-ekadīpaḥ
[Read वरुणायस्वती]
- L. 3. yat-sevayā sakala [eva] mahānubhāvaḥ
saṃsāra-pāram = upagacchati bhikṣu-saṅghaḥ ॥ [१].

* Mr. Bhaṭṭaśāli's readings :—

Verse 1. Readings, same as mine. Vasantatilakā Metre,

L. 3. Pūrṇa

Candra iti śrīmān = āsīn =

L. 4. = nāsīra japa rajah |

Verse 2. Readings, same as mine. (With scansion).

L. 3. पृष्—

L. 4. चन्द्र इति श्रीमानसीनासीन राजः ।

Bengali } ० ० ० ० ० — ० ० ; ० ० ० ० — —
version } यक्षीय(प) योष (वि) लृ [त] मा त प त म प व

L. 5. ० पा: (द) ॥ (२)

English version. Ditto.

„ Note. “This corrupt *pāda* has not been properly interpreted. The letter ऋ after व(?) is not seen on the impression. A plausible emendation which I would offer, with much hesitation though, is यक्षा [इ वि] व [ः*] वि [वि*] व: [ख] and translate the passage thus : ‘afraid of which (i.e. dust) the enemy (kings) sought refuge under his parasol giving up (all) shame.’ H. K. S.”

Verse 2. Note. The readings of the third *pāda* of this *Anuṣṭubh śloka* are very unsettled and one *akṣara* seems to have been totally omitted and this could be restored to its proper position only through metrical considerations. But as the *mātrās* of some *akṣaras* are immaterial, it creates additional difficulty here. The scansion of this *anuṣṭubh* verse would be as follows, indicating by ciphers as before the *akṣaras* whose *mātrās* are immaterial :

० ० ० ० ० — ० ० ; ० ० ० ० ० — ० ० |
० ० ० ० ० — ० ० ; ० ० ० ० ० — ० ० ||

Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's restorations and emendations would make his 5th *akṣara* of the third *pāda* यो long and the 6th *akṣara* 'व (वि)' short, whereas the contrary should have been the case. Also the form चप is impossible grammatically as the base is चपस् । Judging from the general freedom from really serious mistakes of composition of this inscription, (though the standard of literary excellence may not be high), it is impossible to accept Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's readings, restorations and emendations which are themselves wrong grammatically and from the point of view of prosody. Also, most of the *akṣaras* in the third *pāda*, could not be read with certainty either from the estampage or from the plate. It is therefore important to discuss fully every possible reading of each particular *akṣara*, arrived at both from the original plate and the published impression.

L. 4. yas[^{*}yā] p|u|^{*}ra|^{*}s[ā] $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} * \\ s \\ y \\ ye' \\ yā \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} * \\ o \\ ŋa \\ pū \end{array} \right\} r \left\{ \begin{array}{c} * \\ t \\ t' \\ vva \end{array} \right\} ; tthva$

Readings of each separate *akṣara* of पाद । (Alternative suggestions are bracketted together) :

अक्षर	१म	२य	३य	४थ	५म	६ठ	७म	८म
	०	०	०	०	(	—	०	०
Plate	य	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} य \\ स[?] \\ sy[ā] * \\ s[?] \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} प्र \\ प \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} ण \\ णā * \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} सो \\ यो \\ षो \\ षा \\ षा \\ सो \\ यो \\ ye' \\ yā \end{array} \right\}$	॥	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} णā * \\ णā * \\ णā * \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} r \\ t \\ t' \\ vva \end{array} \right\}$
Estampage	"	"	"	"	"	pū *	"	"

Remarks

One *akṣara* seems to have been superimposed here, or some alterations attempted.

There is a distinct sign observable below 'p' both in the plate and the estampage.

In the plate, this consonant looked more like 's' or 'ṣ' in the estampage it is like 'y' or 'r'.

There are distinct marks below this *akṣara*. In the plate the upper letter looked like 'ṣ' or 'ṣ' but in estampage, it looks like 'p'.

Both in the plate and the estampage there is a sign looking like 't' or 't' But it may be a mere scratch. The sign at the bottom looks to be open. It may be a *ṣ* or a badly written 'v'.

The readings of the different *akṣaras* are arranged, one after the other, in successive degrees of probability. And in expressing for the sake of uniformity, in roman letters, all possible cases, we have to arrive

L. 5. m = ātapa-tram = a-patra-

yahḥ [*] [Anuṣṭubh]

at the somewhat uncouth and complicated general formulaic form:

yas | yā | P | u | ā | { s | o | } { y | e' | } { śna | pū | } | r | { t | tha | } { tu | tthva | }

It will be seen that the readings of Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin suggested in his Bengali edition of the epigraph (in *प्रतिमा*, १९२६ B. S.) and his English edition in the *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, No. 12 as also those suggested in the last paper, in the notes (by H. K. S.), are not tenable and so necessarily are the interpretations.

It is found that one *akṣara* of this third *pāda* is missing and this must be located, from metrical considerations, before any restoration be attempted. As the 5th *akṣara* must be short, the position of the 5th group of letters in the verse is untenable as all its possible readings show a long vowel. But as it can shift to the right alone, and that for one place only, its position is fixed as the 6th *akṣara* of the *pāda*. The first two *akṣaras* can be read and interpreted with some certainty; it is a pronominal base. Only the 3rd or the 4th *akṣara* could therefore be missing.

But unfortunately, any further degree of accuracy is not possible, as the *mātrās* of all the first four *akṣaras* of each *pāda* of *anuṣṭubh śloka* are immaterial for versification. Therefore, either of the third and the fourth *akṣaras* might be missing, and any restorations should take note of these facts. All possible readings and restorations, based on epigraphic, grammatical and metrical considerations, and on both these alternatives are given below. The readings from the original plate must be regarded more authoritative.

	o o o o — o o
Third akṣara missing	1) य स[्य](व)पु ष [सो] [१] [त्य]— स + उष + षत्य—
	2) ————— [सो] [१] [ष] [तु]— स + षोष + षतु—
Fourth „	3) य स[या]प्र(ह)ष[यो](१) [ष] [त्य]— यस्य + अप्राहवे + षोष + षत्य—
	4) य स[या]प्र(वि)ष[सिऽपूर्व]— यस्य + अप्रविबवे + अपूर्व—
	*5) य स[या]प्र(ह)ष[या] [पूर्व]— यस्य + अप्राहवाय + अपूर्व—

L. 5.

Nāgnau viśuddho na tulādhirūḍhaḥ
kintu prakṛty = aiva yuto garimṇā
tathāpi ka

[Indra-vajrā]

L. 6.

lyāṇa-suvarṇa-kalpāḥ
Suvarṇa Candras = sukṛti tatobhūt ॥ [३]

[Upendra-vajrā]

[Metre Upajāti]

Puṇy-āvalokaḥ para-lo

L. 7.

ka-bhīro =

rlokyāḥ samāśvāsita-jīva-lokaḥ
trailokya-saṃkīrtita-puṇya-kīrtteḥ

Trai-

L. 8. lokya-Candro'sya vabhūva putrāḥ ॥ [४]

[Read बभूव]

Indravajrā]

The reading of the fourth construction is from the estampage. The last construction is however impossible from metrical considerations, as the fifth *akṣara* could not be long. The third construction gives the best sense though involves the greatest number of emendations. There seems to have been a possible reference to the rainy season, प्राङ् and inspite of all confusions, this seems to be apparent, as the parasol is mentioned in the next (4th) *pāda*.

Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's Readings :—

Verse 3. (Bengali version)

नासी (सौ) विशुद्धो न तुलाधिष्ठः किन्तु प्रकृत्यैव प्रती गरिष्ठ (षट्) ॥

[Read also नासी विशुद्धो न कुलाधिष्ठः किन्तु प्रकृत्यैव प्रती गरिष्ठ ।

Readings in Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's English version are same as mine. But he still seems to cling to his former wrong conclusions based on defective readings about Pūrṇa Candra's low descent. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, No. 12, p. 190. Abstract of the *Kedārpur* plate. (v. 3.)

Verse 4. Readings, same as those of mine.

- L.14. keśeṣv = apsarasām = a-pūrvva-palita-bhrāntim
samāropayan
 L.15. Santāno rajasām raṇesu śu jayino yasya dyumārggaṃ
gataḥ || [७]
[Delete च]
[Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍitam].
 L.16. Sa khalu Śrī-Vikramapura-samāvasita-śrīmaj =
 jaya-skandhā-vārāt = pārama-saugato Mahārājādhirājaḥ
 ŚrīTrailokyacandradeva-pādānudhyātāḥ Paramaśvaraḥ
 L.17. Paramabhṭṭārako Mahārājādhirāja Śrīmān
 Śrī Candradevaḥ kuśālī

Critical Interpretation and Notes

Om is indicated by a symbol called अङ्कश by बरहृषि . (See below). It might indicate Gaṇeśa's गण्ड too.

V. 1 :—The Buddhist Triratna—the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha are mentioned. The Dharma is likened to a beacon for guiding the congregation of monks (भिक्षुसङ्घ) across the sea of transmigration.

N.—This verse is practically identical with the opening verse of the Rāmpāl copper-plate. न in l. 1 seems to have been destroyed in fixing the seal. In l. 2 there are two mistakes of the engraver. In l. 3, the word एव seems to have confounded the engraver. Jinaḥ is the Triumphant or Victorious One—the Buddha—करण कपात—the sole receptacle of compassion. करण is also the name of a Buddha. The letter न resembles (the left) portion of व. There might have been confusion and mistake in engraving two partly similar letters.

V.2 :—N.—Here, mistakes seem to have been committed both by the composer and the engraver. Unfortunately the facsimile and also the

Verse 7.	— — —, — — —, — — —, — — —, — — —, — — —, — — —, — — —
Bengali Version L.1.	स्वष्टः पार्थिवपांसु दोहदरसज्ञाघाचनं दिग्गजै
Eng. „ „	(स्वष्टः पार्थिव पाण्डुभिर्दोदरसज्ञाघाचनं दिग्गजै)
	— — —, — — —, — — —, — — —, — — —, — — —, — — —, — — —
L.2.	— — —, — — —, — — —, — — —, — — —, — — —, — — —, — — —
L.3.	
L.4.	, — — सुमानै गतः ॥ (७)

Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's readings of the prose portion are same with mine. Only the preamble of the document (?) is actually inscribed.

impression (supplied to me) were both very indistinct at this point. Mr. Bhaṭṭasālin's readings violate metre and do not give good sense. The proposed restoration of this corrupt verse is based on the following considerations. There are several *anuprāsa*-s and *śleṣa*-s in this piece of composition and another *anuprāsa* in this very verse viz. नासीर-ञं रञः ; it is therefore natural to suppose that there was one other *śleṣa* in the words—न-तप-वन्=पत्र—, and also, these letters can be read with certainty. The letter, immediately preceding, is either [ख] or [क]. if it be part of the word '+अत्यन्तं', then '+अत्यन्तं' is the last word of a compound which qualifies अतप-वन्—'parasol' 'for the purpose of—'.

Also the idea is well-known that the dust raised by marching troops served for kings the purpose of canopies or umbrellas. Also there are authorities that umbrellas were decorated by feathers of birds.

King Bhoja's Yuktikalpataru gives in detail descriptions of umbrellas and of materials for their construction, one of which was feather of birds. [Vide युक्तिकल्पतरु (edited by Paṇḍit Īśvara Candra Śāstrin—C. O. S. No. 1), pp. 62-7—अथ कृतयुक्तिः]

Again Agnipurāṇam, chapter 245 [Ānandāśram Skt. Series, 1900] :

चाकरो रुक्मदण्डोऽप्यम्बुजं रात्रः प्रशस्यते ।
हंसपक्षैर्विरचितं मयूरस्य शुक्रकाञ्च ॥ १
पक्षैर्वाऽथ बलाकाया न कार्यं मिश्रपक्षकैः ।
चतुरस्रं ब्राह्मणस्य हर्तुं रात्रयश्च शुक्रकम् ॥ २

[Also The Antiquities of Orissa (Vol. I, p. 108)—umbrellas; reprinted in Indo-Aryans (Vol. I, p. 266) by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra].

"The Agnipurāṇa (c. 224).....recommends other materials besides cloth for the construction of royal umbrellas. According to it, 'it is conducive to the good of princes to have their umbrellas made of the feathers of geese or of peacocks, or of parrots or of the herons (*vaka*) but they should not be made of feathers of various kinds mixed together'."

Therefore, the last word of the verse +अपत्र- very probably meant 'न पत्र-शुक्रम्'. The stem of this word was probably अ-पत्र-वन् (न पत्रवति इति अपत्रवन्, from nominal verb √a-pattra-ya— +अति: "औषादिकः ४१९२—'निबुद्धेऽतिः पूर्ववच्च सर्वम्' ". Such verbal derivatives are, however, by no means rare, cf. वेधस् 'वि-द्धातीति' वेधाः and सुयस् 'सुधु अन्तुत इति' सुयः. The gender of this last word अपत्रवन् (in the neuter) in the verse seems to have been confounded as it was probably declined like वेधस् (masculine).

The general sense of the restored text (V. 2) is as follows :—
"There was one Pūrṇa Candra possessing fortune. Clouds of dust were raised by the vanguard of his marching army. These served

[(अम्रावधि, not simply for the rainy season alone) (अम्रविषये, out of occasion) (वसुधः, for his person)] the purpose of an umbrella good for use during the summer; but there was a difference, viz., that unlike ordinary parasols, which display birds' feathers as decorations, this dust parasol had no such feathers".

V. 3:—Double entendre.—"It is not necessary for good gold (कल्याण-सुवर्ण) to be further purified by fire and weighed in balance; on the other hand, it has of itself the (requisite) weight it should have, (गरिष्ठणा युतः)". Suvarṇa Candra did not undergo further ordeals either by fire or by the balance but was by nature possessed of dignity. Consequently Suvarṇa Candra was only a little less than pure gold कल्याण-सुवर्ण-कल्पः) [—“ईषद्वृणी कल्पम्” ।]

N. The purificatory rites or ordeals mentioned in the verse might refer to Nārada, I, 252 [S. B. E. The Minor Law Books—J. Jolly] :—

"The balance, fire, water, poison, and fifthly consecrated water are the ordeals for the purgation of high-minded persons". [cf. Yājñalkya, II, 95 ; Viṣṇu, IX, II].

N. Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's readings have been already criticised. [The first half of this verse refers to Suvarṇa Candra and not to Pūrṇa Candra, as has been wrongly interpreted.]

V. 4 :—An instance of the composer's fondness for play upon words. Several derivatives of √लोक (connected with √रुच्) are used and the word त्रैलोक्य is repeated by the poet, very probably to show his high regard for त्रैलोक्यचन्द्र. Possibly there is a comparison of त्रैलोक्यचन्द्र to the moon; both were पुण्यावलोकः (of auspicious appearance);—लोकः (for the one was heavenly, while the fame of the other spread to the three worlds Cf. the description of त्रैलोक्यचन्द्र in the Rāmpāl Copper-plate); both of them comforted the animal kingdom समानासितजीवलोकः (the one being of soothing rays and the other a 'devout Buddhist' परमसौगतः).

V. 5 :—चतुःपदीराशिसमाप्तदृष्टीजयाम्बिकाधी—possibly here is also a reference to Trailokya Candra's being king of Candradvīpa, etc. [Vide Rāmpāl Copper-plate]. "With his sword he overpowered his enemies just as the juice of medicinal plants soothes heat."

N. Several plants are known to produce cooling effects and remove heat-strokes e. g. चणाल and वीरण. Several others remove poison. The juice of स्मिन्नुष्णपत्र is very cooling.

V. 6 :—सद्धर्मबन्धोः (cf. परमसौगतस्य) has reference to Trailokya Candra's faith. Buddhism is called the सद्धर्म (the True Religion) and also the मध्यममार्गः (The Middle Path); सद्धर्म is a mixture of the two.

क्रूरारणे स (भ) यावुः 'Timid of doing cruel acts. As in the Epigraph,

the letter 'न' is turned by extending the upper stroke only a little, into a 'च', it is better to correct the 'न' into a 'च' instead of into 'द,' as Mr. Bhaṭṭasāli has proposed ; besides भगवत् gives a good sense, परगुणमुखरो etc.—Śrī Candra greatly appreciated whatever merit there was in others but was totally free from the fault-finding -spirit.' पीतो—(wrongly read before as पीनो)—probably, 'clad in yellow garment of a Buddhist monk.'

N. There is not much difference in the Epigraph between the letters न, न and र ; cf. अतिरभसात् (line 12) [पीन—would mean 'fat, heaving'—specially applicable to the female bust].

गुणानां निधिर्निति—Śrī Candra was the receptacle of several virtues and so he and he alone might be safely entrusted with the charge of one more precious thing—with this thought, and with the greatest delight (अतिरभसात्) the Creator placed Śrī (Fortune) 'अर्थतो नामदत्त' in his worldly pursuits (i. e. made him prosperous) and also before his name [or, ऊर्ध्वतो नामदत्त—नामः ऊर्ध्व], i. e. his name was Śrī Candradevaḥ । Śrīmān Śrī-candradevaḥ—Śrī added to Candradevaḥ) and not simply Candradevaḥ.

N. The canonical rules for adding the word Śrī before proper names are as follows :—

(a) " श्रीशब्दप्रयोगे विशेषस्थानानि—' ईशं गुरुं गुरुस्थानं चेत' चैवधिदेवताः सिद्धं सिद्धधिकाराच्च आप्तं समुदीरयेत् ॥"—quoted in Raghunandana's संकारतत्त्व and उद्धारतत्त्व ।

(b) " अथ श्रीमुखः—

षडगुरोः स्वामिनः पञ्च ई भव्ये चतुरो रिपी । श्रीशब्दानां तत्र' मिते स्रक्तैक' पुनर्भाष्ययोः ॥" This occurs in बरकचि's पत्रकौमुदी । [V. R. S. MSS., No. 201-202. and Rajshahi College Library MS., No. K (a) 128.]

'रभसो वेगवर्धयोः' इति विश्वः ॥ Of course रभस has a meaning like 'force'—properly 'वेग' । But to interpret the word here in this way would destroy the beautiful poetical sense. Brahman using force on Lakṣmī ! Certainly it could not be.

V. 7 :—The restoration of this verse is based on the consideration that elephants are fond of plunging in streams and ponds, and that they also scatter dust over bodies to keep off heat. Two alternate readings are suggested. The first, viz. दोह[न] रस[ः] is based on epigraphic reasons ; there is not much difference in the Epigraph among the letters 'न', 'न' and 'र' ;—cf. पीतो ; अतिरभसात् (v. 6) ;—सीमासीर-जं । (v. 2). There might have been confusion between 'न' and 'र' and probably 'न' has been omitted, as a result of that.

The second reading—दोह-रस [वाद्, दुग्धरस-धारा] gives the better sense ; but there is not enough space ; so it is less likely. [The reading दोहद is not apposite, as 'अयमिच्छामात्र-वाच्यपि विशेषेण ममिच्छीच्छायां प्रयुज्यते'—भानुगौरीचिन्तः

The construction would be—

१ पार्थिवपांसुः, दोहन-रसः (दुग्ध-रस इति) दिग्गजैः स्नाचाचनं स्पृष्टः । or

२ पार्थिवपांसुः एव दोहन-रसः, तस्य स्नाचया दिग्गजैः चनं स्पृष्टः ।

"The grey dust of earth was touched full of delight, by the guardian elephants of the several quarters, as if it was the tasteful milk (or stream of the milk-fluid) ; but the gods avoided it from a distance on account of the winkless nature of their eyes."

N.—पार्थिव refers to 'King', it will be a noun and not adjective. पार्थिव-पांसु could only be then taken as a षष्ठीतत्पुरुष which would mar the sense wholly]. Gods are called 'अनिमिषाः' on account of their winkless eyes.

"The dust cloud raised during his many victorious fights went to the celestial regions after giving to the hair locks of celestial musicians, a false look of premature old age."

N. The rest of the epigraph is in prose. The Emperor Śrī Candradeva is mentioned in the last line, as in camp at Vikrampur, which was not therefore perhaps the seat of government of the Dynasty.

HARIDAS MITRA

Śukra's Economics in Hindu Science

(a) *The Logic of Loka-hita* (Utilitarianism)

Political philosophy is, as the very title implies, a branch of philosophy. It may not, indeed, have to discuss the theory of perception or the nature of reality with which the philosophies technically so called have to deal. But in category as well as in substance the intercourse between political philosophy and these other philosophies is intimate.

How do the Śukra authors stand in relation to the philosophical systems of their days? A question like this may not be inappropriate to ask after having examined the economic categories and doctrines of *Śukranīti* in the *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, [vol. II, part I (Political)]. The problem is to ascertain the real value of the materialism such as was propagated by the Śukra authors in the light of the prevailing bodies of knowledge in other fields.

We are aware that the world in which the authors were discussing their special problems, namely, those bearing on the *Saptāṅga*, was a richly diversified one in point of the number of *vidyās*. Their names are legion, so to say, the authors have informed us (IV, iii, 45); and

more precisely, we are told, there are thirty-two primary branches of learning (IV, iii, 51-128).

So far as the so-called philosophies (*darśanas*) are concerned, the Śukra authors know them to be perhaps more than six. It is clear, at any rate, that the conventional six are quite well known to them. But it is interesting to note that the six have not been mentioned by them "as a group" (IV, iii, 55-56).

This is a curious item and, incidentally, may possess some value in the question of chronology. The relevant passages in the *Śukranīti* cannot, certainly, be as old as the times when the philosophies were not yet known to be six. These must have to be accorded a date posterior, say, to Haribhadra's *Saṁdarśana-samuccaya-sūtra*.

But how far posterior? The fact that the authors do not call the philosophies six in number in the same breath as they describe the *vidyās* as thirty-two seems to point to a period in which the figure 6 as indicating the number of philosophical systems has lost its special significance. Can we then take it that the intellectual atmosphere is oriented to the conditions which gave rise to Mādhavācārya's *Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha* (1331)? But of this more, later (sub-section, d).

The impact of all these sciences, and especially of the six philosophies on *Śukranīti* may be postulated as a matter of course. That the authors were working *en rapport* with the professors of other academies, is evident from the chapters on minerals, plants, animals, architecture, sculpture, painting, etc. These chapters may, indeed, be regarded as almost wholesale incorporations from specialised treatises on the subjects dealt with.

But in regard to some of the philosophies, at any rate, the impact seems to be not so much one of assimilation as of antipathy and repulsion. The authors are quite explicit on the question of their intellectual *credo*. They are thoroughly convinced that their own science (*nītiśāstra*) is more important than every other science (I, 20-24). For, what food is in the physical organism of an individual, that the *nītiśāstra* is in the body politic.

The authors do not certainly disparage all the sciences outside their own field by name. They have singled out only four, namely, grammar, logic, Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta (I, 14-20). We are told, for instance, that one can master a language even without studying grammar. In the same manner, treatises on logic may be dispensed with by persons who are bent on the pursuit of truth. Similarly, one

does not have to memorize Jaimini's lectures in order to master the rituals necessary in Vedic performances. Nor is it an absolute necessity to study the Vedantic disquisitions in order to be convinced of the frailties and littlenesses of the "world and the flesh."¹

The comparative insignificance of these four *vidyās* is further exhibited from another angle of vision. Not every human being on earth, we are to understand, is likely to be in need of these sciences. And as these sciences have no utility outside their circumscribed horizons, they can be useful to a very limited number of persons, to the "specialists." But what can the teeming millions do with these specialized branches of knowledge,—the men and women of the work-a-day world who have to pursue their commonplace round of duties?

The position of Śukra authors has been most categorically declared at the very commencement of their work. "Other sciences," say they "are but *kriyāikadeśabodhi*, i. e., have for their subject matter, certain limited interests of mankind." These must certainly yield the place to *nītiśāstra* which does not deal with *ekadeśa* (one aspect or domain) of human affairs (*kriyā*), but is, on the contrary *sarvopajīvaka*, i. e., helpful to all, aye, an instrument in, or, so to say, a pivot of, the social order. Verily, Kauṭilya (bk. I, ch. II) had caught the right Śukra tradition, as we have seen before, when he stated that there is but one *vidyā* on earth, namely, political science, in the estimation of Śukra and his scholars.

Such being the value of their science in their own eyes, the materialism that the Śukra authors preach is self-conscious and aggressive. The doses are quite strong and are not diluted with solutions of non-*nīti* thought.

They have not cared to indicate by bibliographical references the kind of philosophical symposium they used to enjoy. But the manner in which they have analysed the economic foundations of the *saptāṅga* does not fail to betray the company they kept. From top to bottom they are interested in the investigation of the utilities and ways and means of human welfare.

Their sole gospel is furnished by social service, *loka-hita* (I. 4-5), or utilitarianism.

(To be continued)

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

¹ *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, vol. II, pt. I, (Political), pp. 13-15 (Allahabad, 1921).

Situation of Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā : On the Equator

At the Third Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held in Madras in 1925 Sirdar Madhavarao Kibe Saheb submitted a paper claiming that the Laṅkā of Rāvaṇa described in Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa was located on a peak of the Amarakaṇṭaka mountain, which is an offshoot of the Vindhya and from which starts the Narmadā, which divides the continent of India into two parts, Northern and Southern. Professor Jacobi of Bonn admitted that this theory was superior to his, as regards the location of Laṅkā somewhere in Assam, when he edited Paumacariya which is a Jain version of the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. It is not a very old work. So also is the Daśaratha Jātaka which preserves the Buddhist version. The same topic formed the subject of a paper which the Sirdar Saheb read at the Session of the First Oriental Conference held at Poona in 1919 ; but the paper submitted to the 3rd Oriental Conference concludes with a remark that "the local information now supplied should leave no doubt that Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā was in Central India."

Leaving aside the above two theories viz., Assam and Central India we may mention here the almost axiomatic theory that Ceylon was Laṅkā and Laṅkā is Ceylon. Many Oriental Scholars stick to this theory as a dead certainty.

We however propose to submit to the reader a new theory regarding the situation of Laṅkā, which is supported by more weighty and reliable evidence collected from our ancient Sanskrit literature and mostly from Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa. This fourth theory may be summed up thus :—"Laṅkā was the capital of the big island known as Rākṣasa Dvīpa situated in the midst of the Southern ocean. This Laṅkā was situated on the equator or the middle part of the earth. The distance between the Southern extremity of India and the Rākṣasa Dvīpa or Laṅkā was a hundred Yojanas i.e. about 700 miles."

First, we propose to quote authoritative evidences to show that Ceylon and Laṅkā were not the same nor was the Laṅkā city situated in Ceylon.

(1) Siṃhala Dvīpa is mentioned in Vanaparva and Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata. Greek writers called Ceylon by the name Taprobane (Tāmrapaṇa). Sahadeva, the Pāṇḍava conqueror of Southern India,

is said to have conquered Tāmra Dvīpa, Rāmaka Parvata, and despatched envoys to demand tribute from king Bibhiṣaṇa of Laṅkā. This Tāmra Dvīpa is of course the ancient name of Ceylon.

(2) In Vanaparva, chapter 51, it is narrated that Śrī Kṛṣṇa went to visit the Pāṇḍavas when they went into exile. Seeing the deplorable condition of the Pāṇḍavas, Kṛṣṇa gave vent to his feelings of anger against the Kauravas and is said to have expressed as follows :—“The prosperity of Dharmarāja at the time of the Rājasūya Yajña was so great that kings of all countries in India were offering services to him in any low capacity whatever, not even minding their position or prestige. The kings of Siṃhala, Barbarā, Mlecchā and Laṅkā were doing the work of serving food to the guests.” Here the compiler of the Mahābhārata mentions Siṃhala and Laṅkā as separate kingdoms.

(3) Next in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (chapter 58, verses 20-29), the Kūrma-vibhāga mentions the names of the countries of Southern India. Among the lists we read :

लङ्का कालाजिनायैव शैलिका निकटास्तथा ॥ २० ॥

दक्षिणाः कौरवा ये च ऋषिकस्तापसायनाः ।

ऋषभाः सिंहायैव तथा काशीनिवासिनः ॥ २१ ॥

These countries are said to be on the right side of the Kūrma. Here also we find Laṅkā and Siṃhala as separate countries.

(4) The Bhāgavata (5th skandha, chapter 19, verses 28-30) has enumerated the eight minor islands (उपद्वीप) of Jambu Dvīpa. It is said that

जम्बुद्वीपस्य च राजन्न उपद्वीपानष्टौ द्वेक उपदिशन्ति सगरात्मजैरश्वत्थं वषट्मां महीं परितो निखनति-
रूपकस्त्रितान् ॥ २८ ॥ तद्यथा स्वर्गप्रस्थयन्द्रयल्ल आवर्तनो रमणको मंदरहरिणः पांचजन्यः सिंहो
लंकेति ॥ २९ ॥

Here it is clear that the 7th उपद्वीप was Siṃhala and the 8th was Laṅkā.

(5) Varāha Mihira the great astronomer has mentioned in his ब्रह्मस्फुटसिद्धान्त (chapter XIV) the names of the countries in Southern India.

अथ दक्षिणे लङ्काकालाजिनसौरिकीयतालिकाटाः ॥ ११ ॥

काशी मरुचीपट्टनचेयविकसिहला ऋषभाः ॥ १५ ॥

It is stated further that the names are given in order, commencing from left to right. Anyhow we can say this much that Laṅkā and Siṃhala were away from each other.

(6) There are many passages in Sanskrit dramas and poetical works stating that Ceylon and Laṅkā were two different islands. At least it can be definitely said that no reference from Sanskrit works

has been yet offered which expressly says that Ceylon is the ancient Laṅkā. And it is quite likely that such a reference cannot possibly be discovered. We give below one of the passages in support of our statement from Bāla-Rāmāyaṇa, a Sanskrit drama in 10 acts by Poet Rājaśekhara. He lived in the 9th century A. C. He is said to have travelled throughout the length and breadth of India and his information may safely be believed to be quite correct regarding the geographical details he has offered. From the passage quoted below it will be clear that he meant for certain that Siṃhala (Ceylon) was different from Laṅkā. For example, in the 3rd act we find that a drama named "Sītā-svayaṃvara" was being staged before Rāvaṇa, the king of Laṅkā for his amusement. Among the kings assembled for seeking the hand of Sītā in marriage there is the king of Siṃhala, named Rājaśekhara. Rāvaṇa taunts him and says:—

रावणः—सिंहलपते किमिदं सन्दिह्यते । न च सन्देहो हो वीरव्रतनिर्वाहः ।

This means, if it means anything, that Rāvaṇa and the lord of Siṃhala were different personages.

Again in the 10th act while returning from Laṅkā to Ayodhyā with Sītā, Rāma first showed the city of Laṅkā and the place where he fought with Rāvaṇa. Bibhiṣaṇa was also their companion. He further showed her the Siṃhala Dvīpa on being questioned about it by Sītā:—

सीता—अखण्डिताखण्डलकोदण्डमण्डलप्रतिरूपः कतरः पुनरेव च दृश्यः ।

बिभीषणः—पश्यस्वये जलधिपरिखं मण्डलं सिद्धलाशाम् पितृवसं मणिसममुखा रोहवेनाचखेन ॥

दूर्वाकाण्डच्छविषु चतुरं मण्डनं यद्भूतां गावश्चामी भवति गलिलं रत्नतां यन्निगमं ॥

The very important thing to be noted in the above verse is that Bibhiṣaṇa does not mention anything about Laṅkā or himself in the above description of Siṃhala or Ceylon, because they had all left Laṅkā in the back ground and details about the same had been given to Sītā already. It clearly appears from the above verse that Siṃhala was a smaller island and the poet means that Laṅkā was situated to the south-west of Siṃhala.

If Laṅkā and Siṃhala were two different islands we must find out the exact situation of Laṅkā.

It has been stated above that Laṅkā was at a distance of a hundred yojanas from the southern limits of India. The island was 100 yojanas in length and 40 yojanas in breadth. The dimensions are certainly not applicable to Siṃhala. Professor S. B. Dikshit the author of the 'Bhāratavarṣīyabhūvarṇanā' says, "that Ceylon is Laṅkā" but the distance of a hundred yojanas as given in Rāmāyaṇa puzzles him and he seems to be uncertain about the identification.

Before we trace the path taken up by Hanumat when he first went to Laṅkā in search of Sitā, let us see whether there is any other evidence to prove that Laṅkā was away from Ceylon.

In the Vāyu Purāṇa, (Bhuvanavinyāsa, chapter 48), the author describes the six isles round about Jambu Dvīpa as follows :— (i) Aṅga Dvīpa, (ii) Yava Dvīpa, (iii) Malaya Dvīpa, (iv) Śaṅkha Dvīpa, (v) Kuśa Dvīpa, and (vi) Varāha Dvīpa.

The third in the above list viz. Malaya Dvīpa is further described in verses 20-30 of the same chapter. It is said about this island that there are many gold mines there and the population consists of several classes of Mlecchas. There is a great mountain named Malaya containing silver mines. Heavenly bliss is obtained on the mountain on every Parva or Amāvasyā day. The famous Trikūṭa mountain is also situated in this island. The mountain is very extensive and has several very beautiful valleys and summits. The great city called Laṅkā is founded on one of the slopes of this mountain. Its length is hundred yojanas while its breadth is 30 yojanas. To the east of this island lies a great Śiva temple in a holy place called Gokaṛṇa. The above description is clear enough to enable us to infer that Laṅkā Purī was on the mountain Trikūṭa, which was situated in the 3rd isle, Malaya Dvīpa, which was one of the six Upa-dvīpas of Jambu Dvīpa. This Malaya Dvīpa is nothing else but the present Maldives in the Indian Ocean. The Maldives are situated on the equator.

The above inference is fully corroborated and supported by the description of the situation of Laṅkā as given by the great astronomer and mathematician Bhāskarācārya, a resident of Halebid Karṇāṭaka, (born 1037 Śaka or 1115 A. D.). He writes in the Golādhyāya, a work on Mathematics (Bhuvanakośa, 17) :—

लङ्का कुम्भे यमकोटिरस्याः प्राक् पश्चिमे रोमकपटनं च ॥

अथस्तः सिङ्गपुरं सुमेरुः सीर्यऽथ यानि वङ्गामलसः ।

The above verse means that Laṅkā is on or about the equator. Astronomers call the equatorial region by the name Nirakṣa i. e. 0° latitude Deśa. In the same chapter in verses 47-49 it is stated that Laṅkā Purī was on the equator and that there was a small difference in the longitudes of Avantī (Ujjain) and Laṅkā. At least such was the firm belief of Bhāskarācārya. The longitude of Avantī is 75° 75'.

Now let us see whether the description about the situation of Laṅkā in the Rāmāyaṇa adds support to the above statement of Bhāskarācārya.

Sugrīva the all-India traveller *par excellence* while mentioning the

geographical details to the south of the Kāverī says (Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa, sarga 41, verses 15-18) that "after crossing the Mahānadi Tāmraparṇi, which embraces the ocean as a young maiden, the gate of Pāṇḍya Deśa (कवाटं पांचालं) is to be reached and also the sea coast. The sea will have to be crossed over."

ततः समुद्रमासाद्य सम्प्रधार्यार्थनिश्चयम् । अगस्त्ये नानुरे तव सागरे विनिर्दिष्टतः ॥१६॥

चित्रसागुनगः श्रीमान्महेन्द्रः पर्वतोत्तमः । जातरूपमयः श्रीमानवगाढ मङ्गलार्णवम् ॥२०॥

These verses describe clearly that this Mahendra mountain is different from the one in the Kaliṅga province and that a side of this had entered in the ocean south-wards and was immersed in the waters of the ocean. Further on, in verse 23 we read that on the western side of this mountain at the other extremity, lies an island which extends over a hundred yojanas, (दीपसखापरि पारि शतयोजनविस्तरः, compare verse 24 : स हि देशस्तु वध्यस्तु रावणस्तु दुरात्मनः). Nothing can be clearer and we may safely infer that the abode of Rāvaṇa known as रावणद्वीप with its capital Laṅkā was in the westerly direction from the कवाटं of पांचदेस or in other words, the southern extreme point on the coast of India. Sīṃhala or Ceylon thus fails to answer the most crucial point of the above description.

In the same Kāṇḍa (sarga 60, verse 7) Sampātī says about the mountain where he along with the search party of Hanumat was seated before Hanumat flew over to Laṅkā दक्षिणसोदधेक्षीरे विध्योयमिति निश्चितः). It was from the top of this mountain that Māruti took his gigantic leap into the sky with a view to reach the island of Rāvaṇa.

The identification of पांचालं कवाटं with कवाटपुरम् or कपाटपुरम् (Tamil) is an intelligent discovery by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.¹

The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya has also referred to Tāmraparṇi Nadi and the Pāṇḍya Kavāṭa (Shamasastri's translation of कवेवाण, p. 86). Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says, "This पांचालं कवाटम्, a door-way of the Pāṇḍyas, is a fine commentary on the कवाटं पांचालम् of the Rāmāyaṇa. The commentator of the Arthaśāstra explains it as a mountain known as Malayakoṭi in the Pāṇḍya country. It is rather of doubtful propriety that a place where pearls are found should be referred to as a mountain. It seems much more likely that the expression पांचकवाटम् means the doorway of entrance into the Pāṇḍya country from the sea, and the Malayakoṭi of the commentator therefore would then be the promontory where the Western Ghats dive into the sea"²

1 The Beginnings of South Indian History, p. 63.

2 Ibid., p. 68 n.

The above details regarding the doorway of the Pāṇḍya Deśa clearly give us the idea that the southern cape of India, viz. Cape Comorin is the place meant here; for near this point the Mahendra mountain has dipped into the sea. From the details of the geography of South India as given by Sugrīva we are entitled to infer that the Rākṣasa Dvīpa, the abode of राक्षस was situated to the west of this mountain range.

We have several authorities to show that Lāṅkā became immersed in the ocean owing to agitations of the waters soon after Rāma went back to Ayodhyā after the fight.

The present Maldives cover up the same position which once was covered by the Rākṣasa Dvīpa. It extended from 6° north latitude down to 1° south of the equator lengthwise while its breadth was from 73½° to 76° west longitude.

When the island was thus going under sea and became uninhabitable, some of the inhabitants might have come to colonize the ancient Tāmra Dvīpa or Tāmrapaṇī, which was afterwards called the Siṃhala Dvīpa or Ceylon.

Even the geologists maintain that before the 4th millennium B. C. there existed a big continent in the Indian Ocean. Its extent lay from the south of Africa, eastward towards the south of America, to the south of India. In course of time **this big** continent became immersed in the waters and what portions **we have** now such as Malaya Dvīpa, Sychellis, Rodrigues, Chagos, **Mauritiūs**, Madagascar, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Ascension, Falkland, Graham, West Antartica etc. are nothing but the mountain tops or plateaus of the old big continent. The Malaya Dvīpa or Maldives is the site of the Rākṣasa Dvīpa of Rāvaṇa with its capital Lāṅkā Puri.

V. H. VADER

Setagiri of the Nāsik Inscription

The Nasik inscription of Balaśrī describes the king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi as 'Vijh-achavata-pāricāta-sahya-kaṇhagiri-maca-siriṭana-malaya-mahid-aseṭagiri-cakora-pavatapati.'¹ All the mountains mentioned here except Seṭagiri have now been identified but nothing is yet known about Seṭagiri. Mr. Kane in his *Ancient Geography and Civilisation of Mahārāṣṭra* observes, "What is Seṭagiri is not clear. Dr. Bhagvanlal takes it to be 'Ṣaḍgiri.' Is it Śreṣṭhagiri or Ṣaṣṭigiri ?"² Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar also in his articles on the Deccan of the Sātavāhana period remarks that the mountain is yet unidentified.³ But the name Seṭagiri occurs in one of the cave inscriptions of Western India ; and if we properly read that inscription, it will not be difficult to point out unmistakably the mountain which was, in ancient times, known by that name.

Junnar was a very important commercial centre in ancient times. It was situated on the Nana Pass route, nearly fifty miles north of Poona. Not far from Junnar is the steep bare slope of Nana's Thumb as it is known even to this day. The Nana Pass is on the north side of the Thumb and the Guna Pass which is now not used but is said to have been formerly practicable is on the south of the Thumb. This Nana Pass is known for the famous Nanaghat inscriptions⁴ of the time of Śātakarṇi, probably the third king of the dynasty. But there is also another less famous inscription at Nanaghat on a cistern which records that it was cut by a merchant named Damaghasa of Kamavana. 'The Nana Pass climbs a steep slope, the zigzags of undressed stones which seems to have once been rock-cut steps of which broken or worn traces remain. On either side of the path the hills rise thickly covered with trees and at intervals seats and reservoirs are cut in the rock.'⁵ On the top of the Nana Pass on the right is a platform paved in dressed stones and about 250 feet from the platform is a line of caves and water-cisterns on each side of the path. One of these caves is the famous Nanaghat Cave. On the right side of the path opposite the inscription

1 Lüder's List, No. 1123.

2 p. 23. n. 2 published in the *JBBRAS*.

3 *Indian Antiquary*, 1918, p. 151. 4 *ASWI*, vol. v, pp. 68-69.

5 *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. 18, part ii, p. 213.

cave, there is an unfinished cave and a little further on there are many more cuttings now in utter ruin. On both sides of the path there are at intervals small plain cisterns. A cistern on the left however has traces of an inscription and another on the right very deep and much like cistern No. 5 at Kanheri bears an inscription in front of the recess. This is about half a mile from the main cave and nearly at the foot of the crag.¹ The inscription on this cistern was deciphered by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji² and reads as follows :—

1. Sidham raṇo vaṣiṭhīputasa catarapanasa satakanisa
2. Savachara 13 hematapakha pacame divase 10
3. Kamavanasa gahapatasasa Damaghasasa deyadhama
4. Paniyapuvā deyadhama TAGARA PAVATE etha.

Pandit Bhagvanlal held that the old name of Junnar was Tagara mentioned in the *Periplus* of the Erythræan Sea as a great centre of commerce and also by Ptolemy ; and he read the inscription to suit this identification. Later researches have now conclusively³ proved that the site of the important town of Tagara was near Ter in the Nizam's Dominions. Evidently 'Tagara pavate etha' would now be meaningless. Apart from this, it would also be difficult to explain the genitive singular, 'deyadhama.' The last line must necessarily be read as follows :—

Paniyapuvā deyadhama SATAGARA PAVATE etha.

(The meritorious gift, a water-cistern, here on the mountain Satagara.)

We have indicated above the exact position of the water-cistern which bears the inscription given above. The mountain on which we find this cistern, which was the meritorious gift of Damaghasa of Kamavana, and through which the Nana Pass was cut, was, it may now be assumed, known in ancient times as SATAGARA or SETAGIRI. The country surrounding this mountain was undoubtedly included in the dominions of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. Considering the importance of the Nana Pass, and consequently, of the mountain, through which it was cut, it is natural to expect a mention of it in the list of mountains included in the dominions of Gautamīputra, given in the inscription of his mother, Gautamī Balaśrī. It will now be found that this important mountain has been mentioned, only its identification was not possible so long.

VIDYASAGAR SADASHIV BAKHLE

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. 18, pt. ii, p. 211.

² *JBRAS.*, vol. xv, p. 313.

³ *JRAS.*, 1901, p. 557.

Hindu Politics in Italian

IV

Attention may here be invited to another Indian work in which although Machiavelli has not been mentioned by name, the present question, viz., that of the relation of morals to politics has been dealt with in a clear manner. This is R. Shamasastri's *Evolution of Indian Polity* (Calcutta, 1920, pp. xvi-176).¹

1 There is plenty of confusion in this work. But, throughout, it is dotted over with bits of rich material, which need a thoroughly clean and consistent working up. The preface gives a good summary of the author's position, and the appendices also are interesting. The volume is worth consulting.

The book is full of long extracts from ancient, mediæval and modern writings, in which the relevant words or phrases are to be met with few and far between. The chronology is often hopelessly promiscuous. Conjectures play a great role in most chapters. One such is that bearing on the cow (over which the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas fought) as being none other than a woman.

"There seems to have been," says S, "an institution of women, called Brahmajayas, Brahmagavis, Vasas or Cows, whom the priests had the exclusive privilege to marry. The Kṣatriya class seems to have been the result of the union of these women with the Brahman priests (p. 43)." He concludes that the priestly class of the Vedic age established an "institution of queens" and reserved to themselves the right of begetting on them a ruling king and warrior soldiers. The king and the soldiers are said to have been "compelled to observe a celibate life" and have "no ruling power over the priestly class." This queer polity "in its pristine Vedic form" is alleged "still to linger in the states of Travancore and Cochin" (pp. 73-74). Conjectural philology has thus been tied up to contemporary ethnology. The arguments are not convincing but curious enough to arrest attention.

Wherever S. gets the words God, temple, etc. he seems to discover a "theocracy." The casual references to Western topics do not indicate familiarity with the subject and are misleading (pp. x, xiv, 116). The ideals of religious preachers are postulated to be actual facts of social

"In advocating the battle of intrigue as a better means than open warfare," says S. (p. 122), "neither Kauṭilya nor his contemporary politicians seem to have troubled themselves with the moral aspect of the question. According to them the end that is sought for is all in all. As to means, it may be fair or foul, moral or immoral."

life. He considers the "kingdom of righteousness" (*dhammacakkā*) to be a real political fabric during certain periods of history (pp. 99, 114-115).

As a study in polity i.e. political institutions, "public law" or constitution, the book necessarily fails to satisfy the demands of critical approach, since among other reasons it takes almost every word in the Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina texts as genuine history without an examination or even a question as to the positive institutional value of the evidence. The author has produced, besides, a more or less general account of Indian antiquities, semi-political and socio-religious or cultural, rather than a strictly constitutional history, as the title implies. Not a word is to be found about the historic republican constitutions. The inscriptions with constitutional value have been ignored. Almost a fourth of the book is given over to the speculative study on the origin of the Kṣatriyas. One wonders very often if the learned author, discoverer and first translator of the *Arthasāstra*, as he happens to be, has seriously cared to inquire as to what topics are expected to be dealt with in a series of lectures on the history of a polity or polities.

It is time that writers in the field of Indic studies should begin to make a sharp distinction between archaeology, commentarial translation or antiquarian lore and the *special sciences* such as history, economics, politics, psychology, logic, aesthetics, etc. Neither Indian nor foreign students of indology can afford to be indifferent to the standard of scholarship that is employed and demanded in the studies bearing on Western politics, economics, history, philosophy and fine arts. A mere knowledge of the language in which a culture is embedded is not certainly the chief or the only equipment in scientific investigations. Justice can be done to the real subject-matter only when—with or without a knowledge of philology, there is an effective command over one or other of the special sciences.

Whatever the treatise may happen to be, there are certain valuable suggestions to be gleaned from here and there. The Dravidian impact on political organization constitutes one of the important items in

Again, "according to K., might, expediency and self-aggrandisement are the chief objects for consideration, and religion, morality and agreements of peace are of secondary or no consideration (VII, 17). Whoever is rising in power may break the agreement of peace XIII, 4)" (p. 124).

Further, "Evidently K. belongs to that school of politicians whose policy is to justify the means by the noble end sought to be achieved... who appear to have formed a majority in spite of the prevalence of puritanic forms of moral thoughts based upon the humanitarian principles of Jainism and Buddhism" (p. 133).

Shamasastry has thus no doubt as to the strands of Machiavellism in the *Arthasāstra*.

It will at the same time have to be recognized without vagueness

Shamasastry's hints. Then one can guess also that the tug-of-war between the different faiths carried along with it a struggle over the form of government (pp. 140-145).

Such hints thrown out by S. are likely to be helpful, if systematically pursued, in the study of the developments in the morphology of the Hindu state. The race-element in ancient Indian constitution deserves careful investigation as an independent topic in political anthropology. It is strange that the interpretations offered by S. hold as some of them are, remain unnoticed in the writings of subsequent writers. But perhaps it is a natural nemesis, for S. himself has cared not to recognize any of his predecessors in the field of Hindu polity. To ignore previous writers, be it remarked *en passant*, constitutes neither originality nor scholarship.

It may be observed incidentally that the Vedic texts have been attacked by Shamasastry, Nag and Ghoshal from three different angles. Some of the references are generically common. But there are special features in each, not all of which appear, however, to be mutually reconcilable. A student of anthropology with economic bias can make use of all these and other data and induce them to tell a coherent and intelligible story. The possibilities of preparing an account of the origin or beginnings of Hindu politics (comprising laws and morals) seem to be already at hand. It is to be noted that none of the three authors here reviewed have tried to visualize Vedic polity and political thought in the context of Greek and Roman "pre-history," or of fields outside of the stereotyped "Indo-Aryan" domain.

what S. does not do, namely, that the *Arthaśāstra* is a treatise of political philosophy and not the document of an actual constitution. Nobody knows as to whether the rules of diplomacy and warfare discussed in it were put to practice by the statesmen and generals, and if so, when and where. It is quite possible that it furnished manuals for practical guidance for politicians and officers. But for the present it is mainly as a contribution to theory that the treatise deserves consideration.

A considerable portion of what passes for "polity" in Shamastry's book is really not polity at all but speculation on polity or political philosophy which is an entirely different thing from polity. But this distinction has been ignored and overlooked by authors, Indian and Eur-American, on Hindu politics.

Let us now turn to Ghoshal who in his *History*¹ (pp. 155-156) has much to say on Machiavelli.

1 It is not possible to agree with many of the interpretations in Ghoshal's *History*. His book has grown virtually into an examination of the theory of kingship. The problems selected by him for survey have imposed limitations on the scope. The author perhaps is not conscious of these limitations, for he does not mention them anywhere in the preface or the text.

While examining the features of the "standard Indian polity" such as are likely to have "shaped much of Hindu political thought" he makes use of evidences whose institutional value is questionable (pp. 13-16). For, the author exploits the same class of data while discussing the theories themselves. How can one and the same evidence be used indifferently for speculation as well as for facts without a word of explanation? The constitutional background ought to have been exhibited on the strength of more historical and concrete material. But he has not cared to attend to this aspect of the problem.

He makes too much of the doctrine of the alleged divinity of the king in the Vedic texts (pp. 27-32). It is ignored that almost every thing is endowed with the so called "divine attributes" in the *Vedas*. Similarly, the significance of the fact that every sacrificer is the equal of Br̥haspati or identical with Indra, Prajāpati, Varuṇa and other gods, has been lost sight of. The sole constitutional value of the passages cited by the author should lead to the doctrine not that the king's authority is based upon divinity but exactly its contrary, namely, that the divinity itself comes from kingship.

He believes that there are "some remarkable coincidences as well as contrasts." M., as he cites Dunning's *History of Political Theories Ancient and Modern*, is the "first modern political philosopher." To this a contrast is said to be found in Kauṭilya, for he was "preceded

The doctrine of "king's rule by virtue of his divinity" happens to occupy a large place in this work. But since the author commences with an undue emphasis and false orientation he is perpetually obsessed by the burden of the doctrine and fails to get rid of the nightmare. The treatise therefore labours under a tremendous misconception from beginning to end and loses much of its scientific value.

The explanation of the theory of "class origins" is not happy (pp. 44-45). The oft-quoted *Puruṣasūkta* cannot involve the dogma of the "precedence" of some in regard to others. There is no logic in the haphazard manner in which the Sun and the Moon, the Brāhmaṇa and the Śūdra are described as having been born. Nor do the statements in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* to the effect that one is "chief", another is "strong" and so forth point to anything more than the fact that each one is some body in his own field (cf. also p. 61).

It is interesting to observe that Shamasastri in his *Evolution of Indian Polity* (pp. 97-140, 145) strongly maintains the thesis that "neither during the Vedic period nor in the times of Kauṭilya divine birth or right of kings seems to have been thought of". In his judgment the caste system was equally unknown during the Kautilyan period (p. 144).

The right place of Vedic thought in the history of political speculation has not been appropriately grasped by the author. While the war-chief and the firecraftsman have been accorded much of the canvas the real centre of political as well as social and economic interest has been virtually ignored.

It is the *viś*-group, the people, or the *demos* that should command the attention of the investigator of Vedic politics. The two paramount factors of that public life are furnished by (1) wars of the tribal *viś* with the Daśyus and (2) wars among the tribal *viś* themselves. External or foreign politics constitute the backbone of *viś*-activities.

The chief is there as head of the expeditionary forces consisting, as they do, of the entire *viś*. And the priest as well as his ritualistic *hocuspocus* has no other function but to serve the war-animus of the *viś*.

It is but as specialized functionaries at the service of the *viś* community that the leaders, temporal and spiritual, acquire their signifi-

by a long line of teachers of the *Arthaśāstra*." But one may ask, "is not M. also the last of an old series like K. ? Or, again, is not K. also like M. the first of a new series ?"

cance. It is the *viś*, however, that is abroad "conquering and to conquer."

Neither the polity nor the political thoughts of Vedic *Rṣis*, should there be any, can be adequately explained if one approaches the subject from the angle of mythology and religion or from that of the life-history of the chief or the sacrificial minister. This is why Ghoshal has failed to visualize the genuine problems of the fire-sages, harnessed, as they are, to colonizing, conquest and inter-tribal war and peace, and altogether to the evocation and development of the aggressive personality of the *viś*-group.

The same absence of balance in regard to the problems of political theory vitiates G's treatment of the subject during subsequent periods. In his examination of the doctrine of *saptāṅga* he seems hardly to be conscious of the fact that the theorists whose thoughts he is studying considered the king to be but *one* of the seven limbs of the body politic.

Political science as a *vidyā* was not described by them as a royal science or a priestly science. They used terms which had nothing to do with the king or the priest. *Arthaśāstra*, *nītiśāstra*, *daṇḍanīti* are all names that serve to focus the attention on larger, abstract, communal interest. It is secularism as a whole (*artha*), laws or statecraft in their entirety (*nīti*), and punishment or coercion i.e. "sanction" of Austinian sovereignty (*daṇḍa*) that form the subject-matter of their speculation. The term *rājadharma* (king's duties) has indeed been used in *Mahābhārata*, Manu and other *Smṛti* texts. But there it is but a chapter in an encyclopaedia of the duties of men.

Ghoshal has not cared to do justice either to *saptāṅga* or to the science of the *saptāṅga* as understood by the Hindu philosophers. Neither public finance nor international law (understood of course in pre-Grotian sense, nor jurisprudence nor the theory of war has been touched upon by the author. And he is oblivious, as a matter of course, of the *rāṣṭra* (the territory and people) with its economic factors. All these, however, are to be found elaborately dwelt upon in Hindu political philosophy.

Instead the author has furnished his readers with a series of theories of kingship and a bundle of ideas on the relations between the king

The work of K. is described by Ghoshal as "embracing the branches of civil law and military science as well as that of public administration." But was M. less encyclopaedic? A list of his works has already been given. Simply because the old Sanskrit treatises happen to be libraries

and the priest. An absolutely wrong view has thus been bequeathed on the thoughts of the ancient and mediæval philosophers. It is reasonable to take the book not as "a history of Hindu political theories," as it claims to be, but as a history of Hindu political literature with special reference to kingship. But in any event, the publication is likely to propagate among the readers an one-sided and erroneous judgment on the philosophical worth of the Hindu political theorists.

The *rājya* (p. 85) is equivalent to "state". It is generally taken for "kingdom", but this implies a territorial unit which is comprehended by *rāṣṭra* "one of the seven limbs of *rājya*." And of course it is neither "government" nor "sovereignty". Only, under certain conditions when an abstraction is desired, one might use "sovereignty" as an abstract concept equivalent to the concrete state. But in the doctrine of *saptāṅga* as philosophical category the *rājya* is not sovereignty.

Utathya's lecture in the *Mahābhārata* on righteousness or justice as the *sine qua non* of kingship does not embody a "peculiar Hindu conception," as G. believes (p. 99). It is a very common place item of thought in Stoic and Patristic speculations. It occurs even in the French epic of the thirteenth century *Le couronnement de Louis*. However, G. forgets Utathya later, when he studies *Sukranīti*.

It is not clear why the author should consider the *Dīghanikāya* theory of contract "an isolated phenomenon in the history of Hindu political thought" (pp. 121, 135-136). For, from his own references it is evident that the consequences of the theory are embodied in the older *Dharmasūtra* as well as in the later *Nīti* literature in the shape of the notion that taxation is the price of protection. Besides, since *Dīghanikāya* postulates the existence of a "state of nature" subsequent to the Saturnian age of "no family and no property", it tallies quite well with the traditional *mātsya-nyāya* of Indian speculation, after which the election of the first king is said to have taken place. The Kauṭilya passage on contract has been previously examined in connection with Bottazzi.

This contract theory, be it noted, has proved to be a veritable stumbling block to the author. Again and again he forces himself into

in nutshell one must not, while instituting comparisons with European works, ignore the multiplicity of works written by single authors. For instance, taking a case from ancient Greece, would it be right to mention only the *Laws* of Plato, or must we not include also his

unnecessary self-contradictions over this problem. Perhaps he considers it to be too democratic for his own hypothesis in regard to Hindu political philosophy. But unfortunately for him, the theory in one form or another appears too often in the texts to be explained away.

G's examination of Śākya's lectures on the "seven conditions of welfare" in regard to republics is perfunctory and extremely unjust. He considers Śākya the Buddha to be a mere "moralist" and not a "political philosopher" strictly so called (p. 123). Yes, but Socrates was nothing else. And yet historians of the precursors of Plato know how to deal with Socrates and the sophists as philosophers as well as political theorists.

"Obedience to the elders" is one of the items mentioned by Śākya. This cannot be ruled away simply as a moral maxim. Age has been enjoying a constitutional value even today. The Japanese *Genro* is an institution based on the principle of obedience to elders. In the present German constitution, which is known to be the "most democratic of all the constitutions" existing in the world, the Reichstag has accorded a distinct position of honour to the oldest member. One need not equate the Śākyan, or for that matter, tribal reverence for age with these latest manifestations. But it is not absolutely irrelevant to note the fact. "Association with the aged" is a Kautilyan maxim as well, although perhaps in a pedagogic sense.

G. has omitted the *Mahāvagga* and the *Cullavagga*, those treatises containing the statutes of Buddhist ecclesiastical polity. As document of *droit constitutionnel* this *Vinaya* literature is unique in ancient Hindu thought. And although mainly institutional in contents, the books might be made to yield some of the theories of the Śākyan monks in regard to the problems of authority, justice, liberty, individuality, democracy and so forth.

Besides, anybody who consults the *Vinaya* texts with the eyes of a jurist will be forced to admit that Śākya or rather the men who collected his sayings were not ordinary moralists. Śākya and the Śākyan "stalwarts" seem to have been trained lawyers and logicians, with whom

Statesman and *Republic* as well, while framing an estimate of his contributions to political thought?

But credit has to be given to Ghoshal in regard to an important item. The empirical method of M., says he, "supported as it is by

the Roman jurisconsults like Gaius and Ulpian and the mediæval "prince of jurists", Bartolus, would have enjoyed trying their mettle. The analysis of legal and constitutional forms and the investigation of procedure, evidence and other items relevant to corporational transactions that these two *vaggas* exhibit, constitute some of the greatest monuments of Hindu genius in the field of political philosophy.

G. cuts short his examination of Śākya's moralizings on the plea that they do not embody any political theory. But in that event why does he devote almost a third of his entire book to the moralizings in the Vedic, Dharmasūtra, Mahābhārata and later literature? Nearly every pretension of the Brāhmaṇas and the rival claims of the Kṣatriyas, on which the author bestows plenty of attention, should, to a critical and impartial student, appear to be nothing but moral sermons administered by each group to its victims.

Asoka's *edicts* likewise should demand the attention of the student of political theory. For, Asoka has undoubtedly a great place in political philosophy. In the midst of the ethical propaganda one can discover certain ideas that are no mean contributions to the world of political thought. The "problem of the Empire," i. e. imperial nationalism is manifest in Asoka's solicitation for administrative uniformity. A second contribution of Asoka to political philosophy consists in the formulation of the doctrine of "enlightened despotism" in the manifesto which compares the subjects to the children. Then, on the question of diverse religions in a state Asoka's mind had certain thoughts which deserve careful consideration in an estimate of political theory. And so on.

These omissions in the realm of what may with certain reservations be described as the so-called Buddhist political philosophy are undesirable features in a general history of Hindu political ideas.

The chapter on Kauṭilya is poor in quality and very disappointing (pp. 124-158). It has degenerated into a summary of the translation on certain selected topics, which, again, do not rise above the conventional. One encounters here neither the labour of research nor the brain of interpretation. And unfortunately, just those contributions

frequent references to the history of classical antiquity, has some resemblance to the empiricism of K. which is fortified by occasional references to the Indian traditional history." The point need not be stressed too far but will have to be admitted against Winternitz who

which constitute the greatness of Kauṭilya in the history of politics, namely, his superb thoughts on finance, *maṇḍala*, strategy and tactics, have been sedulously avoided by the author.

He has, besides, been shunted off the right track by an unwarrantable, wrong attitude in regard to the Kautilyan treatise. He believes that it is chiefly a book of practical guidance for statesmen with very subsidiary, if at all any, significance in the general *science* of politics. A correct judgment should be quite otherwise. Kauṭilya's book is political science *par excellence*, furnished, as it happens to be, with a wealth of concrete illustrations from statecraft such as are unknown even in the *Mahābhārata*. The existence of plentiful realistic data must not be interpreted as imparting to the volume the character of a mere handbook on the art of government meant for the ministers, the bureaucracy, and the army officers.

The philosophical discussions that mark its chapters throughout open up to us a mind or minds to whom society, state, laws, wealth, war etc. furnish the categories as well as problems of thought.

The "divine origin of the king," the "king's divine nature" and such phrases together with the terms "canons" and "canonical treatises" occur in the book at almost every page. And the author finds himself in a maze of perplexities.

While discussing the categories as explained in the post-Kautilyan literature, in *Mahābhārata* and *Manu*, he concedes that "divinity" can be interpreted as a "metaphorical" assimilation of the king's functions with those of the specified deities (p. 180). But on the last but one page of the book (p. 277) he finds it inconvenient to "set much store" by the same contention. Herewith, again, most probably the trouble arises from the author's hypothesis which it is difficult to reconcile with the secular and democratic elements such as are actually to be found in Hindu theorising.

He believes that the idea of "Viṣṇu's entering the person of the king" is a solid substance. This myth is supposed to have been deliberately created in order to strengthen the principle of authority (p. 181). Perhaps so. But he himself lays the axe at the root of the

believes that the "historical point of view is entirely foreign to the author of the *Arthasāstra*."

The subject has been touched upon previously in the examination of Formichi's *Salus Populi*. It was referred to likewise in the notes to the present writer's English translation of *Śukranīti* (1914).

kingly divinity when he has to concede, again, that the duty of protection is imposed on the king by God Himself (pp. 184-186). Thus, the duty of the people towards the king is balanced by that of the king towards the people. That is, the people is no less "divine" than the king. What is left to the king to brag of as a speciality, as a *differentium*?

If the author be prepared to admit this doctrine of reciprocity as a teaching of the *Mahābhārata*, why should he consider it to be 'incongruous' with the Buddhist theory of contract in any substantial sense (p. 172)? For, that theory enunciates nothing more than the idea that the king is "an official paid by his subjects for the service of protection."

Whether the king be "ordained by God," or "elected by the agreement of the people," he is a "servant" in any case and has the duty of protection "which is the sole justification of his existence," as the texts cited by the author indicate. Thus considered, "pragmatically" speaking, the older Buddhist, *Brāhmaṇa*, *Dharmasūtra* and *Arthasāstra*, as well as the Kautilyan and the later Manu and *Mahābhārata* theories should appear to be identical, although no doubt, for the present, nothing more than fractions of the idea in question can be discovered in each.

The "divine" origin does not introduce a really new element to the thinkers who happen to be secularists. Nor does the secular, Buddhist conception have to be described as "repugnant" to those who want to glorify kingship with higher "sanctions".

In other words it is not absolutely necessary to believe that the doctrine of the divinity of the king was deliberately formulated with the object of "counteracting the individualistic tendencies of the Buddhist canon expressed in this case in its remarkable theory of contract" (see also p. 267). The question has once been discussed in another context while reviewing Bottazzi's book.

One is at a loss to find why the author has to trouble himself with a legion of inconsistencies. It is amusing, again, to notice

But, says G., "the comparison serves however to emphasize an essential difference between the ideas of the two masters."

One "essential difference" is thus described. "To M., we are told, politics is associated with the ideal of territorial aggrandisement while

(p. 188) that he refuses to read an "unequivocal enunciation of the doctrine of resistance" in the following passage: "The king who tells his people that he is their protector but does not protect the people should be slain by his combined subjects like a mad dog afflicted with rabies." If there be no resistance inculcated here, what else could it be?

At one point G. considers Utathya's lecture on righteousness, as we have seen above, to be a peculiar feature in Hindu political philosophy (pp. 98-100). But, again, dealing with *Sukranīti*, he says that the first statement of the theory is to be found in this treatise (p. 258). He evidently forgets that the distinction between the good king and the tyrant is also one of the points in Utathya's lecture.

The inclusion of Āryadeva's *Catuhśatikā* has added to the value of the book (p. 209). The idea that the king is a mere *gaṇa-dāsa* (servant of the *gaṇa* or community) is found to be current in mediæval times. The notion is equivalent to that of *Sukranīti* which evaluates the kingly office as one of *dāsatva* or servitude (p. 258). It is curious, however, that the author should consider this to be a rather unusual and exceptional notion, especially when he has been able to trace it so far back as to pre Kautilyan literature (p. 133).

The "conclusion" is, philosophically, a very weak performance. "Probably in no other system" (p. 266), "Hindu mind" (p. 268), "Hindu view" (p. 270) are vague and meaningless phrases. An intimate acquaintance with "other systems" will serve to disprove, in general, the specialities claimed for the "Hindu mind". Besides, the author's history of two thousand and five hundred years down to 1600 A. C. must have proved it beyond doubt that there were minds and minds in Hindu India among the thinkers, and that there was no such thing in the singular number as the "Hindu mind."

The author thinks that the Hindu theories of contract did not attain to the development they acquired in Hobbes and others (pp. 274-275). Quite so. The author concedes also that the state of nature was conceived by certain Hindus as a state of war and by others as a golden age. Here also he is ready to admit parallels in European thought.

But it is queer that he should find no agreement between the Hobbe-

K's goal is, next to the security of the state, its achievement of political influence over the circle of states." One is surprised that any serious student should have pronounced such a judgment. Just where almost every reader of the Italian and the Sanskrit treatises would find a most

sian absolutism of *Leviathan* and those Hindu theories which promulgate obedience to the king on the basis of the contract. Not less arbitrary is the attitude which refuses to identify the cult of tyrannicide, resistance to the king, and desertion of a ruler by his subjects, etc. with those strands of social contract theory in Europe which inculcate revolution and expulsion of the ruler (p. 276).

One of the objects of G. is to suggest, on the basis of the Indian data, the "multilinear evolution of human social organisations." This is perhaps but a hypothesis with which he starts (p. x). But the logic of facts forces him to situations which exhibit not the multiformity but a more or less unilinear advance (excluding the western theocratic phases, generally) so far as the ancient East and the ancient West are concerned. The author is not conscious that the chapters have cumulatively worked against what may have lain at the back of his mind.

The few differences that he points out do not happen to be more than verbal or non-essential differences (pp. 266-267). Or, perhaps, the diversity is often due to the fact that some of the items are but more developed forms, representing the later stages in the growth of the specimens under observation.

If he has found it convenient to cite Jenks' *Law and Politics in the Middle Ages* in order to supplement, illustrate and explain certain phases of Indian evolution he might have done so all along the line by exploiting, say, Poole's *Illustrations of the History of Mediaeval Thought*, Littlejohn's *Political Theory of the Schoolmen* and Grotius and Figgis's *Divine Right of Kings*. Only, we have to remember that one should place under investigation the *like classes* of ideas. What the author considers to be "peculiar to Hindu political thought" will appear on closer examination to be universal.

In any case, the author has attempted to examine some of the Hindu doctrines as *doctrines* i. e. as contributions to political philosophy. He has thus imparted once in a while a more than archaeological, and a higher than mere translational, tone to *indianisme*. His *History* is critical, constructive and thoughtful.

At certain points the work has assumed the character of a real

marvellous identity in subject-matter as well as methodology G. has discovered an "essential difference."

The fundamental aim of M. in his *Prince* is to discuss the ways and means of saving his fatherland from the *imminente pericolo delle usurpazioni straniere* (imminent danger of foreign usurpation), as says

brain study, a genuine philosophical essay. Finally, the credit of attempting a continuous history of ideas must be recognised,—although marked very often by incoherence, confusion and absence of clear thinking in regard to the problems of political science.

One must not, moreover, ignore the fact that on account of the absence of well-documented institutional history an acceptable history of political speculation is for some time not a question of practical politics. As a preliminary spade-work, Ghoshal's study, strenuous as it is, should therefore be appraised as possessing a substantial importance. And it will not fail to furnish leading strings to subsequent workers in "intensive research."

The "conclusion" (pp. 264-272), he it repeated, is not borne out by the preceding chapters. Here he seeks to emphasise the contrasts between the Eastern and Western theories. But if he had cared to examine the details while dealing with the topics discussed in the main chapters he would have given an altogether different verdict. The conclusion does not seem, therefore, to be organically connected with the book. Nay, it may have been an after-thought added, like a part of the preface and the "appendix" (pp. 273-278), in order to combat the idea of philosophical agreement or analogy between the East and the West.

It will of course have to be conceded, as has been pointed out before, that a verbal identity is the least to be expected in philosophical speculation. Even between two European thinkers who in general features may be regarded as belonging to the same type of theory one must be prepared for differences in methodology and conclusions. Not all the "divine righters" of Europe have philosophized alike, nor have all the Western "social contractists" thought out their problems along the same grooves. It is not possible to think of the entire West under a single category. Once this be admitted it will not be difficult to detect hundreds of points of contact between the diverse tendencies in Asia and as many diverse trends of thought in Eur-America, with special reference to the ancient and mediæval, generally speaking, "pre-industrial" epochs.

Foscolo, another great poet of the Italian *risorgimento* in his *Prose Letterarie* (1856), vol. II. M's treatise concludes with the following chapter (XXVI): *Esortazione a liberare l'Italia da' Barbari* Exhortations to liberate Italy from the Barbarians).

On the other hand, it is an irony of fate that the self-conscious propounders of the cult of *vijigīṣu*, aspirant to conquest. *cāturanta* or *cakravartin* (world-emperor), and *pax sārva bhāumica* (peace of the world-empire) should have been so miserably misunderstood and reduced to tame cats by the side of M's "ideal of territorial aggrandisement." G's position would appear to be absurd to anybody who possesses the slightest acquaintance with the Kautilyan doctrine of *maṇḍala* or the Hindu conception, generally, of foreign affairs.

In regard to morals, G. concedes that "it appears at first sight that K. rivals and even surpasses M. in his sacrifice of these principles to the end of public welfare." Thus there is no difference at all; we are here encountering a real identity.

But K. is said to "reserve his immoral statecraft in general for extreme cases." As if M. does something else! Still one may ask: what are the Kautilyan analysis of the "six expedients" and discussion of the treaties as well as prescription of the ways and means in regard to the "extirpation of thorns"? Are we to take them as general lectures, or do we find therein an examination of "extreme cases"?

When all this is taken into consideration G's statement that "K. advocates the kind and even benign treatment of the subjects" in an acquired territory and on this basis to argue that K. is different from M. or that K's politics is "based upon a deeper knowledge of human nature than that of his European counterpart" do not need any profound attention on the part of the reader.

But all the same, G. does not mince matters. Although he tries to slight on certain occasions (p. 155) the "fashionable comparison" between K. and M., he is frank enough to admit the existence of "Machiavellian statecraft" in Hindu political theory (pp. 102-105). Bhāradvāja's opinions on home and foreign policy constitute, we are told, the "earliest specimens" of Machiavellism. This Bhāradvāja is referred to by K. in a passing way. But chapter CXI. of the *Śāntiparva* (Book XII) of the *Mahābhārata* embodies the cult of Bhāradvāja *in extenso*.

Bhāradvāja says that one should carry one's foe on one's shoulders as long as the time is unfavourable but when the opportunity arrives, the enemy should be dashed to pieces like an earthen pot on a piece

of rock. Another bit of Bhāradvājism is thus worded: "The remnants of debt, fire and enemies increase over and over again; hence one should not tolerate these remnants." This maxim could be cited from *Kāmandakīnīti* as well.

Such and other principles, in which every body would see evidence of clear, perspicuous and straight-forward mentality, have been described by Ghoshal as "cold calculating treachery and heartless cruelty." G. rises to a higher pitch. "The heartless exponent of a wicked Machiavellianism," says he, "is also the pusillanimous advocate of a selfish materialism." "Finally," in Bhāradvāja, then, "the Machiavellian creed of the old *Arthasāstra* is as it were incarnated." Bhāradvāja spoke like a man, he is being judged as a lamb.

It is evident that the Catholic Fathers who burnt Machiavelli in effigy at Ingolstadt in 1600 have found in Ghoshal an admirable Hindu inheritor of their spiritual indignation. G. is not prepared to submit to the "subordination of morality to politics" and does not hesitate to out-Jesuit the Jesuits in their horror of Machiavellism.

It is reasonable, then, as a scientific proposition, to "beard the lion in his own den" and examine this Machiavellism itself just from the platform of morals.

Denuded of all extraneous particulars Machiavellism may be boiled down to two cardinal dicta. These are as follows:

1. The enemy, actual or potential, must be crushed at all costs. And, here, the end justifies the means.
2. The manner in which a person behaves as the servant of a group, party or state must be different from that in which he appears as an individual in regard to other individuals.

History as well as biography by the actual records corroborates the truth of each of the above tenets.

Speaking of Woodrow Wilson's *College and State* (New York, 1924) in the London *Nation*, a writer says: "Mr. Wilson's peculiar strength was in attachment to his ideals, even at the expense of ordinary standards of conduct; he recognized no such thing as consistency or logic or gratitude as in the slightest degree embarrassing him. Mr. W. had indeed learnt the practical utility of a strong adherence to principle combined with a certain unscrupulousness in its application. In Europe, however, he had to meet an unscrupulousness even greater than his own. "Diamond-cut-diamond tussles" are the facts of *Realpolitik*.

Secondly, there is nothing illogical or inhuman in the above two

propositions. The only objection may come from those whose very conceptions of ethics, and especially of psychology, are questionable as being too absolutist and metaphysical.

A "mind" that is not oriented to the enemy, inimical attitudes, "responses" of hostile situations, unfriendly "reactions" and so forth may possibly exist in the lowest orders of vegetable and animal organisms. But in the nervous system of the higher orders of creation the enemy is one of the positive data of consciousness. A psychology that would refuse to recognise the fact of an enemy-element in human relations as one of its premises can only do so by refusing to be real.

But once the enemy-element is admitted, what is the solution of the problem from the side of the *élan vital*? The answer would carry with it the natural and necessary ethics. The "categorical imperative" is quite simple, in the present instance.

A and B are enemies *in esse* or *in posse*.

Now, Bradley comes forward with "*My station and its duties*." The Hindu also knows his *sva-dharma* (one's own duties). In other words, there is no universal morality, there are moralities and moralities. If A is lazy enough to neglect his *sva-dharma* in regard to B, B is going to use the "functions" of his own "station" and see to it that A be polished off the earth.

No consideration of love and good will can interfere here, for we have begun with the datum that A and B are enemies. What is good or right for the one is automatically bad or wrong for the other. The God of A is the Devil of B. Anthropology may be requisitioned in evidence of this aspect of inter-racial psychology.

And since every individual has his own duty, his own right and wrong, his own good and bad, on all occasions that one sits in judgment on Machiavellism one is committing an undue interference with things which one does not understand. For, what is moral in one's judgment may be thoroughly immoral in another's.

Now to the second point. Morality is diverse not only with diverse individuals as just stated but is diverse even with the same individual in diverse situations. And here, again, the problem is one of the psychology of personality.

No individual is a person in the singular number. He embodies a number or a bundle or a growing stream of many persons. Each and every personality is a complex of varying attitudes, behaviours, reactions and responses to the objective world. An individual as father is

not the same person as son, as nephew and so forth. He "behaves" to an inferior in a way different from that in which he attitudinizes himself to a superior. A person's reactions to the encouraging words of a friend are entirely different from those to the hostile criticisms of the same person, not to speak of the individual who hates him.

Such pluralities are the data of human psychology gathered from all different angles of vision. Differences of age, differences of health, differences of sex, differences of income, differences of social position are all to be taken into consideration by an objective student of the human mind. The doctrine of "my station" or *sva-dharma* bears on its shoulders, as a matter of course, a plural system of duties for every person.

What, then, is wrong with Machiavellism which does nothing but postulate the double morality of human beings as private citizens and as public servants? To compel a person to behave in one and the same way in the morning, noon, evening, at breakfast, in office, in theatre, or as father, police officer, school teacher, political ambassador is to ignore the pluralistic complexities of the human *psyche* and force one to neglect the duties of his varying "stations." This is equivalent to demanding a morality that is unreal.

As soon as psychology is reconstituted on the pluralistic basis the ethics of pluralistic morality will grow into the ABC of human thought. And Machiavellism will need no special apology.

But in the mean time it is interesting to observe that such a distinguished English authority as Dr. Figgis has not shrunk from attempting to speak out. An explanation, which is tantamount to justification, of Machiavellism is to be found in his essays, *From Gerson to Grotius* (Cambridge 1907). And so far as the historic appreciation of Machiavellism as a purifying element in political science is concerned, Bluntschli's *Geschichte der neueren Staatswissenschaft* (History of Modern Political Science, Munich, 1881) has furnished the cue to many who might otherwise have been led to consider Machiavelli as an untouchable *pariah*.

It is time that the bazaar gossip about M. should disappear from the world of serious thought. The calumny propagated by his enemies must not blind the students of science to the truth that Machiavelli is the world's first nationalist, the seer of ideas which centuries later were to develop into the life-blood of Mazzini and acquire a juristic form in the work of Mancini (Turin, 1851), thereby influencing the development of modern international law. Besides, it is too late in the day to remain impervious to the fact that Machiavelli is one of the greatest

patriots of the world, one of the profoundest benefactors of humanity, and to cite Spinoza's appreciation in *Political Tract*, one of the most *scharfsinnige* (penetrating) thinkers of all ages.

A General Estimate of the Italian Researches

I did not know Italian when in 1921 part of my interpretation of the political and economic theories of the *Sukraniti* was published in vol. II of the *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* (Allahabad), nor when my *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* appeared in 1922 (Leipzig). The bibliography in these publications is therefore to this extent defective, especially since on the question of theory the Italian researches throw valuable light. Besides, as the Italian scholars have devoted their attention exclusively to political philosophy it was not possible to make use of their results in my Bengali book, *Hindu Rāstrer Gaḍan* (The Morphology of the Hindu State), of which the manuscript has been sent to the publishers in November 1924, because it deals solely with the actual institutions.

It will have been noticed that although the amount of work done by the Italians does not bear comparison with that by the Germans much of it is important in methodology as well as conclusions and deserves a wider publicity among the students of old Indian politics. There is perhaps one item on which the work is likely to be the butt of unfavourable criticism.

The tendency is very manifest among the Italian scholars to attribute "modern" ideas to the Hindu texts.¹ If by "modern" they do not mean anything later than, say, 1700, or, at any rate, if they do not include the tenets and ideals of social thought as developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries their position would in the main appear to be acceptable. Otherwise the trend of their writings can lead but to the formulation of a "vague universal" or "eternal human nature" in which 1925 A.C. should seem to be as simple, young and elemental as 1925 B. C.

But this is an absolutely wrong sociology, failing, as it does, to give due weight to the epochal momentums in historic and philosophic experience. And although one may argue that there is nothing new under the sun such an interpretation of culture-history would remain blind to the objective progress of the world achieved cumulatively in thought and deed through the ages.

1 See the previous discussions marked by the footnotes 3 and 10.

But the *Leitmotif* of these Indic researches in Italy militates, unconsciously, perhaps, against the Hegelian dogma of an alleged distinction in "spirit" between the East and the West. And from this standpoint Italian scholarship is to be appreciated as a great ally of Young Asia in the *risorgimento* of social science.¹

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

1 The peculiar universalism of Italian indologists does not seem to be an accidental phenomenon. Although none of them have anywhere mentioned as one of their spiritual guides the *Nuova Scienza* (New Science) of their great sociologist and philosopher, Vico (1670-1735), his ideas constitute, so to say, the very essence of their being.

The doctrines of a *storia ideale eterna* (ideal and eternal history), *idee uniformi note appo intieri popoli tra essi loro non conosciuto* (uniform ideas born among nations that do not happen to know one another), *mente comune di tutti i popoli* (common mentality of all peoples), *costanti uniformità* (constant uniformity) in the laws of nations, *uniformità del corso che fa l'umanità nelle nazione* (uniformity of course traversed by mankind among the nations, and *ricorse delle cose umane* ("repetition" in human affairs, i.e. history repeating itself) with *identità in sostanza e diversità de modi lor dispiegarsi* (identity in substance although diversity in the mode of expression), all belong to the *decouvertes generali* (general discoveries) and *principi fondamentali* (fundamental principles) of the world view established by Vico. It is but these axioms that the Italian indologists have imbibed from this their Montèsquieu, Kant or Saṅkarācārya almost as life's breath and employed, perhaps automatically, in the special field of their investigations.

See the brochure, *Pagine Scelte* (Select Pages) from Vico, edited by Ceva (Florence).

Indian Literature Abroad

IV

In 520 A. D. the 28th Buddhist patriarch Bodhidharma came from India and landed in Canton. He was the founder of the Contemplative school of thought and although he never wrote or translated any book, his character and teaching showed great literary activity among the Indian as well as Chinese monks. Wu-ti gave him royal reception, but he was unable to grasp what Bodhidharma preached. Not being able to come to any understanding with Wu-ti, he went northwards and settled in the Wei kingdom. Wu-ti had international fame as a patron of Buddhism, and in 538 A.D. a hair of the Buddha was sent to him by the king of Fu-nan.¹

Fu-nan is Cambodia. In the next year Wu-ti despatched a mission to Magadha (India) to obtain Sanskrit books. It returned in 546 with a large collection of manuscripts, accompanied by the learned Paramārtha, who spent twenty years in translating them. He was also known as Guṇarata. He came from Ujjain of Western India and arrived at Nanking, the then capital of the Liang Dynasty in 548. He continued his work of translation during that Dynasty and till 569 A. D. of the next dynasty of Ch'an (557-589). He translated 10 works during the Liang and 38 or 40 works in the next, altogether about 50 works, of which 32 works remain to this date. Paramārtha must have been a great Abhidharma scholar, as all his extant books except five are on Abhidharma. The most important of his works was the translation of the *Śraddhotpāda-śāstra*, a very important book on Mahāyāna philosophy, attributed to Āśvaghoṣa.² The Sanskrit original is lost. But this serious loss has been greatly compensated by the English translation of the book entitled *The Awakening of Faith* by Abbot Suzuki of Japan. The great teacher Asaṅga wrote a book called the *Mahāyāna-samparigraha-śāstra*. Two commentaries were

1 Pelliot, 'Funan,' *BEFEO.*, 1904. See also Finot, 'Hindu Kingdoms in Indo-China', *I. H. Q.*, 1925, vol. I, p. 610.

2 Nanjio 1249, 1350; Tok. Ed. xxii, 5c.

written on it—Bodhisattva Wu-Sung (or Agotra ?) having done fasciculi 1-10, and Bodhisattva Vasubandhu the remaining fasciculi. Now Paramārtha translated into Chinese, in 563 A. D., fasciculi 11-20 and 41-48, and the rest was done by Hiuen Tsang and Dharmagupta. The original *Saṃparigraha-sūtra* of Asaṅga was also translated by Paramārtha in that year.¹ He translated the Abhidharma books of Vasubandhu into Chinese for the first time, and thereby demonstrated to the Chinese people that the intellectual achievements of the Indians in philosophy were much subtler than theirs and the Buddhist literature did not contain merely books on Dhāraṇis and idle speculations on future heavens. Following are some of the important books of Vasubandhu :

(1) *Nirvāṇa-sūtra-pūrvā-bhūtoṭpunnābhūta-gāthā-sūtra* (Nieh-p'an ching p'an-yu-chin-wu-chieh lun)². This is a literal translation of the Chinese title and we cannot say what its original was.

(2) *Śāstra* of the Sūtra of (Buddha's) last teaching³.

(3) *Buddha-gotra-sūtra*⁴.

(4) *Vijñapti-mātra-siddhi*⁵, is a treatise on the philosophy of the Yogācāra school. It was thrice translated into Chinese by Bodhiruci, Paramārtha and Hiuen Tsang, but the extent of the translation differs from each other.

(5) *Mādhyānta-vibhāṅga Sūtra*⁶.

(6) *Tarka-sūtra*⁷.

Paramārtha did not confine himself to translating Mahāyāna Abhidharma works only ; some of the Sarvāstivāda books translated by him are :

(1) *Abhidharma-kośa-(vyākhyā)-śāstra*⁸. This is one of the greatest philosophical works of the Buddhists, and Paramārtha rendered great service to China by translating it into Chinese, although it

1 Nanjio 1183. It was previously translated by Buddhasānta in 2 fasc. only—Nanjio 1184 ; translated also by Hiuen Tsang.

2 Nanjio 1207 ; Tokyo Ed. xxii, 1 i, 7 leaves.

3 Nanjio 1209 ; Tok. Ed. xxii, 1 k, 1 fasc.

4 Nanjio 1220 ; Tok. Ed. xxii, 2 k, 4 fasc.

5 Nanjio 1238-*Vidyāmātra-siddhi* ; Tok. Ed. xxii, 4 c.

6 Nanjio 1248 ; Tok. Ed. xxii, 5 b, 2 fasc. 7 chap.

7 Nanjio 1252 ; Tok. Ed. xxii, 5 e, 1 fasc.

8 Nanjio 1269 ; Tok. Ed. xxiv, 5 b, 6, 22 fasc. 9 chaps ; see under Hiuen Tsang.

was at a later date translated for the second time by Hiuen Tsang.

(2) Vasuvarman's *Catursatya-śāstra*.¹

(3) Guṇamati's *Lakṣaṇānusāra-śāstra*.²

Vasumitra's *Aṣṭādaśa nikāya-śāstra*³ was also rendered by him into Chinese. Besides these, he translated some five books, of which the authors are unknown. One of these is *Lokasthiti-abhidharma-śāstra*⁴ which seems to be a Nibandha, "the subject of the first chapter being the motion of the earth and that of the 19th chapter that of the sun and the moon. The latter chapter is the principal text for some Buddhists who make astronomical calculations for the almanacs." But besides these books on Buddhism he translated *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* of Īśvara-kṛṣṇa which is known in Chinese translation as *Suvarṇa-saptati-śāstra* or *Sāṅkhya-kārikā-bhāṣya*. "In a note at the beginning of the book it is stated that the work was compiled by the heretical Ṛṣi Kapila, explaining the twenty-five tattvas (or truths), and it is not the law of Buddha. Towards the end of the translation as well as of the text we read that there were 60,000 verses composed by Pañcaśikha (Kāpileya) whose teacher Āsuri was the disciple of Ṛṣi Kapila, and that afterwards a brāhmaṇa named Īśvarakṛṣṇa selected 70 verses out of 60,000." (Nanjio, 1300).

This Vṛtti translated into Chinese was identical, or at any rate exhibited many points of contact with the Bhāṣya of Gauḍapāda (H. H. Wilson, Oxford, 1837); it was accepted by Beal,⁵ Kasawara, and others long ago, and is placed beyond doubt by Dr. Takakusu, who, after searching comparison of the Bhāṣya of Gauḍapāda with the Vṛtti translated into Chinese, arrives at the conclusion that "in citations, illustrations, and even entire passages, the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* coincidences between the two commentaries are as numerous and far reaching as to preclude the possibility of their being explained away as accidental." Dr. Takakusu identified the author of the *Kārikās* with the author of the Vṛtti, and believes that by thus making Īśvarakṛṣṇa himself the author of both the *Kārikās*

1 Nanjio 1261; Tok. Ed. xxii, 6 a, 5 fasc, 6 chap.

2 Nanjio 1280; Tok. Ed. xxv, 3 b, 2 fasc.

3 Nanjio 1284; Tok. Ed. xxv, 4 d, 9 leaves only.

4 Nanjio 1297; Tok. Ed. xxv, 8 d, 9, 10 fasc.

5 S. Beal—On a Chinese version of the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* etc., *JR AS.*, 1878, pp. 355-360; J. Takakusu, (French article on the *Sāṅkhya* System), *BEFEO.*, 1904.

as well as this *Vṛtti*, he could partly take the edge off Gauḍapāda's subsequent appropriation of author's work as his own.

Prof. S. K. Belvalkar, however, is of opinion that Sanskrit *Mādhya-vṛtti*, is the lost original of the *Śāṅkhya-kārikā-vṛtti*, which was translated into Chinese by Paramārtha between A. D. 557 and 562.¹

The reason why he translated this book should be known to the students of Buddhist philosophy. The Buddhists had to fight hard in the intellectual field with the most well-founded and deep-rooted systems in India, viz., the Śāṅkhya and Vaiśeṣika. Besides, the Mahāyāna had not

Disputations
with heretics.

merely to fight against the orthodox Hindu philosophers, but also against the different Hinayāna schools of thought, specially the Sarvāstivādins. Bodhisattva (Ārya)deva

wrote a book on the refutation of four heretical Hinayāna schools mentioned in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*. The four schools treated there were (1) the Śāṅkhyas, who believe in oneness; (2) the Vaiśeṣikas, who believe in difference; (3) the Nirgrantha-putras, who believe in both; and (4) the Jñātiputras, who believe in neither. Bodhiruci (508-535) translated that book of Āryadeva during this time.²

During the Liang and the Chan Dynasties at Nanking the intercourse, which began under Wu-ti with Indo-China, seemed to have

Mandra.

increased; Mandra, Saṅghapāla (Varman), Subhūti all were inhabitants of the country of Funan, mentioned above (Nanjio, A pp. II, 101). Mandra arrived in Nanking

in 503 A. D., and began the work of translation. But he was not well acquainted with the Chinese Language, and his translations are not quite perfect. He translated *Saptaśatikā-prajñā-pāramitā* (Nanjio 21). *Dharma-dhātu-prakṛty-asambheda-nirdeśa*³ (Nanjio 23) or the moral of the indivisibility of the rest of the Dharmadhātu—both of these books are found in the Tibetan. *Ratnamegha-sūtra* (Nanjio 152) was translated jointly by Mandra and Saṅghapāla. Subhūti's translation of the *Ratnamegha* is lost. Saṅghapāla is the translator of nine books, most of them being minor Sūtras and Dhāraṇī, the only important book being Arhat Upatiṣya's *Vimokṣa-mārga-sūtra*, which he translated in 12 fasciculi. Saṅghapāla was a priest from the Fu-nan country (Camboja). After his arrival in China, he became a pupil of Guṇabhadra, who was then in China. Saṅghapāla was well-

1 See R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, pp. 171-184.

2 Nanjio 1259.

versed in several languages and translated various texts belonging to Hīnayāna as well as Mahāyāna schools, during his stay in China (A.D. 505-520). He died at the age of sixty-five in A. D. 524.¹ His master Guṇabhadra was also a noted scholar of the Mahāyāna school. On his way to China, Guṇabhadra stopped at Sīphala-dvīpa (Ceylon) and other southern countries. After his arrival in China in A. D. 435 until A. D. 443, he was actively engaged in the work of translation. Thus though we do not know which of the two Paṇḍits brought the original of the *Vimokṣa-mārga*, it is certain that it was brought from a centre of southern Buddhism, either from Ceylon or from Camboja. So the text *Vimokṣa-mārga* or *Vimutti-magga* is in all probability anterior to Buddhaghoṣa, whose arrival in Ceylon is put at A. D. 420.

The author of this text is Upatissa Sāriputta ; he is not Sāriputta, the friend and contemporary of Buddha, but a Sinhalese monk who probably flourished in the 1st century A. D. and was the fifteenth great therā from Mahinda. Mr. Nagai (*JPTS.*, 1917-19) points out that the *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghoṣa is but a revised version of the *Vimutti-magga* of this Upatissa. The work is entirely lost in Ceylon and it exists only in the Chinese translation referred to. Mr. Nagai shows how the Chinese text agrees generally with the text of the *Visuddhimagga*. He says, "In short, the *Visuddhimaggas* are one and the same work appearing in different dress" (p. 80).

Another translator, a royal monk, Upaśūnya, son of the king of Udyāna of Western India, came to China and lived under the Liang, the Chian and the Northern Wei Dynasties and translated four books. In A. D. 565 he translated one sūtra called *Suvikrānta-vikrami-paripṛcchā*² which was a part of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā*. The Sanskrit text of this was obtained from a śramaṇa of Khotan, whom he met in China a few years back.³ Later on he translated three works, of which two exist. Of the Liang Dynasty 19 works by unknown authors are still preserved.

1 Pelliot, Fu-nan in *BEFEO.*, 1903, No. 3, p. 285 ; Nanjio, App. II, 106.

2 Nanjio 9 ; Tok. ed. V, 6 b ; 7 fasc.

3 Nanjio, App. II, 106.

1. II. Q., JUNE, 1926

In Wu-Ti, the first Emperor of the Liang Dynasty, Buddhism found the most devoted follower. The arrival of Bodhidharma the 28th Patriarch¹ was hailed with great reverence in China. "At the beginning of the sixth century", says Edkins,² "the number of Indians in China was upwards of three thousand. The Prince of the Wei kingdom (386-534 A. D.) exerted himself greatly to provide for their maintenance in monasteries, erected on the most beautiful sites. Many of them resided at Loyang, the modern Ho-nan-fu. The temples had multiplied to thirteen thousand." Hu, the dowager empress of Wei, a fervent devotee, though of different morality in both public and private life, sent Sung Yun and Hui Shêng³ to Udyāna (N. W. India) in search of Buddhist

Buddhism
predominant.

3000 Indians
in China.

1 The following is the list of names of the 28 Patriarchs :—

- | | |
|------------------|---------------------|
| 1 Mahākāśyapa | 2 Ānanda |
| 3 Sāṇavāsa (?) | 4 Upagupta |
| 5 Dhṛṭaka | 6 Mechaka |
| 7 Buddhanandi | 8 Buddhāmītra |
| 9 Pārśva Bhikṣu | 10 Puṇyayaśas |
| 11 Āsvaghoṣa | 12 Kapīmāla Bhikṣu |
| 13 Nāgārjuna | 19 Kāṇadeva |
| 15 Ārya Rāhulata | 16 Ārya Saṅghanandi |
| 17 Saṅghayaśas | 18 Kumārata |
| 19 Jayata | 20 Vasubandhu |
| 21 Manura | 22 Haklanayaśas (?) |
| 23 Sīmha Bhikṣu | 24 |
| 25 Basīasita | 26 Putnomita |
| 27 Prajñātara | 28 Bodhidharma |

In 472 A. D. Chi-Chia-Yê translated (?) a history of the succession of 23 patriarchs from Mahākāśyapa to Bhikṣu Sīmha. (Nanjio 1340).

Bodhidharma, the real founder of Dhyāna school, is the last or the 28th Patriarch.

2 Chinese Buddhism, p. 99.

3 See Chavannes, *Voyage de Sung Yun dans Udyana et le Gandhāra*, 518-522, *BÉFEO.*, 1903, No. 3. See also Foe-Koue-Ki by Remusat, p. 48-51; Beal, *Travels of Fa-Hian and Sung-Yun, Buddhist Pilgrims*—T'erner, 1869. His narrative was also translated into German by Neumann (Edkins, op. cit., p. 100).

books, of which they brought back 175 (Eliot, op. cit., III, p. 284). "The decline of Buddhism in its motherland drove many of the Hindus to the north of the Himalayas. They came as refugees from the Brahmanical persecution, and their great number will assist materially in accounting for the growth of the religion they propagated in China. The Prince of the Wei country is recorded to have discoursed publicly on the Buddhist classics." (*Chinese Buddhism*, p. 99)

Readers must have noticed that books on charm or magic known as Dhāraṇīs had begun to be translated into Chinese; but the Chinese literati were extremely annoyed at this and hated the importers of these gibberishes. Priests were put to death for practising magical arts. During this period a Chinese monk, Hui-Chiao, compiled the *Memoirs of Eminent Priests* (Nanjio 1490) in 519 A.D. The book was in 17 fasciculi and contained lives of 275 men separately, to which 239 were added in course of narration. They are either Indians or Chinese, and not only priests but also laymen, who lived in China sometime between A.D. 67 and 519.

During the Wei rule there were only eight translators who translated seventy-seven works, of which (51 only remaining) thirty were ascribed to Bodhiruci alone, ten to Buddhāśānta, five to Chi-chia-yê,¹ three to Ratnamati,² two to Dharmaruci,³ one each to Hui-Chiao,⁴ Than-Yao,⁵ Fa-Chang.⁶ Bodhiruci⁷ was a śramaṇa of Northern India, who arrived in Loyang in 508 A. D. and up till 535 A. D. translated 30 or more works on Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma. Some of his more important works were *Vajracchedikā-prajñā-pāramitā* (Nanjio 11), *Laṅkāvatāra* (No. 176), *Aparimitāyus Sūtra* (No. 1204). He translated Vasubandhu's commentary on *Saddharma-puṇḍarikā* (No. 1232) which had been once done by Dharmaruci. I have already referred to the book by Āryadeva on the Indian heretics, which Bodhiruci translated. Another book, dealing with the conception of Nirvāṇa according to heretical schools of thought mentioned in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, was translated into Chinese. Bodhiruci translated a few Indian astronomical books into Chinese with the help of several

1 Nanjio, App. II, 110. 2 Ibid., 113. 3 Ibid., 111.
4 Ibid., 108. 5 Ibid., 109. 6 Ibid., 112. 7 Ibid., 114.

Indian and Chinese monks. The translation of the astronomical works was done in more than 200 chapters.¹

An important work on Abhidharma called *Pratītya-samutpāda-śāstra* composed by Suddhamati of India was rendered into Chinese by Bodhiruci (Nanjio 1211). It is known as *Dvādaśa-nidāna-śāstra* in Chinese translation. Chi-chia-yê, a śramaṇa of western region translated five books in 472 A. D. Of these the history of the patriarchs (6 fasc.), which he did along with Than Yao, is the most important. This is a well-known history of the succession of 23 patriarchs from Mahākāśyapa to Bhikṣu Siṃha (Nanjio 1340).

Chronologically, among the translators of the Northern Wei Dynasty, the first was a Chinese śramaṇa, named Shih Hui-Chiao or Than-Chiao. He compiled a work in A. D. 445 known as *Damanaka-nidāna-sūtra* (Nanjio 1322 ; Tok. Ed. xxiv, 36 and 49). It was a story-book known as 'Tales of the Wise and the Fool.' It has a Tibetan version,² which, according to Cosma de Koros, was translated from the Chinese. This is further corroborated by Pelliot, Laufer and other sinologues.

In his *Guide for the Examination of the Canon*, a Chinese work of Chia-Su (1654 A. D.) the author says that this book is a Hīnayāna-sūtra, but we do not know the source of this statement.

Shih-Than-Yao, a śramaṇa, whose native place is not known, translated in about 462 A. D. two or three works, of which only one has come down to us.

In the beginning of the sixth century *Śradhā baladhānūvatāra-mudrā-sūtra* (Nanjio 90), which has a Tibetan translation, and *Sarva-buddha-viśayāvatāra* (Nanjio 245) which was translated in the south by Saṅghapāla a little later, were rendered into Chinese by Dharmaruci. Dharmaruci (Nanjio, App. II, 111) came from Southern India and translated three books in the first

1 P. N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, Madras.

2 This story was published with Tibetan text and translated into German as early as 1843—*Dsang lun oder der Weise und der Thor* von I. J. Schmidt, St. Petersburg, 1843 ; also *Tibetan Tales* (derived from Indian Sources), trans. from the Kahgyur by Schiefner, done into English by W. R. S. Ralston, London, 1906. There is a Turkish version of the story. See *Indian Literature in Central Asia*, *infra*.

decade of the sixth century. One of them was lost in 730 A. D. In 508 A. D. two books on Abhidharma, *Mahayānottara-tantra-śāstra* (Nanjio 1236) and Bodhisattva Vasubandhu's great commentary on the famous *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* (Nanjio 1233) were rendered into Chinese by Ratnamati, a śramaṇa of Central India.

Buddhaśānta, a monk from Central India, was the last translator, in the Northern Wei Dynasty. He arrived in China in 524 A. D. and worked till 439 A. D., the Sui having been established in 539. He translated 10 or 11 works, but today 9 works remain. Most of his books were Sūtras, the only important book that he translated was Bodhisattva Asaṅga's *Mahāyāna-saṃparigraha-sūtra* (Nanjio 1184), which was translated again in 593 by Paramārtha.

The Northern Wei Dynasty came to an end in 534 A. D., and the Eastern Wei founded their dynasty at Yeh and ruled from 534-550, followed by the Northern Chi, who had also their seat of government at Yeh from 550-577 A. D. In the South after the death of Wu-ti of the Liang Dynasty Yuan-ti, who reigned from 552 to 555, became a staunch supporter of Taoism. He was himself a great scholar. He had accumulated 140,000 volumes, which he burnt down when he learnt that the troops of Wei had marched on his capital, and neither his learning nor his collection of books was of any avail in his calamity. I have little doubt that numerous Sanskrit and Buddhist books must have been consumed in this conflagration. In the South under the Eastern Wei and Northern Chi Dynasties, Buddhism continued to be patronised by the state. During the short reigns of these two dynasties six translators translated 31 books in 202 fasciculi.

Gautama Prajñāruçi, a brahmin of Benares, was the most prominent among them. He translated in 538-541 about 18 works (some say 14), of which fifteen existed in 730 A. D. and thirteen of them are found today in the Ming Tripiṭaka. I would like to mention a few of his works. The *Vimaladattā-paripṛcchā* became very popular with the Indian Buddhists of China (Nanjio 45). It was a sermon given by Buddha at the request of Vimaladattā, a daughter of king Prasenajit. It had been translated first by Chu-Fa-Hu or Dharmarakṣa and then by a Chinese monk Nieh-Tao-Chan during the Western Chin Dynasty and for the third time by Prajñāruçi. There exists also a Tibetan translation of the work. His other books were *Vyāsa Paripṛcchā*

Buddhism under
the E. Wei, N.
Chi and Liang
Dynasties.

Prajñāruçi.

(No. 60), *Īśvararāja paripṛcchā* (No. 63) which had once been translated by Kumārajīva, *Niyatā-niyatagati-mudrāvātūra* (No. 132) which was at a later date translated by I-tsing, *Paramārtha-dharma-vijaya-sūtra* (No. 210), *Aṣṭa-buddhakasūtra* (No. 410 also in Tib.), *Prātimokṣa Vinaya* (No. 1103) and others. But his greatest work was the translation of the *Saddharama-smṛtyupasthāna-sūtra* [also in Tibetan] in 70 fasc. or 7 chapters (No. 679). The subjects of the seven chapters are:— (1) the results of the ten kinds of good conduct (contrary to duṣkṛti), (2) birth and death, (3) the different hells, (4) the condition of Pretas, (5) birth as a beast, (6) condition of deva and (7) kāya-smṛti-upasthāna. He also translated a well-known work called *Madhyāntūnugamaśāstra*, (Nanjio 1246), composed by Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga, the latter having explained the text of the former. It treats of the doctrine of the first varga of the *Mahā-prajñāpāramitā-śāstra*. None of the Sanskrit originals have come down to us.

The next important translator of the Eastern Wei period was Vimokṣa-prajñā or Vimokṣasena. He was a śramaṇa from Udyāna and was a descendant of the Śākya family of Kapilavastu. In 541 he translated five works in collaboration with Prajñāruci and other monks.

He translated four of Bodhisattva Vasubandhu's books viz., *Tripūrṇa-sūtropadeśa* (No. 1196), *Dharma-cakra-pravartana-sūtropadeśa* (No. 1205), *Karma-siddhi-prakaraṇa* (No. 1222) of which a Tibetan translation exists, and *Ratna-cūḍa-sūtra-caturdharmopadeśa* (No. 1241). The other work on Abhidharma which he translated was Nāgārjuna's *Vivāda-śamana (śāstra?) śāstra* (No. 1251), *Suśhīṭamati-paripṛcchā* (No. 48) a book on Mahāyāna Sūtra ascribed by some to Prajñāruci. *Nirvāṇa-śāstra* or *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra-śāstra* is a short commentary on that well-known book by the great Vasubandhu. It was made accessible to the Chinese public by one Dharmabodhi, about whom we know nothing.

During the Northern Qi Dynasty (550-577 A. D.) only two translators are known, one an Indian, the other a Chinese grhapati or Upāsaka, who translated *Ārya-jina-bodhisattva-paripṛcchā*. The Indian śramaṇa was Narendrayaśas, who had come from Udyāna or Gandhāra District of Northern India, translated seven works, together with Gautama Dharmajñāna, son of Prajñāruci of Benares mentioned above. They translated the following books into Chinese: (1) *Pitā-putra-samāgama* in 17 fasc. and 29 chapters (No. 23—16), (2) *Candra-prabhā-vaipulya* (No. 63), (3) *Sumeru-garbha* (No. 66), (4) *Mahākaraṇḍapundarika*

Narendrayaśas
and Dharmajñāna.

sūtra (No. 117), (5) *Candradvīpa-samādhi-sūtra* (No. 191), (6) *Pradīpadāniya-sūtra* (No. 428), (7) *Abhidharma-hṛdaya-śāstra* (No. 1294), —compiled by the venerable Upasānta—a commentary on Dharmajina's *Abhidharma-hṛdaya*, the original book having been translated during the Eastern Chin Dynasty by Hwui-Yuen in 391 A. D.

At this stage some great changes in the political history took place greatly hindering the progress and prestige of Buddhism for a time and created an atmosphere of lull. The Yü-Wan family founded the Northern Chou Dynasty at Chang-an in 557; they became powerful and destroyed Northern Chi in 557 A.D. Wu-Ti, the emperor of Northern Chou Dynasty put a ban on Buddhism and Taoism, ordered temples to be destroyed and priests to return to the world. Narendrayaśas and other Buddhist monks had to flee away for their

lives. But as usual the persecution was not of long duration. Five years later Wu-Ti's son withdrew his father's edict. The Chou Dynasty came to an end in

581 A. D., followed by the Sui Dynasty: The Chou Kingdom, before it became a menace to Buddhism had harboured a few Buddhist monks in Chang-an before 578 A. D. These monks were :—Jñānabhadra, who together with Jinayaśa translated one sūtra on the Pañca-vidyā,

or the Five Sciences, but this was lost in 730 A. D. and we cannot say what the contents of the original were ;

Minor Writers
of Chou Period
(557-581 A. D.).

Jinayaśa a śramaṇa of Magadha who translated (564-72) six works in collaboration with two of his Indian disciples. Two of their translations *Mahāmeghasūtra* (No. 187) and *Mahāyānābhīṣamaya* (No. 195) are still preserved. Yaśogupta, who is mentioned as a disciple of Jinayaśas, together with his fellow-scholar Jinagupta, who did such wonderful work in the Sui period, translated a book on Dhāraṇī. (No. 327).

(To be continued)

PRABHAT KUMAR MUKHERJI

King Harṣa and Aihole Inscription

Verse 23 (line 11) of the Aihole inscription of the time of the great Cālukya King Pulakeśin II runs as follows :—

“Aparimita-vibhūti-sphīta-sāmantasenā-makūṭamaṇi-mayūkhā =
krānta-pādāravindaḥ |
Yudhi patita-gajendrā = neka-bibhatsabhūto bhaya-vigalitahaṛṣo
yena cākāri *Harṣaḥ* ||”

Prof. Kielhorn who edited the inscription translated the verse in the following way :—

“*Harṣa*, whose lotus-feet were arrayed with the rays of the jewels of the diadems of hosts of feudatories, prosperous with unmeasured might, through him had his mirth melted away by fear, having become loathsome with his rows of lordly elephants fallen in battle.”

The translation, as it stands, seems to have nothing to be said against it; for the sense of the verse is apparently clear enough, and it cannot possibly admit of any other interpretation. The verse is taken to have reference to the repulsing of Harṣavardhana of Kanaṇj by the great Cālukya King Pulakeśin II, as *Harṣaḥ* the last word in the verse is taken to be a proper name evidently referring to Harṣavardhana.

But according to Prof. Dubreuil of Pondichery this particular inscription has no reference to King Harṣa. He makes the definite statement : ‘It is noteworthy that the Aihole inscription makes no mention of King Harṣavardhana.’²

We do not know what leads the Professor to arrive at such a conclusion in the face of what appears to be an undoubted reference to the self-same King Harṣa in the verse already quoted from that very inscription. It may be the Professor bases his statement on a new interpretation of the verse different from the one generally accepted. Or it may be that he did not take notice of this particular verse of the inscription. If, however, it was due to the former fact he or some other scholar would do real good by placing that interpretation before the world of scholars, as it has not already been done by the Professor in his book to substantiate his statement, referred to above.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

1 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VI, p. 6.

2 *Ancient History of the Deccan* by Prof. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil (English translation), p. 113.

MISCELLANY

The Jānapada and the Paura

In chapters XXVII and XXVIII of the *Hindu Polity*, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has tried to prove that in ancient times, there existed in the Indian states two powerful corporate bodies, *viz.*, the *Jānapada* and the *Paura*. The former had as its members the people of the *Jānapada*, *i. e.* the whole state *minus* the capital city, while the membership of the latter was confined to the citizens of the metropolis, the franchise of the members of both the bodies depending upon the ownership of property of a certain value. The members were for this reason "rich people. And those who were not rich, were not poor either" (pt. II, p. 99). "The poor but highly intellectual class of brahmins probably was not there" owing to the property qualification (p. 101). Both the *Paura* and the *Jānapada* bodies had their place of meeting and office at the capital, enabling them to act in unison whenever needed, and "matters of importance were discussed in a joint parliament of the two bodies" (p. 79). Probably the presidency capital in the empires had each a *Paura* body, though they did not possess separate *Jānapada* bodies, because their head-quarters at the imperial capital represented the whole country. These two bodies the *Jānapada* and the *Paura* were very powerful. They could make or mar the government and throw it into trouble if they so desired. I need not enter here into the details about the various functions, political or otherwise, stated by Mr. J. to have been performed by them. Suffice it to quote here an extract from his résumé at the end of chapter. XXVIII: "We had an organism or a twin organism, the *Paura-Jānapada*, which could depose the king, who nominated successor to the throne, whose kindly feelings towards a member of the royal family indicated his chance of succession, whose president was apprised by the king of the policy of state decided upon in the council of ministers who were approached and begged by the king in all humility for a new tax, whose confidence in a minister was regarded as an essential qualification for his appointment as chancellor, who were consulted and referred to with profound respect by a king aspiring to introduce a new religion, who demanded and got industrial, commercial, and financial privileges for the country, whose wrath meant ruin to provincial governors, who were coaxed and flattered in public

proclamations, who could enact statutes even hostile to the king, in fine, who could make possible or impossible the administration of the king."

I wish I could have accepted Mr. J.'s conclusions regarding the existence of the *Jānapada* and the *Paura* bodies in ancient India with their various powers and functions. In an empire or in a large kingdom, the *Jānapada* body with its various branches all over the domain, would have been nothing short of, if not larger than, a body like the British Parliament, at least in the numerical strength of its members and the vastness of its area of operation. The initiation and maintenance of such an organisation would certainly have been an addition to the list of India's glorious achievements in the past, if it could be proved to have existed by indubitable evidences. But the materials that Mr. J. has collected in the two chapters do not convince me of the soundness of the conclusions based on them.

The arguments upon which Mr. J.'s contention is based may be summed up into the following :—

(1) The significance of the technical terms *Jānapada* (with its synonyms) and *Paura* (with its synonyms) found in use in Indian literature and inscriptions has been hitherto missed by all including the commentators. .

(2) The plural *Jānapadāḥ* and *Paurāḥ* may denote the members of *Jānapada* institution as well as the people of the *Jānapada*. The right meaning in a particular context can be inferred from its use in a collective sense.

(3) The existence of laws enacted by the *Jānapada* and the *Paura* and recognised by the Hindu law-codes testifies to the existence of those corporate bodies.

(4) The testimony of the references in literature and inscriptions to the various functions performed, and the extensive powers wielded, by both the *Jānapada* and the *Paura* bodies shows that the said corporate bodies existed in ancient India.

For convenience of treatment, I shall examine the evidences collected in the chapter as far as possible in the order in which they appear, instead of following the aforesaid divisions into which they can be classified.

Mr. J. quotes the following *śloka* from the Kumbakonam edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* : Upatīṣṭhati Rāmasya samagram' abhiṣecanam,

the meaning of. Paurajānapadāś cāpi Naigamaś ca kṛtāñjaliḥ (II. 14. 54). On consulting the work I find that the passage stands as follows :—

Udatīṣṭhata Rāmasya samagram abhiṣecanam,

Paura-jānapadaiś cāpi naigamaś ca kṛtāñjaliḥ.

Mr. J. says (p. 63) that "the verb *upatiṣṭhati* (*is waiting*), is in the singular and this requires the subjects in each case joined by *ca* ('and') as well as') to be in the singular. But in the text, only the *Naigama* (corporate association of merchants of the capital) is kept in the singular and the word *Jānapada* has been altered into a plural nominative and plural instrumental. The instrumental form is resorted to for a forced grammatical justification ('the Jānapadas with the Naigama'). The correct reading, in the nominative singular, *Jānapadaś ca* is still found in some Mss. But it is rejected by modern editors as incorrect". I think the śloka that he has quoted as footnote 1 at p. 63 of his work is what he wants it to be in its correct form. In that case *Paura-jānapadāś ca* occurring in the śloka should be *Paura-jānapadaś ca*. The second verse of the reconstructed śloka would then be *Paura-jānapadaś cūpi naigamaś ca kṛtūñjaliḥ* and this form has been reached by tagging the variant reading 'upatiṣṭhati' found in manuscripts *ka, kha, gha, ca, ja* to the form *Jānapadaś cūpi naigamaś ca* found in the manuscript *ta* (not "in some manuscripts" as stated by Mr. J.). Now assuming that the term *Paura-jānapadaś* in the singular is the correct reading, it is not clear how it can have a meaning different from what is conveyed by the term *paura-jānapadaś* for the compound here is 'madhyapadalopin karmadhāraya paurajānapadaḥ'. According to Pāṇini's *Sūtra* (I. 2. 58-jātyākhyāyām ekasmin bahuvacanam anyatarasyām) on which Patañjali comments 'Jātyākhyāyām sāmānyābhīdhānād aikārthyam bhaviṣyati yat tad vachanavṛthitvaṃ yave yavatvaṃ Gārgye Gārgyatvaṃ tad ekam, tad vachanavivakṣitaṃ tasyaikatvād ekavacanam eva prāpnoti, iṣyate ca bahuvacanam evam artham ihocyate ; jānapada in the singular denotes the citizens just as vṛhi in the singular (barley-corn) as instantiated in the *Bhūṣya* denotes 'barley-corns'. Cf. *Arthasāstra* IV, 1—Paura-jānapadaś cūpi nidhiṃ jānapadaḥ śuciḥ svakaraṇena samagraṃ labheta (an honest citizen can take a treasure-trove after proving that it is his ancestral property). Again cf. *Arthasāstra* II, 34—Dvādaśapaṇam amulī jānapado dadyāt (a citizen of the country leaving or entering it without a pass is to pay a fine of 12 paṇas). In the North-western recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (D. A. V. College Sanskrit Series, No. 7, 1923) the śloka is worded thus :

Paura-jānapadaśreṇī naigamaś cāgato janah
Asau Vasiṣṭho Bhagavān brāhmaṇaḥ saha tiṣṭhati (I. 16, 27)

which does not support Mr. J.'s contention. Similarly, in the Bombay

recension of the *Rāmāyana* edited by Gorresio we find the following śloka in the place of one relied on by Mr. J. :—

Purodhaso mantriṇaś ca paura-jānapadā janāḥ,

Darśanaṃ te¹ bhikāṅkṣanti pratiboddhuṃ nṛpārhasi. II, 12, 21.

Here the expression used is 'paura-jānapadā janāḥ', in which there is nothing to show that the people were present there in their representative capacity as members of the corporate bodies *Paura* and *Jānapada*¹.

Now as to the evidence of the Khāravēla Inscription which Mr. J. looks upon as unquestionable (pp. 62-64). The text settled by Mr. J. is as follows:—"Anugaha-anekāni satasahasāni viśajati Poram Jānapadam" (*JBORS.* III, 456). This has been translated by him thus: "(He) bestows numerous privileges by hundreds and thousands on (the corporate bodies) the Paura and the Jānapada" (*Ibid.*, p. 463). The reason assigned by him for the translation is "the use of *Jānapadam* (in the singular) shows that as the town had its paura, the Janapada (country) had its Jānapada body. This is corroborated by the Arthasāstra which mentions the communal associations of the country (deśa) like that of the caste (III, 10)" (*JBORS.*, III, 448). The use of the two words *poram* and *jānapadam* in the Khāravēla Inscription does not advance a bit Mr. J.'s contention, because the two terms can well signify the people of the town and the people of the country. Even if there be no sūtra in the Prākṛt grammars governing the present point, corresponding to the sūtra from Pānini quoted previously, the rule in Prākṛt grammars (e. g. *Vararuci's Prākṛta-prakāśa*, ix, 18; Hemacandra's *Siddhahemacandra*, viii, 4, 448 and Lakṣmīdhara's *Ṣaṭbhāṣācandrikā*, I, 1, 2) that Sanskrit grammars will apply to cases for which there is no express provision in the former enables us to take *poram* and *jānapadam* in the sense of the people of the town and the country. In connection with the word *Jānapada*, Mr. J. states, "that there was such a body can be established

1 Mr. J. quotes (p. 62 fn.) 'vane vatsyāmy ahaṃ durge Rāmo rājā bhaviṣyati' (*Rām.* II, 79, 12) for illustrating his point that 'durga' is sometimes used as a synonym of 'nagara'. It is so used no doubt, but in the passage quoted by him, 'durge' is an adjective of 'vane' and means 'durgame' (difficult of access). In the next verse (13) Bharata is described as ordering that passages be opened out with the help of men expert in the work. Cf. *Rām.*, II, 27, 7; 27, 11; 83, 8.

if we find the term in the singular, not in the sense of one man but in the collective sense." As the use of the singular as shown above does not imply that the term stands for an institution, *poram* and *jānapadam* cannot be taken as institutions on the strength of their use in the singular.

Mr. J. (pp. 64, 65) states, "In the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra, the laws of caste (jāti), *jānapada*, and guild (śreṇī) are recognized. It is undoubted that the other two institutions of this group were corporate institutions. The code of Yājñavalkya mentions *jānapadas*, *ganas*, *śreṇis*, and *jātis* (castes) as units who 'also must be compelled to follow their own laws.'"

Were jānapada (deśa), jāti and kula corporate bodies with power of enacting laws.

These are all to Mr. J. resolutions of the corporate bodies having the force of law, and the law courts enforced these laws against the offending members. They regulated primarily the conduct of those bodies and were called *samaya* i. e. 'law or resolution agreed upon in an assembly (sam-aya).' *Samaya*, *sthiti* and *samvid* were all legal enactments passed by the different assemblies of the *Paura*, *jānapada*, etc. and corresponded to what we at present call statute as opposed to *leges* embodied in the Hindu common law (pp. 106, 107).

The two passages from the Hindu law-codes mentioning, according to him, the laws of the corporate bodies are :—

Jāti-jānapadān dharmān śreṇīdharmāṇś ca dharmavit,
Samikṣya Kuladharmāṇś ca svadharmam pratipādayet.

(Manu, VIII, 41)

Vyavahārān svayam paśyet sabhyaiḥ parivṛto' nvaham,
Kulāni jātiḥ śreṇīś ca gaṇān jānapadān api.

(Yājñavalkya, I, 360)

'Dharma' in the first couplet has been taken to mean legal enactments of *jāti*, *jānapada*, *śreṇī*, and *kula* on the ground that as *śreṇī* is admittedly a corporate body and *kula* is also so on the strength of arguments advanced by him at pp. 85 ff. part I, ch. 9 of his book, the other terms *jāti* and *jānapada* must be taken in the sense of corporate bodies designated by him as caste-corporate-association and country-corporate-association. I admit that *śreṇī* was a corporate body, but *śreṇīdharmā* in the present context does not appear to mean a resolution (the body) having the force of law. On the other hand, to my mind, it has the sense of customs prevailing among the class of people constituting the *śreṇī* of a particular locality. If the members of the body at any of its meetings

The nature of śreṇīdharmā.

agreed among themselves to be bound by a particular rule (or resolution framed (or passed) by themselves, it may be called *dharma* in the wider acceptance of the term, but cannot be called *dharma* in the sense of legal enactment. Mādḥātīthi while commenting on the passage of Manu (VIII, 41) quoted above says that the rules followed by members of the same profession are called *śreṇīdharma*, e. g. tradesmen agree among themselves that they would not sell a particular commodity for a particular period. These rules should be distinguished from either customs or legal enactments though the word *dharma* is comprehensive enough to include them all. The customs applicable to the members of a particular *śreṇī* e. g. of peasants or cattle-rearers are different from the rules framed by their respective guilds. There is no evidence that these guilds could make legal enactments. If any changes took place in the customary law that governed them, they were brought about slowly through the various influences operating on those people, or through the changed applications of the customary law to the peculiar circumstances of particular cases.

As regards the *dharma* of *Jānapada*, *Jāti*, and *Kula* mentioned in the passages from Manu and Yājñavalkya, the meaning will be clear if we bring together similar passages from other codes of Hindu law.

Gautama (XI, 20, 21) has Deśa-jāti-kuladharmā āmnāyair aviruddhāḥ pramāṇam. Karṣaka-vaṇik-paśupāla-kusīdi kāravaḥ sve sve varge.

Light from
passages from
the law-codes

In Vasiṣṭha (XIX, 7), we have Deśadharmajāti-kuladharmān ananupraviśya rājā caturo varṇān svadharme sthāpayet.

Brhaspati as quoted in the *Āramitrodaya* (vyavahāra, p. 29) says,

Deśajātikulānāṁ ca ye dharmāḥ prāk pravartitāḥ,

Tathaiva te pālaniyāḥ prajā prakṣubhyate' nyathā.

Baudhāyana (I, 1, 17-22) is very explicit on *deśadharmā* :

Pañcadhā vipratipattir dākṣiṇatas tath ottarataḥ. Yāni dākṣiṇatas tāni vyākhyāsyāmaḥ. Yath aīdānupetena saha bhojanaṁ striyā saha bhojanaṁ paryuṣitabhojanaṁ mātulapitrsvasṛduhitṛ gamanam iti. Ath otharata ūrṇāvīkṛayaḥ sīdhupānam ubhayatodadbhir vyavahāra āyudhiyakaṁ samudrasaṁyānam iti. Itarad itarasmin kurvan duṣyatitarad itarasmin. Tatra tatra *deśaprāmāṇyam* eva syāt.

In this passage from Baudhāyana, there is an enumeration of some customs peculiar to certain deśas. The drinking of rum, selling of animals having teeth in both the upper and the lower jaws, for instance, have

been cited as peculiar to the northern countries, while eating in the company of an uninitiated person, marrying the daughter of a maternal uncle or a paternal aunt has been mentioned as peculiar to the southern countries. From these instances we get an insight into the nature of the *deśadharmas*. Cf. *deśadr̥ṣṭadharmas* in the following passages from Manu and Kātyāyana quoted in the *Viramitrodaya* (p. 13).

Baudhāyana
etc. on
deśadharmas.

Vinitaveśābharaṇaḥ paśyet karyāṇi karyiṇāṃ,
Pratyahāṇ deśadr̥ṣṭaiś ca śāstradr̥ṣṭaiś ca hetubhiḥ (Manu).
Yasya deśasya yo dharmah pravṛttaḥ sārva-kālikah,
Śrutismṛtyanurodhena deśadr̥ṣṭaḥ sa ucyate (Kātyāyana).

Āśvalāyana means by *jānapadadharma*s local customs. Customs which were to be observed at the marriage ceremony, different in different localities, are not recorded in the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, says its author, and those which were common everywhere were mentioned. (*Asv. Gr. S.*, I, 7 Atha khalūccāvacā jānapadadharmaḥ tān vivāhe pratiyāt. Yat tu samānam tad vakṣyāmaḥ).

Now as to *Kuladharmas*: The following verses from Kātyāyana as quoted in the *Viramitrodaya* (Vyavahāra, p. 29 throw light on its nature:

Gotrasthitis tu yā teṣāṃ kramād āyati dharmataḥ,
Kuladharmaṃ tu taṃ prāhuḥ pālayet taṃ tathaiva tu.
(Customs peculiar to a *gotra* that have come down from generation to generation as *dharmas* constitute *Kuladharmas* of the people of the *gotra* for their observance as such). As an instance of the *gotrasthiti* or *kula-dharma* (cf. Maskari on Gautama XI, 22) we may point to the custom of keeping a tuft of hair on the head in a particular position, e. g. on the right side of the head of the Vasiṣṭhas, on the centre or the back of the head by the members of other *gotras* (*Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra*, II, 6, 12 ; *Āpastamba Gr. S.*, VI, 7).

Instances of *jātidharma*s are found in the commentaries on the law-codes. Haradatta while explaining *jātidharma* remarks (Gautama, XI, 20) that a custom like the following is prevalent among the *śūdras*, viz., at the time of marriage the bridegroom accompanied by the bride and holding in one of his hands a receptacle containing a thousand lamps goes round a post erected for the purpose. Maskari (Gaut., XI, 22) cites as an example of *jātidharma* the total abstention of the *Ābhiras* from colouring their teeth.

Instances of
Jatidharma.

The explanation of word *arbhūn* in the following passage of

Gautama (XI, 23) on *śreṇis* by the word *ācārān* by both Haradatta and Maskari is significant : Tebhyo (Karṣaka-vaṇik-paśupāla kusidi-kārubhyaḥ) yathādhikāram *arthān* pratyavahr̥ṣya dharmavya-vasthā. The passage clearly refers to the customs of the *śreṇis*.

The passage from the *Arthaśāstra* quoted by Mr. J. in this connection in support of his contention is *deśajātikulasaṅghānām samaya syūnapākarma vyākhyātam* in which each of the terms *deśa*, *jāti* and *kula* has been taken to have connection with the word *saṅgha* to form the expression *deśasaṅgha*, *jātisaṅgha*, and *kulasaṅgha*. But such a construction is unwarranted. The words *deśa*, *jāti*, *kula*, and *saṅgha* should be taken separately, as has been done in another passage at p. 105 of the *Kautiliya Arthaśāstra*, viz.,

Deśasya jātyāḥ saṅghasya dharmo grāmasya vāpi yaḥ,

Ucitas tasya tenaiva dāyadharmam prakalpayet.

Cf. *Jāti-saṅgha-kula-karma-vṛttastavam* on which the *Nayacandrikā* comments thus :—jātiḥ kṣatriytvādiḥ, saṅghaḥ Kāmbojādiḥ, kulam abhijanaḥ, karma jīvitam, vṛttam acāraḥ—teṣāṃ stavam. A reference to the context of the passages will also show that by *kula* is meant a family and by *deśa* and *jāti* country and caste, i. e. people belonging to a country and a caste.

Mr. J. cites (p. 66) a passage from Bṛhaspati quoted in the *Vīramitrodaya* (p. 120) in which *deśasthiti* has been taken by him to mean the laws of *deśa* (or janapada) association. But the context does not support the contention. Preceding the passage is found the following line :—*Caritrasya vyavahārabādha-kam āha Bṛhaspatiḥ* which shows that *deśasthiti* is *caritra*. Bṛhaspati himself (as quoted in the *Parāśaramūdhava*, III, p. 198) identifies *deśasthiti* with *caritra* :

Dharmeṇa vyavahāreṇa caritreṇa nṛpajñayā,
Catuḥprakāro 'bhīhitaḥ sandigdharthavinirṇayaḥ.

.....

Deśasthityā ṛtīyena sāstravidbhir udāhṛtaḥ.

That *caritra* means custom is clear from the following passages of Bṛhaspati quoted in the *Parāśaramūdhava* (III, p. 17) :

Yad yad ācaryate yena dharmyaṃ cādharmyam eva vā,

Deśasyācāraṇam nityam caritraṃ tadd hi kīrtitam.

Kātyāyana as quoted in the *Vīramitrodaya* (p. 117) also expressly states that *deśasthiti* is custom (*deśasthitiḥ pūrvakṛtām caritam*).

Mr. J. (pp. 106, 107) looks upon *samaya* as the resolution of a

Construction of
the passage
deśajātikulasaṅghānām etc.
in the Kauṭi-
liya

corporate body having the force of law. According to him *samaya* and *saṃvid* were statutes of fiscal and political nature, *saṃvid* being probably the same as *deśasthiti* that is enforceable against every body in the country and passed by the 'country-corporate-association.' He (p. 66) finds in the following verses of Bṛhaspati quoted in the *Vīramitrodaya* (p. 189) a reference to such legal enactments passed by the corporate bodies called *grāma* and *deśa* :

Grāmo deśaś ca yat kuryāt satyalekhyam parasparam,
Rājāviroddhidharmārthaṃ saṃvitpatraṃ vadanti tat.

The term signifying the resolution is, according to him, *saṃvid*. That *saṃvid* is the same as *samaya* will be apparent from the fact that the sections dealing with *saṃvid* in the Hindu law-codes use *samaya* as the synonym of *saṃvid*. For instance, in Manu the treatment of the subject of *saṃvid* commences with these verses :

Yo grāmadeśasaṅghānāṃ kṛtvā satyena saṃvidam,
Viśaṃvaden naro lobhāt tam rāṣṭrād vipravāsayet.

The following śloka proceeds on the assumption that *samaya* is *saṃvid* as will be apparent on the face of it.

Nigṛhya dāpayec cainaṃ samayavyabhicāriṇam,
Catuḥsuvarṇān ṣaṇ niṣkāṃś chatamānaṃ ca rājatam.

Similarly in the *prakaraṇa* called *saṃvidvyatikrama*, Yājñavalkya (II, 186) enjoins the Brāhmaṇas whom the king has settled in the capital (II, 185) to observe the *samayikadharmā* and also *rājakeyadharmā* which are not in conflict with *nijadharmā*.

The same is the case with the *Parāśaramūdhava* (B. S. S., vol. III, p. 346), the *Vīramitrodaya* (Vyavahāra, p. 423) and the *Vivādaratnākara* (Bibl. Ind., p. 177). In view of this identity of *saṃvid* and *samaya*, I do not think that the distinction which Mr. J. draws between *samayas* and *saṃvids* (pp. 106, 107) is justified. Cf. *Amarakoṣa* on *samaya*.

To arrive at the right meaning of the term *samaya*, we should examine the circumstances in which the law-givers and the *nibandha-kāras* enjoin that *samayas* should be made. Bṛhaspati is the law-giver who is explicit on this subject and has therefore been quoted in the commentaries like the *Parāśaramūdhava*, *Aparārka* and also in the *nibandhas* like the *Vīramitrodaya* and the *Vivādaratnākara*. He says that *samayakriyā* should be resorted to in times of danger (*bāṇākālā*) e.g. from tigers and thieves ; or in connection with works of religious merit (*dharmakārya*) such as the construction of a temple, excavation of a tank, performance of a sacrifice, etc. For carrying out these works of common interest and public utility, a few people agree among

themselves to contribute their shares (of labour or money) necessary for the purpose (kāryam asmābhir amśataḥ) and this agreement is reduced to writing in order that in the case of any one of them refusing to redeem his promise, the king might be appealed to for punishment. In the *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*, in the *prakaraṇa* devoted to *saṁayasā-napākarma* (performance of agreements), the last couplet states that the king should support those people who carry out works of public benefit performed as the results of agreements. Kauṭīlya includes *prekṣās* (public shows) in the list of works done through *saṁayas*. This reminds one of the *Barvaris* of later times taking place through the performance of an agreement among a number of people with this difference that there is no fear of punishment from the Government for the breach of the agreement. It may be noticed that Kauṭīlya even mentions the agreement between an agricultural labourer and the people of the *grāma* as an instance of *saṁaya*. These *saṁayas* cannot be called laws or resolutions having the force of law. They are mere agreements, breaches of which were punishable by the king. A glance at the parties making the agreement as mentioned in the law-codes will also show that they may be mere groups of men with no corporate character such as a few Brāhmaṇas settled by the king in the capital (see Yājñ. II, 185 and Bṛhaspati quoted in the *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 423). That *saṁaya* was an agreement of the sort mentioned above and not a resolution committed to writing and having the force of law passed by corporate bodies will be evident from the following śloka of Bṛhaspati quoted in the *Vīramitrodaya* (Vyav., p. 426), the *Parāśaramādhava* (III, p. 253) and the *Vivādaratnākara* (p. 178) in connection with the treatment of *saṁvid* :

Kośena lekhyakriyayā madhyasthair vā paraspam,

Viśvāsaṁ prathamam kṛtvā kuryuḥ kāryāṇy anantaram.

The passage mentions *madhyasthas*, *lekhyakriyā* and *kośa* (*i. e.* *divya*) as safeguards against breaches of the *saṁaya*. The mere mention of *saṁvitpatra* might lend colour to the supposition that the legal enactments of the corporate bodies passing them were 'recorded on a roll.' But the mention of the *madhyasthas* militates against the idea of the *saṁayas* being legal enactments, as neither *madhyasthas* nor *kośas* (oaths) are needed for the passing of legal enactments.

Mr. J. points out (p. 106) that according to Āpastamba all laws originated in *saṁayas* (legal enactments passed by corporate bodies). The commentator Haradatta however explains *saṁaya* by the expression *pauruṣeyī vyavasthā* (I, 1, 1), and *āryasaṁaya* in the following

way : āryāḥ śiṣṭāḥ Manvādayaḥ teṣāṃ samayo vyavasthā (i. e. the injunctions of Manu etc.). *Parāśaramūdhava* (III, p. 19) gives instances of *deśasamaya*, from which it is clear that he takes the word *samaya* to mean custom : Karṇāṭakadeśe balān mātulasutāvivāho na doṣāya, keraḷadeśe kanyāyā ṛtumatitvaṃ na doṣāya.

At p. 67, Mr. J. makes the statement that "when a document registered by the deśa-adhyakṣa is termed by Vyāsa the law-giver a Jānapada document, the *adhyakṣa* of *deśa* is the President of the *deśa* assembly or the Jānapada." But it will be evident from the following passages that deśādhyakṣa had no connection with the sort of popular assembly that Mr. J. has in mind. It is stated in the *Viṣṇusmṛti* (Bibl. Ind. III, 7-14, p. 11) that the king should appoint the deśādhyakṣa whose position is higher than that of the śatādhyakṣa i. e. adhyakṣa of a hundred villages, after whom come the daśādhyakṣa and the grāmādhyakṣa :

Tatra svasvagrāmādhipān kuryāt. Daśādhyakṣān. Śatādhyakṣān. Deśādhyakṣāṃś ca. Grāmadoṣāṇāṃ grāmādhyakṣaḥ parihāraṃ kuryāt. Aśakto daśagrāmādhyakṣāya nivedayet. So' pyaśakto śatādhyakṣāya. So' pyaśakto deśādhyakṣāya.

Cf. *Alakābhārata*, Kumbhakonam ed., Śānti, 87, 2ff.

Grāmasyādhipatīḥ kārya daśagrāmapatis tathā,

Viṃśatitriṃśatīṣaṃ ca sahasrasya ca kārayet.

Grāmeyān gramadoṣāṇāṃ ca grāmikaḥ pratibhāvayet

Tān ācakṣīta daśīne daśiko viṃśīne punaḥ.

Viṃśādhipas tu tat sarvaṃ vṛttaṃ jānapade jāne,

Cf. also *Sukranīti*, I, 347.

caturdikṣv athavā deśādhipān kuryāt sadā nṛpaḥ.

A passage of the *Viṣṇusmṛti* (VII, 3) which Mr. J. himself has quoted as footnote at p. 67 makes it clear that the *adhyakṣas appointed by the king* signed documents : Rājādhikaraṇatanniyuktakāyasthakṛtaṃ tadadhyakṣakaracihnitaṃ rajasākṣikam.

Janapadamahattara as well as *rāṣṭramukhya* has been taken by Mr. J. as the leader of the *janapada* assembly. In support of his opinion he has referred to a passage in the *Dśakumāracarita* (ch. 3). A glance at the passage will show that there is nothing in it to indicate that the *Janpadamahattara* was the leader of any assembly. He has been referred to in the passage as a grhapati (householder) and a śatahali i. e. possessing a hundred ploughs. From these terms only this much is clear that he

was an influential citizen but no inference can be drawn as to his connection with any popular assembly. In the footnote in support of his contention he points out the use of the expression *grāmaghoṣa-mahattaraḥ* in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (II, 83. 15): Govindarāja explains the term *mahattaraḥ* by the word *pradhānabhūtaḥ* but the latter word has nothing in it to show that it implies the leadership of an assembly. Mere influence due to various causes can make a man prominent in a village. As regards *ghoṣa* Mr. J. says on the strength of the remarks of Patañjali and Kātyāyana on Pāṇini (IV, 3, 127) that *ghoṣa* was a small township with corporate arms and seals. . Again at p. 44 of Pt. I of his book he remarks, 'Kātyāyana points out that Pāṇini's IV, 3, 127 will apply to township called *ghoṣa* also, *ghoṣa-grahaṇam api kartavyam*. This leads us to the inference that townships or municipalities had their corporate symbols or arms'. The sūtra of Pāṇini with the vārtika of Kātyāyana runs thus :

Saṅghāṅkalakṣaṇeṣv añ-yāñ-iñām aṇ. Ghoṣagrahaṇam api kartavyam. ('The affix *aṇ* comes in the sense of 'this is his' after a patronymic word ending with the affix añ, yañ or iñ, the words so formed expressing a multitude, a mark, or a sign. The word *ghoṣa* 'a cow-pen' should also be read along with *saṅgha* etc.'). As a matter of fact *ghoṣa* has nothing to do with *aṅka* or *lakṣaṇa*. The sūtra enumerates the senses in which the affix is added to certain words. These senses are four, viz.

- (1) congregation, (*saṅgha*)
- 2) mark (*aṅka*)
- (3) sign (*lakṣaṇa*)
- (4) a hamlet or cow-pen (*ghoṣa*).

This is clear that the sūtra or the vārtika does not speak of the *aṅka* and *lakṣaṇa* (arms and seals according to Mr. J.) of a *ghoṣa*. Nor do the words *aṅka* and *lakṣaṇa* mean arms and seals as will be evident from the kārīkā on this sūtra : "Lakṣaṇa means a mark which is the property of that person and forms a *distinguishing* feature of that person, as *vidyā* learning is a *lakṣaṇa* of the clan of Bidas, the Bidas being famous for learning. The word *aṅka* is a mark which shows that the thing so marked is the property of another, as a mark on a cow shows to what person or clan that cow belongs. The *aṅka* though occurring in a person or thing does not belong to that person or thing, as the mark of a cow does not belong to the cow, but the *lakṣaṇa* is the mark which belongs to the person or thing wherein it is found."

Mr. J.'s statement that suits filed by a person hostile to the *paura*

or city assembly or to the *rāṣṭra* or the *jānapada* assembly could not be entertained by a law-court proceeds on the assumption that the words *pura* and *rāṣṭra* are synonyms for the *paura* assembly and *jānapada* assembly. Mitramiśra does not explain the two words by the expression *paura-jānopada* meaning thereby the *paura* and *jānapada* assemblies as stated by Mr. J. On the other hand it is clear from this portion of the sentence used in connection with the explanation of the śloka viz. *rājñā svarāṣṭre pratiśiddhaḥ* (Mr. Vyav., p. 44) that *svarāṣṭra* has been used in the usual sense of the king's own dominion. It does not bear the sense of the *jānapada* assembly. Mitramiśra explains the śloka thus :

‘Purārāṣṭraviruddho—yatra *nagare rāṣṭre* ca yā vyavasthā purātanaṁ tadvirodhāpādako vyavahāro nādeyaḥ paura-jānapada-śobhāpādakatvāt. Kenacin nimittena prācīno’pi rājñā svarāṣṭre pratiśiddhaḥ so’pi rājñā-jñābhāṅgaprasaṅgān nāṅtikartavya iti’, the gist of which is that a suit in which a *long standing vyavasthā* prevailing in the *town* and the *country* has to be contravened is not to be entertained by the law court as that might be a cause for displeasure of the people of the town and the country. But if a *vyavasthā* though old be done away with by the king, a suit for remedy against the *vyavasthā* which has been rescinded cannot be entertained, as it involves the transgression of the king's order. Cf. *Aparārka* on Yājñavalkya, II, 6 which explains in this connection the term *purārāṣṭraviruddha* by the expression *purārāṣṭrācāviruddha*.

The statements (p. 68) that “*Paura* does not relate to all the towns in the kingdom as it has been translated by both Indians and Europeans,”

P'ura does not mean the capital only.

and that the “earlier Hindu writers understood by the technical *Pura* and *Nagara* the capital” are baseless. The terms *pura* and *nagara* were no doubt applicable to capitals, but at the same time there was nothing to bar the application of the terms to denote the towns in the kingdom other than its capital. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (4, 9) mentions for instance both the *nagara* and the *rājadhāni* in the same expression in a sentence : grāmanagaranigama-jānapada-rāṣṭra-rājadhāniṣu. The *Sukranīti* also asks the king to inspect the towns (*Purāṇi*) in his kingdom in the following verse :

Grāmān *purāṇi* deśāṁś ca svayaṁ samvikṣya vatsare (I, 374).

In another passage of the *Sukranīti*, one of the duties of a Government official has been prescribed as reporting to the king the number of *purās*, villages, etc. in his kingdom :

Purāṇi ca kati grāmā aranyāni ca santi hi (II, 102).

Mr. J. relies on a passage in the *Divyāvadāna* to show that Aśoka's son Kunāla, who had been sent by the former to Takṣaśilā to pacify the people there, entered the *Paura* assembly. This passage has been taken from the description of an evil dream dreamt by Aśoka about Kunāla. If a dream be taken as a reflection of actuality, in the present case, we have in the work the description of what has been put as actuality. In this, Kunāla has been described as entering Takṣaśilā (Takṣaśilām anuprāptaḥ—*Divyāvadāna*, p. 408) and the people of the town have been described as bringing him into the town (Takṣaśilāḥ praveśitaḥ *Ibid.*, p. 408). This clearly shows that the word *paṇḍit* in the passage on which Mr. J. relies is a wrong reading or a misprint for *puram*.

On the strength of passages in which the word *saṃtūha* has been used, Mr. J. has attempted to show that *grāma* was a village association, and *paṇḍit* was the corporate body at the capital.

Samūha.

The *Vīramitrodaya* (p. 11) explains *paṇḍit* as *puravāsīnāṃ saṃtūhaḥ*. Here *saṃtūha* has been taken by Mr. J. as a technical term meaning a corporate association because Candèsvara in his *Vivādaratnākara* (p. 669) quoting Kātyāyana explains *pūga* as *vanijādīnāṃ saṃtūhaḥ*, and *saṅgha* as *ārhataḥsaṅgatūnāṃ saṃtūhaḥ*. Here Mr. J. has not been able to prove that *saṃtūha* in these passages has been used in the sense of a corporate association. *Samūha* has the sense of a collection, and the first passage quoted by Mr. J. means a collection of citizens. The terms *pūga* and *saṅgha* are known to be corporate bodies from other evidences, but *paṇḍit* is not known to be a body of that sort. The mere passage *puravāsīnāṃ saṃtūhaḥ* does not prove that it was also a corporate body, because *saṃtūha* means merely a multitude. It remains to be proved that *saṃtūha* means a corporate body, and it is only begging the question to state on the strength of the use of the word *saṃtūha* that *paṇḍit* was a corporate body. Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini (V, 1, 59) remarks *saṅghaḥ saṃtūhaḥ samudāya ity anarthāntaram* (*saṅgha*, *saṃtūha*, and *samudāya* have the same meaning). This shows that *saṅgha* and *saṃtūha* are used in the sense of a mere multitude like *samudāya*. The word *saṅgha* is no doubt used in the sense of a corporate body in particular cases, but in such cases, the context must clearly show that it denotes a corporate body. The sense of multitude borne by the word *saṅgha* is clearly seen by the use of *go-saṅgha* in the passage of Kaiyaṣa on Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini V, 1, 59.

The next passage on which Mr. J. relies for proving that *grāma* and *paura* were corporate bodies (the one being the village association and the other the association of the capital) is the passage of Bṛhaspati quoted in the *Vivādaratnākara* (p., 669):

Gaṇapūṣaṇḍapūgās ca vrātās ca śreṇayas tathā,
Samūhassthās ca ye cānye vargākyās¹ te Bṛha-patib.

Mr. J. has taken *samūhastha* as an adjective of *vargākyā* in this passage as will be apparant from his use of the expression *samūhastha vargas*, but *samūhastha* in the second verse is clearly an adjective of *anye* and therefore the meaning is 'and other collections are called vargas.' The expression *samūhastha vargas* or 'bodies incorporated' cannot be derived from the verse. The sense of *varga* is class or multitude of similar things animate or inanimate; [vide *Kaśikāvivaraṇapañjikā* (the *Nyāsa*) on *Kaśikā*, V, 1, 60:

Saṅghaśabdo hi prāṇisamudāye rūḍhaḥ, vargaśabda- tu samūha-mātre].

The next passage (p. 69) upon which Mr. J. takes his stand is:
Grāmapauragaṇaśreṇyaś caturvidhās ca (sic) vargiṇaḥ.

The expression *caturvidhāśca* has been put by Mr. J. as *cāturtidhāśca* in fn. 4 at p. 70, and as *cāturvidyaśca* in fn. 2 at p. 73. The last expression is the actual reading of the *Vramitrodaya*, p. 11 from which he has quoted. At p. 69 the distorted reading has caused the disappearance of a class of individuals contemplated in the verse, viz, the *cāturvidyas* i. e. those who have acquired the knowledge of four branches of learning. A corporate body of all such men is not known. Hence the expression *caturvidhāśca* has fitted into the verse better in the present connection than *cāturvidyaśca* quoted by him correctly later on could have.

As to Mr. J.'s statement that 'Kātyāyana speaks of separate laws of the samūhas' on the basis of the passage *samūhānāṃ tu yo dharmas tēna dharmena te sadū* (*Vivādaratnākara*, p. 180), Caṇḍeśvara himself explains in connection with the previous śloka that *dharmas* here means *pāramparika ācāra*, which does away with the possibility of assuming that these *dharmas* were legal enactments made by the *samūhas*. The following statement of Mr. J. appearing as a footnote at p. 69 should be examined:

(1) "Cf. Mitrāmīśra's comment on another corporate body (sārtha).

1 The correct reading should be *vargyākyās te*. See *Parāśara-mūdhava*, III, p. 26, fn. 2.

Milito janasaṅghaḥ 'associated body of men,' *VM.*, p. 11." Here it has suited Mr. J.'s purpose to omit the portion of the sentence preceding the words *milito janasaṅghaḥ* viz. *grāmadevayātradau*, because it clearly states that *janasaṅgha* refers to the collection of men assembled on the occasions of the celebrations of festivals of the village or the deities. The crowd assembled then cannot evidently be called a corporate body.

Mr. J.'s remark that "Amara and Kātya, lexicographers, in giving the meanings of *Prakṛti* says that the term means amongst others the *Paura*, i. e., the Associations (Śreṇayaḥ) of the *Pauras*" contradicts his position that there was only one association of the *Pauras* in the capital, as the lexicographers here refer to several *śreṇis* of the *pauras*. Moreover, Mr. J. himself distinguishes between what he calls the *Paura* body and the *śreṇis* of merchants etc., in the city. By identifying the *śreṇi* with *Paura* he has contradicted himself.

The use of the words *paurajānapadaṃ janam* in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 111, 19 can well mean the people of the *pura* and the *janapada*, and the use of the words *kim āryam anuśāsatha* which has been translated into 'what do you order His Highness' is only a polite form of expression and does not mean that the supposed *paura-jānapada* body really occupied such an elevated position as to be able to order Rāma [Cf. *Abhijñānaśakuntala*, V, Rājā (to Purohita)—Anuśāstu māṃ bhavān]. The passage of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on which the translation has been based is different in both the Kumbhakonam and the Nirṇayasāgar editions as the reading is 'kim āryam nānuśāsatha' [why are you not speaking to ārya (Rāma)].

The use of the word *pariṣadaḥ* in Bharata's speech (*R.* II, 111, 24.) is not a conclusive proof of a reference to the *Paura* and the *jānapada* bodies as the term is applicable to the state-council, the Mantri-pariṣad, etc., on which salaried officials had their seats.

From the above considerations, it appears that the *Paura* or the *jānapada* body did not exist at all. The division of the *Paura* and the *jānapada* bodies into the inner and the outer sections is also without any good ground to support it. 'Ābhyañtaras' in relation to the *Pauras* means, according to the commentators Rāma and Govindarāja on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 2, 51, the *sevakas* (those who serve the king), and the *antahpuracūrijanas* (those attached to the king's palace), while according to Nīlakaṇṭha on the *Mahābhārata*, Śānti, 87, 25 'bāhyas' in relation to the *jānapadas* means *ātaviko dasyusaṅghaḥ* i. e. marauding foresters. That *bāhya* has

reference to the *āṭavikas* is also seen in this passage of the *Kaṭiīya Arihaśūstra* (VIII, 4) : *Bāhyo mitrāṭavāstambakāḥ*. Thus by implication, *bāhya* in relation to the *pauras* means those *pauras* who are not attached to the palace as royal entourage, and *ābhyantara* in relation to the *jānapada* means the people within the *janapada* not living in the forests.

As to the *Paura* or the *Nagara-vṛddhas* there is no reason to infer that they were not elders among the people of the town. There is no ground for thinking that the *Paura-vṛddhas* constituted the council of elders which might be identified with the inner body of the supposed *Paura* body.

As regards the rule of etiquette from which Mr. J. infers the existence of the popular basis of the supposed *Paura* body representing even the lowest interest, the passage from the *Gautama Dharma Sūtra* VI, 11 on which he relies has been misinterpreted. *Pūruṣaḥ pauraḥ* has been taken to signify a *paura* ex-member while its correct interpretation is *vayasā pūruṣaḥ* i.e. senior (see Haradatta and Maskari). The correct translation of the passage is given in the S. B. E., vol. II, pt. I, p. 209 :

"But (on the arrival of an) officiating priest, a father-in-law, paternal and maternal uncles who are younger (than oneself), one must rise ; they need not be saluted.

In like manner (any) other *aged fellow citizen*, even a *Śūdra* of eighty years and more (must be honoured) by one young enough to be his son."

A glance at the following passages of Manu (II, 137) and Yājñavalkya (I, 116) will show that there was the practice of a Brāhmaṇa doing honour to a *Śūdra* on account of his old age irrespective of any connection of him with any corporate body :

.....mānārhaḥ *Śūdro* 'pi daśamīm gataḥ (Manu, II, 137).

Vidyākarmavayobandhuvittair mānyā yathākramam,

Etaiḥ prabhūtaiḥ *Śūdro*'pi vārdhake mānam arhati (Yājñ., I, 116).

Then again Mr. J.'s statement is (p. 72, fn. 1) that the *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*, VI, 9-15 "lays down an exception with regard to etiquette between *Pauras*. Even if the difference in age were of ten years, fellow *Pauras* were to treat each other as if born on the same day" (14-15). Here the assumption is that the *Pauras* are so called because they are the members of the *Paura* body. But Mitramiśra (Samskāra p. 466) while explaining a passage from Manu (II, 134) on this point (*daśābdākhyam paurasakhyam*) remarks :

Ekapuravāsīnām adhikataravidyādiguṇarahitānām daśābdaparyantaṁ jyeṣṭhīve saty apī sakhā ity evaṁ ākhyāyate na tu abhivādyah. Puragrahaṇaṁ pradārśanārthaṁ, tena ekagrāmavāse' py evaṁ bhavati. (Among *persons living in the same town*, but not having superiority by reason of learning, wealth or any other qualifications, if the difference in age be up to ten years, they should treat each other as friends, and no salutation is necessary. The *pura* has been used here only as a typical example and so the remark applies also to people living in the same village). This shows that the rule of etiquette mentioned here prevailed among townsmen and villagers known to one another. Cf. *Apararka* on Yājñavalkya, I, 26; *Smṛticandrikā*, Saṁskāra, p. 107; *Parāśaramūdhava*, I, p. 325.

I find no basis for the statement that the *Paura* had a Registrar and the document given by him was regarded as a superior kind of evidence. Mr. J. quotes this passage from Vasiṣṭha (Führer's ed., p. 84) in support of the remark : cirakam nāma likhitaṁ purāṇaiḥ pauralekhakaiḥ. Neither this line nor the passages in Vasiṣṭha preceding or succeeding it refer to the superiority of the *pauralekhya* to the other kinds of *lekhyā*. On the other hand, the *Śukranītisāra* (II, 282) states that the *pauralekhya* is a document of an inferior kind :

Uttamaṁ rājālikhitaṁ madhyaṁ mantryādibhiḥ kṛtaṁ,
Pauralekhyaṁ kaniṣṭhaṁ syāt sarvaṁ saṁsādhanaḥkṣamaṁ.

The inference that the supposed *Paura* body was a popular institution because the *pauralekhya* (which Mr. J. takes as the document of the *Paura* body but which really means a document belonging to a citizen as opposed to the king) was called *laukika* in contradistinction to *rājākīya* is erroneous. The kinds of *laukika* document, mentioned in the law-codes e. g. *Parāśaramūdhava*, III, p. 119, *Vṛamitrodaya*, p. 159, clearly show that they were so called because their contents were related to the affairs of the subjects as opposed to those of the king. The difference between these two classes did not rest on the fact as to who registered the documents, for we see that whenever the documents were registered, they were done by an official appointed by the king :

Rājādhikaraṇe tanniyuktakāyasthakṛtaṁ tadadhyakṣakaracihṇitaṁ rājasākṣikam—*Viṣṇusmṛti*, VI, 3. *Deśādhyakṣādilikhitaṁ* tatra jānapadam kṛtaṁ—*Vṛamitrodaya*, p. 201. (As to *Deśādhyakṣa* being a king's official, see *Viṣṇusmṛti*, III, 7-14).

As regards the non-political functions of the *Pauras* mentioned by Mr. J. (72 ff.) the inferences are not at all sound.

(a) According to him the first function is that of administering the properties left by deceased persons in collaboration with the government officials. The passage on which this conclusion is based is this :

Prañadravayāni rājagāmīni bhavanti. Tato 'nyathā rāja man-
tribhiḥ saha nāgaraiś ca kāryāni kuryāt (Vasiṣṭha, XVI. 19, 20).

['Property entirely given up (by its owner) goes to the king. If it be otherwise, the king with his ministers and the citizens shall administer it.' (Bühler, S.B.E.). Bühler adds this note on *tato 'nyathā* : 'If the owner gave his property up temporarily only, e. g. went on a journey or a pilgrimage, leaving it without anybody to take care of.' The use of the word *nāgara* cannot support the conclusion that a member of the supposed *Paura* body has been meant.

(b & c) The words *Śāntika* and *Paustika* have been interpreted by Mr. J. into 'policing the town' and 'contributing to the material strength of the citizens.' This interpretation is utterly absurd. The passage of Bṛhaspati quoted in the *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 424, on which he bases his statement relates to the Brāhmaṇas settled by the king in the city and not to any institution (Vedavidyāvīdo viprān śrotriyān agnihotrīṇaḥ, Āhṛtya sthāpayet tatra teṣāṃ vṛttim prakāpayet—*Vīramitrodaya*, p. 423). The verses quoted by him have been translated by Prof. Jolly (S.B.E., vol. XXIII) thus :

'They (Brahmins established by the king) shall perform for the citizens constant, special and voluntary rites, as well as expiatory and auspicious ones, and pass decisions in doubtful cases.'

Śāntika and *Paustika* have reference to rites that are calculated to avert evil and promote welfare respectively. The performance of these rites was part of the duties of the priest as will be apparent from the following evidences: (1) *Atharva Pariśiṣṭa*, III, 1, 10—Purodhāḥ śāntikapauṣṭikapṛāyaścittiyābhicārikanaimittikordvadehikāni Atharva-vihitāni karmāni kuryāt. (2) *Kāmandakya Nitisāra*, IV, 31—Atharva-vihitam nityam kuryāc chāntikapauṣṭikam.

Again in connection with the enumeration of the kinds of *sruva* the *AV. Pariśiṣṭa*, XXI, 3, 1 and 3 states that a *sruva* made of gold is used in a *Śāntika* rite and one made of silver is used in a *Paustika* rite (Sauvarṇaḥ Śāntike proktaḥ and Pauṣṭike rājataṃ vidyāt). This shows clearly the meanings borne by the terms *Śāntika* and *Paustika*.

(d) I have already shown that the mere use of the word *paura* does not prove that there was a *Paura* body. The term *paura* in the passage *grāma-paura-gaṇa-śrenyaś cāturvīdyaś ca vargiṇaḥ* may mean

citizens appointed by the king for trying cases in view of this passage in the *Sūkravṛtti* (IV, 5, 16-18) :

Vyavahāra-vidāḥ prājñā vṛttaśilaguṇānvitāḥ,
Rājñā niyojitavyās te sabhyāḥ sarvāsu jātiṣu.
Kīnāsāḥ kārūkāḥ śilpikusīdīśreṇinartakāḥ,
Līnginas taskarāḥ kuryuḥ svena dharmeṇa nirṇayam.

(2) The quotation from Bṛhaspati in the *Vṛamitrodaya*, p. 425, relating to works of religious merit and public utility, does not appear to have any connection with the supposed *Paura* body. The way in which these works were carried out has been explained already in connection with *Samayakriyā*.

Mr. J. identifies the organisation which according to Megasthenes existed in the city of Pataliputra to look after its municipal administration with the supposed *paura* organisation. He says that 'the most important point to mark is the phrase the *City Magistrates* which in the mouth of a Greek will signify popular officers and not officers appointed by the king. The royal officer, governor of the city, the *Nāgaraka*, as described in the *Arthaśāstra*, was distinct.' This position however is not tenable. The words 'magistrates of self-governed cities' used by Arrian (XII) in connection with the description of the seventh caste have evidently misled Mr. J. The meaning of these words becomes clear on a reference to the preceding paragraph describing the sixth caste of what Arrian calls superintendents (informants). They used 'to spy out what goes on in country and town, and report everything to the king where the people have a king, and to the magistrates where the people are self-governed.' Here Arrian is drawing a line between monarchies and city-states and the magistrates are informed by the superintendents in a city-state just as the king in a monarchy listens to the information. The passage does not at all contemplate the city of Pataliputra during Candragupta's reign as the head of the state was the monarch and not the 'magistrates.'

In Hamilton and Falconer's translation of the passage of Megasthenes quoted in Strabo we find no doubt that the term 'magistrates' has been used, but its meaning becomes clear on a reference to McCrindle's translation of the same passage. In the former translation we have : "of the magistrates some have charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiery," while in the latter we find "of the great officers of State, some have charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiers." The magistrates were therefore

the quorum of a body of five, for instance, would be constituted by a lesser number than five. As regards the *pañcaka*, *daśaka* and *viṃśaka saṅghas* of Patañjali (Pāṇ., V, I, 58, 59), the word *saṅgha* has been used in a general sense meaning only a collection : *saṅghaḥ samūhaḥ samudāya ity anarthāntaram*. In this connection the commentator Kaiyaṭa adds *viṃśatiḥ parimāṇam asya gosāṅghasya viṃśako gosāṅgha iti* which shows that even the lower animals can be referred to as forming a *saṅgha* (i. e. collection). The verses of Bṛhaspati referred to by Mr. J. speak of the number of *samūhahitavādins* to be appointed by the people of a village, etc., and not of quorums of committees of *hitavādins*.

The term *varga* does not appear to signify an assembly or quorum. The *Nyāsa* (*Kāśikāvivarāṇapañjikā*) of Jinendrabuddhi on the Sūtra of Pāṇini, V, I, 60 expressly states that the term means a mere collection of animate or inanimate objects (*Saṅghaśabdo hi prāṇisaṃudāye rūḍhaḥ, vargaśabdas tu samūhamātre*). When a few people do some work collectively they can well be referred to as *vargins* or *samūhasthas*. Hence *varga* or *samūha* does not necessarily imply that the people combined for a common object must have a corporate character. The passages referred to by Mr. J. in this connection should therefore be read in the light of the evidence furnished by the *Nyāsa* quoted above.

In the last three paragraphs of the chapter (pt. II, XXVII) Mr. J. has tried to prove on the strength of evidence of the *Arthaśāstra*, II, 14 that the *Paura* association was allowed by the state to have coins minted by the state-official *Sauvarṇika*. Moreover he states that "the connection between the city guild of merchants and the city corporation was so intimate that both came to be regarded as identical." On the basis of this intimate connection or identity Mr. J. wants to apply the conclusion that the *Naigamas* had coins struck in their own names to the *Paura* Association. It has been shown already from the examination of all the direct evidences brought together in the chapter that they have failed to prove that the *Paura* or the *Jānapada* body at all existed. As regards the minting of coins by the *Sauvarṇika*, the passage in the *Arthaśāstra* speaks of *Paura-jānapadānāṃ rūpyasuvarṇaṇaṃ*. It is doubtful whether the expression *rūpyasuvarṇaṇaṃ* means gold and silver coins though Dr. R. Shamasastri has translated it as such, because the text of the *Arthaśāstra* refers to a coin by the addition of the word *rūpa* to the name of the metal out of which it is manufactured e.g. *rūpyarūpa*, *tāmrarūpa* (II, 12, p. 84). Moreover the commentator Bhaṭṭasvāmī while explaining

officers of state appointed by the king and not the 'magistrates' (cf. Arrian) who were the heads of the democratic city-states. Moreover, Megasthenes states that those who had charge of the city were divided into six bodies of five each, while those who directed military affairs were also divided into six divisions with five members to each. If we suppose that these members were elected by the people we shall have to accept the conclusion that the control over the military in Chandra-gupta's dominion was vested not in the emperor but in the people,—an inference which does not tally with facts. What Megasthenes therefore really means is that the municipal administration of the city was vested in six bodies of officials, each body comprising five of them and this arrangement cannot be identified with the *paura* organisation supposed by Mr. J. The existence of the *nāgaraka* whose duties have been described by the *Kautilīya Arthaśāstra* does not of itself prove that the city magistrates were 'popular officers.' The *nāgaraka* might well have been an executive officer working under the six boards of officials. Moreover it is evident from the *Arthaśāstra* that each department of government was put under several heads who were transferred from one department to another from time to time II.9 Bahumukhyam anityaṃ cādhikaraṇaṃ sthāpayet). The use of the word *mukhya* to signify an official head of a department also shows that from expressions like '*pauramukhyas*,' the inference cannot be drawn that they must be the office-bearers elected by the people and not government officials appointed by the king.

I do not understand why Mr. J. states (p. 75) that 'the boards of five and the full board of thirty disclose the same arrangement as the quorums of three, five, ten, twenty and upwards in the *Paṇḍits* of Law, Buddhist *Samgha*, and the *pañcaka*, *daśaka* and *vimśata saṅghas* of Patañjali.' Here as also in another passage on the same page where he says that a *varga* means an assembly or quorum, the meaning of the term 'quorum' has been stretched too far. Quorum has always a reference to a constituted body of persons from among whom a certain number must be present at a meeting to render its proceedings valid. In regard to the *Paṇḍits* of Law, different numbers of persons constitute the *Paṇḍits* on particular occasions to carry on the work and there is no bigger constituted body with reference to which the persons meeting to do the work can form a quorum. The absence of this constituted bigger body of persons makes the application of the word 'quorum' in respect of the chapters of Buddhist monks and the boards of five or thirty of Megasthenes quite inappropriate, because

the second sentence in the chapter relating to *Sauvarṇika* states that the officer has to look after the manufacture of *Kāṭaka-beyūra*, etc. (i.e. ornaments). Nowhere does he mention in the chapter the minting of coins, on the other hand, he expressly states while commenting on the passages relating to the duties of the *Lakṣaṇādhyakṣa* in chap. 12, bk. II, that he was in charge of the Mint and supervised the manufacture of coins of different description (*Lākṣaṇādhyakṣaḥ—ṭaṇkaśālādhikārī*). From this it is likely that if the minting of coins from bullion offered by the citizens was permitted, it would have been mentioned by the *Arthasāstra* in connection with the *Lakṣaṇādhyakṣa*. Assuming that the citizens were allowed the privilege of getting coins manufactured out of the bullion supplied by them there is nothing to show that the privilege was enjoyed by the *Paura* association implying thereby the existence of such an association.

The identification of the *Naigama* with the *Paura* association made by Mr. J. rests on very weak arguments. The *Naigamas* were not confined to the metropolis while the *Paura* association of Mr. J. was confined to it. If a *Paura* association could evolve from the *Naigama* in the capital city, similar *Paura* associations could have evolved from the *Naigamas* of the various towns in the realm. The passages that have been quoted in support of his identification of the *Naigama* with the *Paura* association rests on the assumption that the term *paurāḥ* wherever used means 'members' of the *Paura* association while it can well bear the ordinary meaning of citizens.

(To be continued)

NARENDRA NATH LAW

Āditya, the supposed author of an Arthasāstra

G., in the *I. H. Q.*, I, pp. 384f., has already pointed out that Mr. Jayaswal's "Āditya Arthasāstra" rests on a misinterpretation of Āśv. Gr. S., III, 12, 16, where the commentator Nārāyaṇa has given the right interpretation. Nārāyaṇa's interpretation was followed already in the German translation of Ad. Stenzler (1864): "Auf der Seite der Sonne oder des Uśanas sich aufstellend, kämpfe er", i. e., "Let him fight, arrayed, on the side of the Sun or of Uśanas" (that is, not with his face turned to the Sun in day-time, or to the planet Venus at night.' Mr. Jayaswal seems to have followed H. Oldenberg, who translates (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxix, p. 234): "He should commence the battle in the line of battle invented by Āditya or by Uśanas". But Stenzler had already referred to the Mahābhārata, XII, 100, 20: *yato vāyur yataḥ sūryo yataḥ śukras tato jayah*, and to Mallinātha's commentary on Kumārasambhava, III, 43, where a verse is quoted :

Pratiśukram pratibudham praty aṅgārakam eva ca/

Api śakrasamo rājā hatasainyo nivartate//

and

Yasyāṇi diśi sthitaḥ śukro jivitecchur na tāṃ vrajet/

Kauṭilya also says (x, 3, Sham., p. 369) that the army should be arrayed with its back turned to the Sun (*prṣṭhataḥ sūryam*). Thus there can be no doubt that Nārāyaṇa's interpretation is correct, and that there never was an "Arthasāstra of Āditya". Nor can the Āśvalāyana-Grhya-sūtra be claimed as a witness for the existence of an Arthasāstra in the times "when the Kalpa-sūtras were still being completed." (Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, I, p. 4.)

M. WINTERITZ

The Evidence of Pāṇini on Vāsudeva-Worship

Mr. K. G. Subrahmanyam has (*I. H. Q.*, March, 1926) attempted to refute my conclusions published in a paper in the *I. H. Q.* vol. i. no. 3. But I am afraid I have to confess that he has not convinced me any more than I have convinced him.

I wrote : "If the derivatives 'Vāsudevaka' (according to rule iv. 3. 98) is taken to mean 'worshipper of Vāsudeva', then, for the very same reason, 'Arjjunaka' another derivative under the same rule must also be taken to mean 'worshipper of Arjuna.' But unfortunately we cannot stop here. The same is the meaning in which the suffixes according to rules 96, 97, 99, and 100 also are employed."

What is Mr. Subrahmanyam's answer to this ?

His quotation from Patañjali was not needed, for, I have myself referred to that. Mr. Subrahmanyam, however, overlooks the importance of the word '*athavā*' in the passage quoted. That Vāsudeva may be regarded as a proper name ('*saṃjñā*') is only a second thought with the Bhāṣyakāra. Besides, if Vāsudeva is a proper name, Arjuna is no less so ; and the rule in question is more necessary for the form 'Arjjunaka' than for the derivative from Vāsudeva, which latter might be obtained under rule iv. 3. 99. And whatever be the meaning of the suffix under rule iv. 3. 98, it cannot be one for Vāsudevaka and another for Arjjunaka.

Yet curiously enough, Mr. Subrahmanyam suggests that "*Bhakti* should be taken to have been used in both its senses of religious adoration and *anurakti*". And presumably, so far as Arjjunaka and the derivatives under rules 96, etc. are concerned, it should mean *anurakti* only and it should mean religious adoration for Vāsudeva and Vāsudeva alone. But, what is our authority for this bisection of meaning ? And how do we know that one half of this meaning applies to one set of words and the other half is reserved for Vāsudeva only ? Is it not simply because Bhandarkar cannot be supported otherwise ? Whether I have been right in my interpretation of the rule iv. 2. 24 (*sā asya devatā*) or not is a separable question and may stand over for the present. For even if it be decided against me, my main argument will remain unaffected.

Put briefly, our dilemma is this: If we are to support Bhandarkar we must be prepared to think that in Pāṇini's time there were not only

worshippers of *Vāsudeva* but even worshippers of *cakes* (iv. 3. 96) and *countries* (iv. 3. 100) and all that. But if on the other hand, we are not prepared to believe in religions of so widely divergent characters, then, Bhandarkar cannot be supported.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

Recent Advance in South Indian Epigraphy

Among the places of archæological interest examined in the course of the year ending March, 1924, for which the report has been lately issued, was Tirukóshtiyur in the Sivaganga Zamindari of the Ramnad District. This is the birth-place of Tirukóshtiyur Nambi, the teacher of the great religious reformer, Rāmānuja, and it was at this place that the latter revealed the teachings of the *guru* to the whole world. The temple of this place has acquired a special sanctity on account of its having been sung by five of the early Vaiṣṇava Ālwārs. In spite of its antiquity only a single inscription in Vaṭṭeḷuttu of the time of the early Pandyan king, Māraṇ Śadaiyan, has been discovered. Puttanāṅgādi in the Wynaad taluk of Malabar District contains a shrine built in the ordinary South Indian style, perhaps owing to the close proximity of the place to the Mysore territory—a thing rarely to be found among the temples of the west coast, which are usually simple structures built of brick, wood and mortar. The remains of an ancient Buddhist *stūpa* as well as an early Brāhmī inscription of the 2nd century A.D. were discovered at Alluru, five miles from Yerrupāḷem, a place on the Bezwada-Hyderabad railway line. The mound is about 10 feet high, measuring 250 feet in circumference and has a diameter of about 20 feet at the top. Arrangements are to be made early for its exploration. Another *stūpa* has also been discovered on the Ramireddi-palli hillock, 6 miles from the Madura railway-station on the same line, by the side of which have been found 3 beautifully sculptured *śiṅgoba* slabs like those of Amarāvati representing some episodes from the life of the Buddha. These are possibly only a few remaining out of many such slabs originally planted round the base of the mound as its railing. These two *stūpas* are only 15 miles from the famous *stūpas* of Amarāvati, and they are bound to contain important relics. The collection of the year includes the photographs of the bronze figures of Todur Mull and his two wives preserved in the Varadarājaperumāl Temple

at Conjeevaram. This Todur Mull should not be confused with the famous minister of Akbar. He was a general under Sadat-ullah Khan, the Nawab of the Karnatic, in the early part of the 18th century. Lala Todur Mull seems to have brought back the image of Varadarāja to Kāñci from Udaiyarpalayam whither it had been taken for safety when the Mughals invaded the Karnatic about 1683. The inscription mentioning the fact of restoration gives the date 1710 A. D. (Śaka 1632) as the year of consecration.

Over 700 inscriptions were secured in this year, though there were only 9 copper-plates. Among the latter are two Eastern Ganga records dated in the years 154, and 110 of the Ganga Era; and these might prove to be of some use in the reconstruction of the history of that dynasty. Two more are Eastern Cālukya grants; while among the acquisitions are inscribed stones bearing some very early records in Telugu verse and of the time of the Eastern Cālukya king Guṇaga Vijayāditya III.

The Brāhmī inscription (No. 331 of 1924) discovered at Alluru near the *stūpa* is an incomplete fragment of 17 lines on a pillar and may be assigned palæographically to the 2nd century A. D. as most of the characters resemble those of the inscriptions of Yājñaśrī Śāta-karṇi II while a few others resemble those of the records of Śāta-karṇi I and Usavadata. The inscription unfortunately mentions no king, but records a number of gifts of land and money made to a school (*Nikāya*) of the *Pūrvaśailas*, a sect of Buddhist monks. The grants recorded appear to have included a *viṭhāra* built for the use of Buddhist monks.

The two Eastern Ganga records are also potentially important; the first is a record of Maharaja Indravarman dated in the year 154 of the Ganga Era; and the second belongs to Devendravarman and is dated 110 of the family era. A record of Nṛpatuṅga Pallava dated in the 24th year of his reign (No. 414 of 1923) has been deciphered; while another of the 16th (26th) year of the later Pallava Kō-Perunjinga (No. 432 of 1924) illustrates the procedure adopted by the government, as at present, for recovering from reversionary heirs the arrears of rent due on lands, even after the demise of the owner, by selling a portion. An inscription of the Cola Parāntaka I, dated, in his 9th year (No. 261 of 1923), has a new introduction; and its importance lies in the fact that it is the first stone record so far known of a Cola king before the time of Rājarāja I, containing an introduction of eulogy. This introduction is purely an eulogistic one without re-

counting any of the king's exploits. Another Cola record (No. 266 of 1923) is interesting, because it describes an individual endowment the annual interest on which was to be given away as prize-money to the best reciter of the Jaimini-Sāma-veda at the local temple on the night of the asterism Tiruvādirai in the month of Margali; and it was stipulated that no prize-winner should compete a second time. Another (No. 333 of 1923) records a grant of land to a Brahmin for expounding the *Prabhākaram*. An inscription of Rājendra Cola I refers to a free dispensary established by the queen Kundavai-Pirāttiyār; this is perhaps the earliest of such grants known. The dispensary was to be named after Sundara Cola. Another of the 28th year of Rājendra I (No. 228 of 1923) describes an act of the village assembly and refers to the monarch as "*Pūrvadeśamum Gangaiyum, kidāramum konda*"—i. e. who conquered Pūrvarāṣṭra (identified by Mr. Hiralal with the Chattisgarh division of the Central Provinces), a portion of Mahākośala and Bihar, and Kidaram (identified by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar with Kerti in the north coast of Sumatra). Inscription No. 433 of 1924 disproves the theory that Rājādhirāja II was the son of Rājarāja II and strengthens the position of the former in the genealogy of the Later Colas.

There are numerous inscriptions about Jaṭāvarman Kulāśekhara Pandya (A. D. 1190-1217), the heroic Māravarman Sundara Pandya I, the conqueror of the Colas and other Pandya rulers. Two of them (nos. 91 & 73 of 1924) give us some details regarding the rate of taxation prevailing at the time on the various kinds of produce; and they tell us that allowance was made for the taxation only on the actual produce yielded by the lands. An inscription of a later Vīra Pandya (dated Śaka 1298=40th year of the reign=1370 or 1371 A. D.) tells us of a long-standing feud between the caste-people and the *paraiyas* (untouchables) of a certain locality on a question of the payment for services done by the latter. Inscription No. 39 of 1924 tells us of the various taxes which fell on land—the *kadamai*, the *antarāyam* tax paid in money, the *vinīyogam*, and the *vāḍak-kadamai*. It refers to a dispute about the sale of lands, and tanks irrigating them, near the temple at Tirumalai, to the two brothers.

The Vijayanagara inscriptions discovered this year are not very significant. Some records of Harihara II mention the transactions of the village-assemblies; and we can see from these how the village assemblies which were powerful local institutions during the Cola period seem to have gradually died out after the decline of the Cola empire; and

the few transactions noticed in these Vijayanagara inscriptions were possibly among the very last acts of the assemblies before their complete disappearance. Acyuta Rāya comes in for a good amount of detailed information, as well as the *Golaki-maṭha* which was, judging from inscriptional and other evidences, a very important religious institution of South India from the 11th century onwards. The '*Golaki-maṭha-santāna Śivācāryas*' occurs in different records and there are even at the present day representatives of the *maṭha* in the preceptors of the Bericheth Śaiva merchants and a portion of the Tamil-speaking Vāniya (oil-monger) caste.

Among the miscellaneous inscriptions are some relating to the Kakatiyas, some to the Setupatis of Ramnad ; while 10 inscriptions in the Marathi language belonging to Maharaja Serfoji (A.D. 1798-1833) of Tanjore, the famous pupil and friend of the missionary Swartz, have been secured from the Bṛhadīśvara Temple at Tanjore which he repaired in various parts. Record No. 424 (of A. D. 1803) gives in chronological order the history of the Bhonsle family, describing in detail the achievements of Shāhaji and his great son Śivāji and containing a detailed history of the Maratha Rajas of Tanjore. Inscriptions Nos. 301, 302, and 303 of 1923 secured from Tirutōshtiyur and dated in the 11th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pandya give us a glimpse of the criminal administration prevalent in the 13th century in the Pandya country. These 3 records contain a continued narrative of a single event. These should be read with the various other instances of criminal administration noticed in previous reports. Everywhere we hear that sentences of punishment were passed in full assembly.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

Rūpakas—how many are they ?

Two forms of Sanskrit Kāvya (poetry) are generally recognised—

- (1) Dṛśya or Abhineya—capable of being represented on the stage, and
- (2) Śravya—to be heard.

The first form has again been subdivided into two main classes,—

- (a) Rūpakas—principal plays, and
- (b) Uparūpakas—minor plays.

The number of Rūpakas, as given in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata,

Sāhityadarpaṇa, Daśarūpa and other Sanskrit works on dramaturgy, is *ten*, and the list is as follows :—

- (1) Nāṭaka, (2) Prakaraṇa, (3) Bhāṇa, 4) Vyāyoga, (5) Samavakāra, (6) Dīpa, (7) Īhāmṛga, (8) Aṅka, (9) Vīthi, and (10) Prahāsana.

This is a point on which oriental scholars have, up till now, found no ground to differ.

But recent discoveries in the field of Sanskrit dramatic literature have brought us face to face with a very singular exception as regards the enumeration of the Rūpakas.

Bhagavadajjukīyam—a Prahāsana, which differs remarkably on many points from all other plays of the same type, gives a list of no less than *twelve* Rūpakas in its Prastāvanā. "The list of ten Rūpakas in all our Nāṭyaśāstras includes the Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa, while our author mentions ten kinds of plays sprung from Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa, and mentions, besides Īhāmṛga and other kinds of Rūpakas found also in the usual lists, Vāra as the first and Sallāpa as the seventh. Sallāpa, i.e. Saṃlāpaka or discourse, appears as a type of drama elsewhere,² but Vāra seems to be otherwise quite unknown".³

Among the Prahāsanas hitherto published Bhagavadajjukīyam holds a very unique position. It differs from Mattavilāsa inasmuch as it purports to be a "comedy proper" rather than "a real farce and satire" as Mattavilāsa claims to be. But on that account it is in no way inferior to Mahendravikrama's play.

Nothing definite can be said about the age of the play. Like the thirteen dramas attributed to Bhāsa, it also omits to mention the names of both the work and the author in the prologue. But the names are found in the colophon and in the opening verse of the old commentary published with it. But this does not go towards solving the much-vexed problem of its age. All that we can gather after a careful perusal of the work is that it was written at a period when Buddhism was on the decline in South India ; but even then the condition of the Buddhist society had not become so corrupt as it was at the time when Mattavilāsa was composed. Thus the play seems to go back to a very early period—earlier perhaps than that of Mattavilāsa. For obvious reasons, it cannot be called a compilation as Pandit Krishna Pisharoti

१ नाटकप्रकारबीजबासु बरिहास्यमहिमसमवकारव्यायोगभाष्यसङ्गापबीज्युत्पत्तिकारप्रहसनानिषु दशजातिषु नाट्यरसेषु स्वाद्यसेव प्रधानम्....।—मगवदञ्जुकीयम्, प्रस्तावना ।

२ An Uparūpaka is also of the same name.

३ Winternitz—Preface to Bhagavadajjukīyam.

has tried to show in his paper on Bhāsa. Neither can its author Bodhāyana be possibly identified with the great Vṛttikāra of the Brahmasūtras as Prof. Winternitz has suggested.

Thus we see that many a new problem has been raised by the publication of the play. At present the materials that may lead to the solution of these problems are quite scanty and consequently insufficient. We hear that three works connected with acting in Kerala—Āṭṭaparakāra, Kramadīpikā and Kūtiāṭṭakrama¹—have been recently discovered. May we not venture to hope that these valuable discoveries of Tamila-Malayalam works on dramaturgy would throw some light on questions that still remain open.

ASHOKANATH BHATTACHARYA

The First commentary on the Mahābhāṣya

In connection with the date of a certain Vedantic writer I had recently to consult the list of the *gurus* who occupied the pontifical throne at the *Advaita Maṭha* of Conjeeveram and for this purpose referred to the *Guru-ratna-mālā*, one of the five works published in the volume styled *Vedānta-pañca-prakaranī*, printed at the Śrī Vidyā Press, of Kumbhakonam and I was more than surprised to find in it the following stanza:—

अमिश्रद्वयाच्च पूज्यपादानपत्नीत्यादिनिषाकचिन्नेतन् ।

अथ गौडपादाफलीशभाष्यप्रथमाचार्यकपञ्चितान् प्रपद्ये ॥²

It may be translated as follows :—‘I seek the help of Gauḍapāda who first spread a knowledge of the *Bhāṣya* of Patañjali,³ whose feet were adored by Ayārcya, once his opponent and who was the preceptor of *Niṣāṅka* mystics⁴ like Apolonya.’ The references here are obviously to Apollonius of Tyana and to king Iarchas mentioned in his ‘Travels’.⁵ This work, *Guru-ratna mālā*, is ascribed—with what authority it is not known—to Sadāśivendra whose Vedantic works like the *Ātma-vidyā-vilāsa* are well-known in the south. There is a commentary by one Ātmabodha on the work which also is printed in the same volume.

1 Vide the Introduction to the play by the Editor.

2 p. 20. 3 For the allusion here, see *Patañjali-carita* of Rāma bhadra Dīkṣita (Nirnaya Sagara Press).

4 *JRAS.*, vol. 17 (1860), p. 90.

5 *Ibid.*

It introduces in explaining the stanza the name of Damis,¹ a fellow-traveller and friend of Apollonius and Prāvṛti, a Śaka chief of Takṣaśilā² and states that Ayārcya was a Buddhist. These are remarkable statements and, if authentic, would be of great importance in determining the date of Gauḍapāda and deciding the question whether Apollonius of Tyana visited India or not. The work, though published long ago is, I think, not yet widely known.

M. HIRIVANNA

**A Short note on Mr. Jayaswal's interpretation of a
Mahābhāṣya passage in his 'Hindu Polity' (p. 122)**

In the above book, at the close of the chapter on 'Franchise and Citizenship,' the author concludes thus :

"The cause of Patañjali's perplexity seems to be a confusion which arose by treating a Vārttika of Kātyāyana, viz. गोत्रचरित्राख्येभ्यो बहुलं वृत्त्वं as a Sūtra of Pāṇini. As a matter of fact, गोत्रचरित्राख्येभ्यो बहुलं वृत्त्वं is given as a Vārttika (No. 18) to Pāṇini, IV. 2. 104 (Kielhorn, p. 296). The same rule could not be both a Vārttika of Kātyāyana and a Sūtra of Pāṇini. It has already come as a Vārttika, and by treating it as a Vārttika the sense becomes clear. Kātyāyana completes Pāṇini by giving a general rule on allegiance owed to well-known Kṣātriya rulers."

At the outset, our sense of admiration seems as it were to be awakened from its torpor by the author's originality in discovering and pointing out the perplexity of Patañjali. With due deference to the author, we are inclined to be more sympathetic towards Patañjali for the very reason that no commentator after him has doubted his sanity in taking the rule under discussion to belong to Pāṇini, and not to Kātyāyana as Mr. Jayaswal would have it. To do justice to Patañjali, we should recognise the fact that he had not the advantage of a critical edition of the Vārttikas, as Mr. Jayaswal and ourselves are privileged to have. On the textual side, we are not prepared to believe that Mr. Jayaswal would have consciously committed himself to the statement that the rule concerned should be taken to be a Vārttika of Kātyāyana, and not a Sūtra of Pāṇini. Verily, the rule in question, comes from the mouth of Kātyāyana, and our thanks are due to the

¹ *JRAS.*, vol. 17 (1860), p. 70.

² *Ibid.*, p. 76.

illustrious editor of the Mahābhāṣya, Dr. Kielhorn, for having so printed it. But we have to draw the attention of Mr. Jayaswal to a technique in Śāstric treatises, called अनुवाद . It is a verbatim quotation of a certain statement or statements, for the purpose of discussion with reference to a particular point under consideration. To make our point clear, it is necessary to refer to the particular discussion in brief. In this particular instance, Kātyāyana is dealing with the Sūtra IV.2.104 (चञ्चयात्तप) which enjoins the addition of a suffix 'tyap' after indeclinables, so that we get the forms like चञ्चत् etc. There is a similar rule (IV.2.114—इडाच्चः) which enjoins the addition of the suffix 'cha' to words beginning with a Vṛddhi vowel. The word चात् is an indeclinable having a Vṛddhi vowel for its first letter. Therefore it comes under the operation of the two Sūtras, IV.2.104 & 114. Kātyāyana, by his second Vārttika under the rule IV.2.104, says that the rule I.4.2 (विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम्) operates, and we should have the suffix 'cha' added to it and not 'tyap'. Then he proceeds as a contextual sequence to discuss the scope of the rule IV.2.114, in its turn, and from the Vārttika No. 7 onwards, he enumerates the rules of Pāṇini which supersede IV.2.114. Some of these rules he refers to in his own words and some he literally quotes. For instance, the Vārttika No. 11 चर्वाङ्गाच्चान्दे यत्तुल्यौ (Kiel., vol. II, p. 295) refers to the two rules of Pāṇini IV.3.64 & 65. This is of the former type. An instance of the latter type would be the Vārttika No. 20. (पञ्चपूर्वादिञ्) which is a rule (IV.3.122) of Pāṇini. In fact, two succeeding Vārttikas (Nos. 21 & 22) also happen to be verbatim quotations of the Sūtras IV.3.125 & 126 of Pāṇini. Consistently with what Mr. Jayaswal has stated with regard to the rule (Vārttika No. 18), we should perforce consider the rules (Vārttikas Nos. 21 & 22) to be the only Vārttikas ; and as no rule could be both a Vārttika of Kātyāyana and a Sūtra of Pāṇini, we are constrained to request Mr. Jayaswal to discover the person or persons who are under confusion and perplexity with regard to these rules. Unless and until he complies with our request, the alleged confusion and perplexity attributed to Patañjali only deserve to be classed with optical illusions like mirage.

We are further at a loss to understand how according to Mr. Jayaswal, the taking of the rule under consideration to be a Vārttika of Kātyāyana would make the sense clear. If it is taken at all as a Vārttika, it is read under rule IV.2.104, and not under IV.3.98, as he seems to imagine. And even supposing that the rule embodied in the Vārttika applies to IV.3.98, there is no need to accept what Mr. Jayaswal says, if

we remember that Kātyāyana was removed from Pāṇini by two or three centuries. What guarantee is there that the word Vāsudeva, the name of a deity in Pāṇini's time, had not become the name of a Kṣatriya in the days of Kātyāyana? So, the position taken by Mr. Jayaswal seems to be untenable. In this connection, we would like to refer Mr. Jayaswal to an article appearing in the March issue of this Journal, vindicating the late venerable scholar, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, in holding that the Sūtra IV.3.98 of Pāṇini should be taken as an evidence of Vāsudeva-worship in the times of Pāṇini.

While we yield to none in our admiration of Mr. Jayaswal for his fertile imagination and for his valuable suggestions, we have to point out that such instances as the present do show that Mr. Jayaswal has ventured beyond his depth; and we cannot but yield to the temptation to conclude with a pithy remark of the famous rhetorician, Ānandavar-dhana :—
 सुखिषहस्रयोवितात्मना महात्मना दीवीद्वेषमात्मन एव दूषणं भवति ॥

(Dhvanyāloka, N. S. edn., p. 94).

K. G. SUBRAHMANYAM

A passage of the Abhidharmakośavyākhyā

The following passage occurs in the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, Bibliotheca Buddhica ed., p. 23, ll. 22 ff.:

“luhyata iti loka iti. (1) asminn eva rohita vyāyāmamātre kalevare lokam prajñāpayāmi lokasamudayaṃ ceti sūtram. (2) luhyate praluhyate tasmāl loka iti ca bhagavataivoktam. luhyate vinaśyatiṭṭy arthaḥ. lujir iha gṛhīto na lokīḥ. nairuktena tu vidhānena gākārasya sthāne kakāraḥ kṛtaḥ.”

There are here some mistakes which have escaped the notice of the editors, Professors Lévi and Stcherbatsky. Professor Poussin, too, seems to have overlooked some of these mistakes as he has quoted the sentences, marked (1) and (2) in his French translation of the above work (part I, p. 14) with the same mistakes and without any remark thereon. One may, therefore, be allowed to point them out in the following few lines.

In our Visvabharati Library we have a transcription of the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* made from a Ms. in the Darbar Library, Nepal, which was secured through the kindness of the Mahā-

rājādhirājā himself. The readings found herein are identical with those in the printed text except for one single instance which will be noted in its proper place. There are, however, a few corrections which are made only arbitrarily as will be shown presently.

The first point to be noted is the words *luhyate* and *praluhyate* which occur over and over again. These are afterwards corrected to *lu-kyate* and *pralukyate* respectively by, we do not know, whom without any authority in the transcription referred to. Now, how are they derived? And what do they mean? Certainly they are not from √ *luh*—√ *ruh* originally √ *rudh* 'to grow'; nor from √ *luh*—√ *rudh* 'to restrain,' *r* and *dh* becoming *l* and *h* respectively owing to Prakritism. The fact is that the original readings here are *lujyate* and *pralujyate* respectively, the words being derived from √ *luj*—√ *ruj* 'to break' or to be utterly lost (*vināśa*). It is perfectly clear from the words of Yaśomitra himself when he says in that connection: *luhyate* (wrongly for *lujyate*) *vināśya-tīty arthaḥ lujir iha grhīto na lokīḥ* (pp. 23-24). *Luhyate* (for *lujyate*) means 'one becomes destroyed'. Here is √ *luj* and not √ *luh*. This is supported also by the commentary (*bhāṣya*) in Tibetan version giving the derivation of *loka* (*Abhidharmakośa* with its *bhāṣya*, Bib. Bud., p. 13, l. 18): *h̥jig pas h̥jig rten no*. The original Sanskrit of this as preserved in the *Vyākhyā* cannot be other than *lujyata iti lokah*, Tib. *h̥jig*=Skt. *vināśa*, and Tib. *rten*=Skt. *ādhāra* or *āśraya*; therefore, that which is the *rten* or *āśraya* of *h̥jig* or *vināśa* is *h̥jig rten*=*vināśāśraya* (a vanishing one). See *Mahāvvyutpatti*, CLIV, 16 "*lujyata iti lokah*." Thus there cannot be any doubt that the actual readings here are *lujyate* and *pralujyate*, as one would expect and as actually found in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Bib. Ind., p. 256) quoted by Poussin himself. The Pali form *lujjati* in the same connection (*Samyutta-Nikāya*, iv, 52: "*lujjati*" *tasmā loke ti vuccati*") leads to the same conclusion.

In the last sentence of the passage quoted above from the *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā*, the word *gakūrasya* which is found also in our transcription must be corrected to *jakūrasya* as evident from the above discussion.

In the sentence (I) *vyāyāma* is wrongly taken for *vyāma* 'fathom' as in our transcription and in the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, II, 48: *vyāmamatte kalevare*. The word *vyāyāma* has here no sense whatever. That the measure of one's *kalevara* (body) is one fathom is found, perhaps for the first time, in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, vii, 1, 1, 37: *vyānamūtro vai puruṣaḥ*.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar's criticism of Hindu Political Theories—A Reply

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. I, Nos. 3-4, Vol. II, Nos. 1-2, a series of papers entitled *Hindu Politics in Italian* have appeared from the pen of Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, the distinguished Indianist. The professed object of the writer is to "summarize and review almost all that has appeared in Italian (sic) on the subject of Hindu political theories and institutions." However, he has thought it fit with remarkable relevancy to indulge in general reviews of a number of recent Indian publications dealing with this branch of investigation. Among the works that have been so honoured is the *History of Hindu Political Theories* which, though casually noticed in an earlier number of the I.H.Q. (Vol. I, No. 4), has been subjected to a long and searching examination in the current issue.

The critic prefaces his general review of the H. P. T. by lamenting what he fancies to be the limited scope of the work. This point is connected with the critic's highly original idea of the scope of an historical investigation of political theories, and may be conveniently considered at a later place. Meanwhile it will be sufficient to state in reply to his objections (1) that the large place given in the H. P. T. to the theory of kingship is the inevitable consequence of the nature of its subject, (2) that other topics which properly fall within the scope of a history of Indian political ideas have received in the same work their just share of recognition, (illustrations of such topics are the relation of Politics to Law, the scope and method of the Arthasāstra and its relation to other sciences, the relation of Politics to religion and morality, and, last but not the least, the theory of republics), (3) that where there are no limitations, no occasion arises for being "conscious" of their existence. To say in the face of this evidence that the H. P. T. is "virtually" "an examination of the theory of kingship" is to mis-state facts.

It is not true to say that the application of the literary data, say, of the Smṛtis and the Epics, to serve as a picture of concrete political institutions was made "without a word of explanation." For at least two grounds were mentioned in the H. P. T. for justifying or extenuating the same, namely, the absence of a connected history based on the objective study of facts, and the non-idealistic character

of the theoretical data. The critic complains of the "use of evidences" "whose institutional value is questionable," but a few pages below he answers his own objection by admitting the "absence of a well-documented institutional history" of ancient India as yet.

In connection with the vedic doctrine of the king's divinity it was specially pointed out in the H. P. T. (pp. 30-31) that the Brāhmaṇa like the king was habitually regarded as a god, and that the status of divinity was a privilege of all persons entitled to the Śrauta sacrifice. To state in the face of this that the sharing of divine attributes of the king by others in the vedic religious conceptions is ignored in the H. P. T. is to state the reverse of truth. The facile generalisation that the "sole constitutional value" of the vedic passages in this connection lies in their pointing to the derivation of divinity from the kingship, a view which is pointedly contradicted by the evidence of a Brāhmaṇa passage (quoted, H. P. T., pp. 32-33), is in line with the critic's characteristic manner. Coming to the later periods, it was sought to bring out the ideas of the king's divinity in their proper "places" in the thought of the Arthaśāstra, the Mahābhārata, the Smṛtis and the Purāṇas. But care was taken at the same time to distinguish those contemporary phases of speculation that were free from this influence. As regards the idea of the king's divinity an attempt was specially made to distinguish between its different forms so as to show how in some cases the divinity was merely metaphorical, and in other cases, was attached to the king in some direct fashion. It thus appears that the "tremendous misconception from beginning to end" with which the critic charges the author exists only in his own imagination. It is odd to find the critic turning for support to Shamasastri's *Evolution of Indian Polity* just after he has condemned its "failure to satisfy the demands of critical approach."

As regards the vedic "theory of class-origins" the Puruṣasūkta does *not* mention the Brāhmaṇa, etc. to have been born "in a haphazard manner," for it connects the Brāhmaṇa, the Rājanya (Kṣatriya), the Vaiśya and the Śūdra with the mouth, the arms, the thighs and the feet of Puruṣa, the great primæval Man. That this or a similar metaphor forms the foundation of the whole system of Hindu social precedence and, in particular, of the Brahminical pre-eminence, is a proposition which may be new to the critic, but is familiar to every student of Indian antiquities. The critic's explanation of Taitt. Saṃ., VII. 1. 1. as meaning nothing more than that "each one is somebody in his own field" is based conveniently upon the suppres-

sion of the latter part of the Brāhmaṇa story which conveys the important "statements" that the Vaiśyas are to be eaten and that the Śūdras are dependent upon others (See H. P. T., p. 46 n.).

While finding fault with the treatment of "Vedic thought" in the H. P. T., the critic offers the precious advice to the "investigator of Vedic politics" to devote attention to the "real centre of political as well as social and economic interest," namely, the "viś-group, the people or the demos." Criticism of this *kind* shows, if anything, the critic's ignorance of the subject which he professes to treat. "Vedic politics" and "Vedic thought" consist of successive strands represented by the R̥gveda Saṃhitā, the Atharvaveda Saṃhitā, Yajus Saṃhitā and the Brāhmaṇas, the Upaniṣads and the Kalpasūtras. Now granting that at the period of the R̥gveda, the Viś was the centre of common interest, a point in itself highly debatable in view of the impossibility of fixing the relative position of the king and the people in the R̥gvedic polity with the same precision as, say, in the Homeric polity,—is the critic unaware of the fact that the Brāhmaṇa and the Sūtra periods witnessed a progressive advance of the king's and the Brāhmaṇa's power, and disappearance of the tribal Samiti and Sabhā? Besides even if we admit for the earlier period that "the genuine problems of the fire-sages (?) were those concerned with "colonizing, conquest and inter-tribal war and peace," their consideration would properly fall within the scope of the historian of political institutions. Failure to "visualise" these in a work dealing exclusively with the history of political ideas cannot and ought not to be regarded as an omission.

Regarding the "doctrine of the *saptāṅga*," it was attempted in the H. P. T. as fully as possible to explain its general significance together with that of the mutual comparison of its constituent elements. One may well despair of the critic who takes this to involve "obliviousness" of the fact that "the king was but one of the seven limbs of the body politic". It is true that none of the component factors save the king has been subjected in the H. P. T. to a detailed treatment, but this was done deliberately with the object of confining the work to its own proper jurisdiction. Will the critic who makes the omission of "public finance, international law, jurisprudence and the theory of war" from the scope of the H. P. T. the basis of his charge, kindly explain why the boundaries of the sciences laid down by a well-established convention should be transgressed in the case of political philosophy?

In explaining the definitions of Arthaśāstra and Daṇḍanīti and

their relation to the sister sciences, it was precisely the general character of the former as involving the Art of Government in the widest sense of the term that was sought to be brought into prominence. On the other hand, it was pointed out on the indisputable evidence of quoted texts (see H. P. T., p. 13 *u.*) how at a later stage Hindu "political science" was identified with the institution of monarchy. The critic's charges on this point indicate nothing so much as his tendency to mis-state facts and to shut his eyes to the positive evidence of texts.

While rejecting with solemn assurance the explanation of '*rājya*' in the sense of 'sovereignty', the critic has not cared to consider the evidence advanced in the H. P. T., nor has he reflected what kind of State that would be which included the appliances of Government and a foreign ally without necessarily including the people.

That part of Utathya's "lecture" in the Mahābhārata, which was held to be "perhaps peculiar to Hindu political thought," was to the effect that unrighteousness on the king's part was the cause of disturbance of the social, the moral and even the physical order. Will the critic kindly quote from the "Stoic and Patristic speculations" and "even the French epic of the thirteenth century" the precise counterpart of this view?

The reasons for considering the "Buddhist theory of contract as 'an isolated phenomenon in the history of Hindu political thought' were sufficiently explained in several places in the H. P. T. (pp. 121, 139, 276 etc.). None of the arguments brought forward by the critic can disprove the fact that the author of the Dīgha Nikāya theory neglected to draw out its consequences in respect of the mutual relations of rulers and their subjects. The critic's further charge that "the contract theory has proved a veritable stumbling block to the author" is unsupported by a single argument, and deserves no notice.

The comment in the H. P. T. on the Buddhist passages mentioning the seven conditions of welfare of the Licchavi-Vajjis was to the effect that these involved a moralist's analysis, not that of a political philosopher strictly so called. The scope of the comment, in other words, was restricted only to the two passages herein concerned, and not a word was said about their authorship. The critic, however, arbitrarily stretches the author's meaning so as to make him indulge in the dangerous and wholly unwarranted generalisation that "Śākya the Buddha was a mere moralist and not a political philosopher." In doing this the critic lays himself open to the charge of a

positive mis-statement of facts. Besides, is the critic so simple as to think that whatever is attributed in the Buddhist canon to the Buddha must necessarily be the word of the Master? Confining ourselves to the limits of the two Nikāya passages we find the critic triumphantly exclaiming that "obedience to the elders", one of the items mentioned by "Śākya" is not a mere moral maxim, and illustrating his dictum from modern examples. But he conveniently forgets other "items", such as protection of women, performance of religious rites, and honour to the saints, which are also mentioned in "Śākya's" teaching above-mentioned. Will the critic kindly quote the example of any institution or text of any constitutional law to show modern parallels to these ancient maxims? The critic's further statement that the author of the H. P. T. "cuts short his examination of Śākya's moralisings" on the plea that they do not embody any political theory is pure fiction.

The so-called "omissions in the realm of Buddhist political philosophy" with which the critic charges the author illustrate his curious ideas about the scope of a history of political theory. Such a work, the critic evidently thinks, should take cognizance of the concrete institutions of ecclesiastical as well as civil bodies and the principles of their working. How otherwise to account for the critic's insistence upon the treatment of "the statutes of Buddhist ecclesiastical polity" and the Asokan policy of administrative uniformity and paternal rule? As the critic seems to stand alone in his conception of the range of an historical account of political ideas, no serious notice of his criticism need be taken. In this connection it is amusing to note that the critic, while frankly admitting that the "statutes of Buddhist ecclesiastical polity" are "mainly institutional" in their character, still argues that they "might be made to yield some theories" about which he is himself discreetly silent.

The chapter on Kauṭilya in the H. P. T. has received from the critic a large measure of attention. How little the critic believes in his own sweeping judgment will appear from the fact that he thinks two of the "topics" treated in this chapter (those concerning the author's criticism of an opinion of Bottazzi and his comparison between Kauṭilya and Machiavelli) to be sufficiently "unconventional" to merit a detailed criticism at his own hands. The critic's charge that Kauṭilya's "superb thoughts on finance, *maṇḍala*, strategy, and tactics" have been studiously avoided by the author shows his usual misconception of the scope of political philosophy. As regards the character

of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, all that was said in the H. P. T. was that it dealt not with the theory of the State but with the Art of Government and kindred topics. In justification of this statement, attention was drawn not only to its slender stock of speculation but also to the fact that even this occurs casually in the course of discussions of concrete problems of statecraft (H. P. T., pp. 126, 131-133, etc.). Will the critic kindly point out where it is mentioned that Kauṭilya's work was "a mere handbook on the Art of Government"?

Turning to the doctrine of the king's divinity and the like, the critic charges the author with a "maze of perplexities" and a "legion of inconsistencies," but a slight examination reveals that these are entirely of the critic's own creation. Divinity in one place, the critic complains, is interpreted as a "metaphorical assimilation" of the king's functions with those of the gods, while elsewhere not much store is set by this contention. This apparent "inconsistency" is explained by the fact, as the critic well knows, that the former has reference to a particular form of the doctrine, while the latter is concerned with a general estimate of the doctrine in relation to the Western theory of Divine Right. The reason for rejection of the metaphorical explanation in the latter case is shown in the concluding part of the sentence (H. P. T., p. 277), which the critic coolly suppresses, namely, "we find that the king's title to rule is expressly derived at least in the Śāntiparvan from his absorption of Viṣṇu's essence". Will the critic, who is never tired of descanting on the "secular and democratic elements" to be found in "Hindu theorising" kindly explain how he proposes to reconcile his "hypothesis" with the positive evidence of the text just referred to?

Another example of "inconsistency" mentioned by the critic is that the idea of Viṣṇu's entering into the king's person is in the Mahābhārata admittedly conjoined with that of his divinely imposed duty of protection. This "of course" "lays the axe at the root of the kingly divinity," for do not the people hereby become "no less divine than the king"? Admirable logic!

Again, it is asked, why the Mahābhārata story should be held to be "incongruous" with the Buddhist theory of contract. The plain answer is that while the latter bases kingship upon popular agreement or contract, the former holds it to be founded upon divine will. The natural tendency of the latter theory is to develop the conception of the king as "an official paid by his subjects for the service of protection," while the latter logically tends towards the intensification

of the principle of royal authority. It is true that the consequence of the latter theory, in so far as the mutual relations of rulers and subjects are concerned, is not clearly drawn out by the theorist, while the logical consequence of the former is qualified by counteracting principles. But this evidently does not alter the real difference between the two theories. The critic's contention that "whether the king be ordained by god or elected by the agreement of the people, he is a servant in any case," from which he draws the further conclusion of "identity" of the Hindu theories of kingship, shows a singular incapacity for discrimination of the finer shades of differences together with a notable tendency towards mistaking the potential consequences for the actual.

The critic is astonished to find that a certain passage (Mahābhārata, Anuśāsanaparvan, ch. 61, 32-33) which he quotes from the H. P. T., has not been taken by the author to involve the doctrine of resistance. Now will it be believed that the passage which was so characterised is not the one mentioned by the critic, but an altogether different one (Manusamhitā VII. 111-112) occurring in a separate part of the H. P. T.? Deliberate distortion of evidence of this kind may be an "amusing" pastime to the critic, but is bound to rouse the disgust of all right-thinking men.

In dealing with the Śukranīti it was asserted in the H. P. T. that the distinction between the good king and the tyrant "from the point of view of the king's divine nature" was perhaps drawn for the first time in that work. The conscientious critic suppresses the words appearing within quotation-marks, and thus has no difficulty in proving to his own satisfaction the author's "forgetfulness" of the "points in Utathya's lecture."

The critic's remarks in regard to the concluding chapter furnish refreshing reading. He objects to the guarded phrase "probably in no other system" used only once with reference to the degree of emphasis of a certain doctrine. He objects to the terms "Hindu mind" and "Hindu view" as being "vague and meaningless." But when he himself uses the terms "Vedic thought" and "Vedic politics" just seven pages back as a convenient label for the culture-periods represented successively by the Vedic Samhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas, the Upaniṣads, and lastly, the Kalpasūtras, there can "of course" be no doubt about their "meaning". It is, moreover, a curious fact, pointing perhaps to the backward state of "philosophical" thinking in the West, that similar "vague and meaningless phrases"

have fixed themselves even in the titles of works professing to be very authoritative "performances". How else to explain such titles as those of Taylor's *Mediaeval Mind* (4th ed., 1925), Merz's *History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, Sir Leslie Stephen's *History of English Thought in the 18th Century* (3rd ed., 1902), and the like?

While on this subject the critic thinks it fit to criticise the author's comparison between the Hindu and the European theories of Contract. Now among the Hindu theories which involve more or less the idea of contract, the Buddhist theory does not at all touch on the question of 'obedience'; in Kauṭilya the 'obedience' is indeed derived from a kind of contract but with results so inconclusive that the thinker is obliged to invoke the assistance of the doctrine relating to the king's divinity, while in the shorter story of the king's creation in the Mahābhārata (Śāntiparvan, chap. 67) the contract, such as it is, is preceded by Brahma's creation of the first king in the person of Manu, and the obedience is derived, though not as an integral portion of the same story, from the king's divine creation. Will the critic kindly explain what "agreement" there is between such conceptions and the Hobbesian view of absolute sovereignty derived from a contract which is based on the complete surrender of their natural rights by the individuals to a common superior? Where, again, has the critic found the "arbitrary" refusal to identify the cult of tyrannicide etc. in the Hindu theory with the corresponding strands of the contract theory in Europe?

Whether the "chapters in the H. P. T. have cumulatively worked against the author's theory" of a multilinear evolution of human social organisations will best appear from the fact that again and again where Hindu political thought appeared to the author to make the nearest approach to the theory of the West, it was found on a closer examination to reveal real and important differences. Examples of this kind were furnished by the relation of the Arthaśāstra statecraft to that of Machiavelli and of the Hindu and the Greek views of the end of the State, as well as the mutual relations of Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya as compared with those of Church and State in mediaeval Europe, and the Hindu theories of kingship in comparison with the Western theories of social contract and divine right. In connection with the last-mentioned point, an attempt was made (H. P. T. pp. 276—278) to "exploit" Flaggis's *Divine Right of Kings* in respect of its list of the four component parts of the Western theory (Ibid., pp. 5-6), with the

result that three of them (namely, that hereditary right is indefeasible, that kings are accountable to God alone, and that non-resistance and passive obedience are enjoined by God) were found to have no counterparts in the Hindu theories. Differences of this kind the critic would dismiss as "verbal" and "non-essential"! As for the critic's assumption that the "conclusion" was an "afterthought" added to "combat the idea of philosophical agreement or analogy between the East and the West", it deserves not the slightest notice.

The treatment of the now fashionable comparison between Kauṭilya and Machiavelli in the H. P. T. has not escaped the kind attention of the critic. Here he is obliging enough to express his agreement with the author on one point for which he coolly tries without sufficient reason to appropriate the credit to himself. On other points his views are strongly adverse. "Is not Machiavelli," he asks, "also the last of an old series like Kauṭilya. Or, again, is not Kauṭilya also, like Machiavelli, the first of a new series"? How, pray? Again, it is asked, was Machiavelli less encyclopædic than Kauṭilya? Perhaps not. But then, owing to the enormous progress in the specialisation of studies in Machiavelli's time, Kauṭilya's conception of a single branch of knowledge embracing the art of government in the widest sense of the term was necessarily foreign to the Italian.

The critic's indignation rises to a white heat when he proceeds to consider the distinction drawn by the author between the goal of the Kauṭilyan and the Machiavellian statecraft. Here, for once, it has to be admitted that the idea of an essential difference expressed in the H. P. T. should be modified, though not abandoned, in favour of the view of a partial similiarity between the thought of the Hindu and the Italian.¹ For making full allowance for the "cult of Vijigīṣu, cāturanta or cakravartin," it cannot be forgotten that Kauṭilya unlike Machiavelli pointedly deprecates territorial annexations (H. P. T., pp. 145-146). The critic's own idea of a "most marvellous identity in subject-matter as well as methodology" must be rejected as "absurd." For a slight reflection is sufficient to show that while the Hindu thinker is inspired above all by consideration

1 This modified view was arrived at by the author independently long ago, and it has been incorporated in the forthcoming second edition of the H. P. T. which is expected to be out next month.

for the interest of the individual monarch, the Italian found the spring of his inspiration in a passionate and patriotic zeal for the deliverance of his unhappy motherland. With this is connected the fact that Kauṭilya's precepts indicate a mind untouched by the breath of emotion and literally revelling in the display of its rich intellectual resources, while Machiavelli's work reveals a mind not only strong in intellect but also singularly susceptible to sentiment.

The critic is indignant with the author for daring to discriminate the immoral state-craft of Kauṭilya from that of Machiavelli. It is enough to state in reply that the "Kauṭilyan analysis of the six expedients and discussion of the treaties as well as prescription of the ways and means in regard to the extirpation of thorns", in as far as they are connected with the cult of immoral state-craft are certainly put forward as "extreme cases" a fact demonstrated by the positive evidence of texts which the critic systematically ignores. To the two texts quoted in the H. P. T. (pp. 149 n., 150), we may add here two more. In v. 2, where Kauṭilya mentions various unscrupulous methods for replenishing the royal treasury, he concludes by saying that such demands should be made only once. Again in XIII, 4 while describing the measures to be taken for the siege of a fort, Kauṭilya states that 'when it can be captured by other means, no attempt should be made to use inflammable materials, for fire cannot be trusted and it destroys life and property. Will the critic kindly quote similar instructions from the works of Machiavelli?

In charging the author for his condemnation of Bhāradvāja's statecraft, the critic conveniently suppresses from his quotations its worst specimens. Let us quote some choice examples. "The king", says the old Arthaśāstra teacher, "who deserves prosperity should slay the individual who thwarts his purpose, be this person even his own brother, father or friend. Without piercing the vitals of others, without committing cruel deeds, without slaying creatures even in the fashion of fishermen, one cannot attain high felicity. When wishing to smite, he should speak gently; after striking off the head with his sword, he should grieve and shed tears." Is the critic prepared to take the above to be "evidence of clear, perspicuous and straightforward mentality"?

In his fanatical ardour for Machiavellianism, the critic with excellent taste traces a spiritual affinity between the author and "the catholic Fathers who burnt Machiavelli in effigy" and declares him to "out-Jesuit the Jesuits." The head and front of the author's offence, it appears,

is that he "is not prepared to submit to the subordination of morality to politics." No nobler accusation could be brought against a man, and the author is quite content to be arraigned on this charge.

Towards the close of his long and rambling review, the critic tries to make some amends to the author for the fury of his onslaught. But the praise, it may be noted, is conveniently couched in general terms.

A perusal of the above pages will show the impartial reader what value to attach to the criticism of Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar. Sweeping charges unaccompanied by a shred of argument, innuendoes and arbitrary assumptions abound in every page of his writing. Where it suits his convenience, he does not stick at misstatement and suppression of facts, and even the deliberate distortion of evidence. His own equipment for the task that he seems to have so lightly undertaken, is not of the happiest sort. He indulges in rash generalizations based on partial knowledge or wilful disregard of facts; he unconsciously uses terms and expressions similar to those which he has himself rejected in some other context as unscientific; he does not discriminate between the different forms of the topics which he handles. His criticism, such as it is, tends to assume an air of seductive prominence by virtue of its tone of pontifical assurance, its spirit of pretended detachment, the parade of learning with which it is accompanied, and, last but not the least, the journalistic style in which it is invariably clothed.

U. N. GHOSHAL

Ghoshal Defending Himself

Ghoshal has failed to take my examination of his *History* in the proper scientific spirit. In his reply he has shown that he is used to handle the dictionary of abuse. G. is perpetually harping on the "mis-statements" and "distortions of evidence." A lengthy reply from my side may not be undesirable in a future number.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

REVIEWS

SURĪŚVAR AUR SAMRĀṬ AKBAR (pp. 24+414). Translated from the original Gujarati of Munirāja Śrī Vidyavijaya by Kṛṣṇa-lal Varma. With an introduction by Rai Bahadur Pandit Gauri Sankar Ojha. Published by Śrī Vijayadharma Laxmi Jñānamandira, Agra.

The book, under review, gives in a popular way, the life-story of the great Jain hermit Hīravijayaji Sūri with special reference to his connection with the great Mughal emperor Akbar. It seems to have been received favourably by the people in general as is testified to by the fact of its having undergone a second edition within three years of its first publication in its Gujarati original and the necessity felt by the present publishers to undertake a Hindi translation of a fairly big book like this. The author has taken great pains to collect materials for his book from works in different languages, viz., Sanskrit, English, Hindi, Urdu, Gujarati and Bengali, and this was not an easy task for our author who confesses his ignorance of English and Urdu. The book is full of many important and useful facts regarding the great hermit and incidentally with respect to the religious condition of India during the time of Akbar. But it must be said for the sake of truth that the facts have not always been presented in an historical way—perhaps to suit the taste of the people in general. Thus authorities and references have not, in most cases, been cited to confirm the statements in the book, some of which are of vital importance. Some of its chapters, again, (we may mention here the 5th chapter) read more like a novel than history in the wider sense of the term. On the whole, however, the book can rightly be regarded as a very important contribution to the history of Jainism inasmuch as it gives a detailed account of how a Jain hermit, like many others whose history requires to be thoroughly investigated, exercised influence even over a great emperor like Akbar.

The book suffers from the lack of an index and a detailed table of contents ; and we have every hope that this defect of the book will be removed from its next edition. The language of the translation is elegant and reflects credit on Mr. Varma. It has some printing mistakes especially in the English portions.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDU-PAD-PADASHAHI or a Review of the Hindu Empire of Maharashtra by V. D. Savarkar, published by B. G. Paul & Co., Madras, 296. pp.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar has written an interesting book entitled 'Hindu-Pad-Padashahi' in which he has successfully tried to hold in bold relief before the readers the inspiring ideal of religion and righteousness that animated the whole Maratha nation for the establishment of an independent Hindu empire. Historians of the chronicler type may not see eye to eye with Mr. Savarkar in his dramatic way of marshalling the facts of Maratha history after the death of Śivāji, but such books have a value and importance of their own. Every page of the book thrills with the noble spirit of patriotism and religious fervour which inspired the writer and enabled him to take his reader along with him as if into the midst of Maratha activities. In fact he has added flesh and blood to the dry bones of history and the novel way in which he has unfolded the story of political solidarity and service to the country and the struggle for survival helps much the growth of patriotic feeling.

K. K. BANERJI

A GREAT SANSKRIT DICTIONARY by Otto Boehtlingk, —Sanskrit-Woerterbuch in kuerzerer Fassung, Neudruck in Helioplanverfahren, in 7 Baenden, Folio, auf holzfreiem Papier. 1923-1925. Zu beziehen durch Markert & Petters, Leipzig.

In India we are not so fortunate as to enjoy full advantages from the publisher, as the people of the West are. There the publisher is ready to undertake all sorts of risks, not only for books meant for a wider and almost sure circle of readers but also for purely scientific works the sale of which is restricted to very narrow limits. Even the works relating to oriental subjects are not excepted from this encouragement on the part of an enterprising publisher, who does not think of mere pound, shilling and pence but also of honour of having achieved something useful. Thus we Indians are obliged not only to the learned scholar who spends his life in antiquarian research, but also to the enterprising publisher who makes it accessible to the public.

The book under review is a result of such enterprise. It was long out of print, and as its place remained vacant inspite of some Sanskrit-English Dictionaries, a new edition was much eagerly looked for.

This want is now supplied and for supplying it the publishers, Messrs. Markert & Petters of Leipzig, deserve our thanks. No doubt they have done a special service to linguistic science in general and to Indology in particular in these difficult days. They have secured the right over this work from the Leningrad Academy and brought out a facsimile edition by means of a photolithographic process.

It will not be considered out of place to give here the history of this work. In the years 1855-1875 two German Sanskritists of the most eminent rank, Otto Boehtlingk and Rudolph Roth, produced that gigantic work on Sanskrit lexicography in seven folio volumes, known as the *Petersburger Woerterbuch*, a standing record—a colossal monument of German industry, accuracy and intelligence. This was a performance of extraordinary hard and meritorious labour and it saw the light of the day under the patronage of the Royal Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, which celebrated its bicentenary recently. Hence its common designation has been the *Petersburger Woerterbuch*, (P.W. in abbreviation).

It was for the first time that a Sanskrit dictionary was prepared direct from the study of its literature, and not merely compiled from existing glossaries composed by the Pandits of various ages. Quotations and references show this feature fully. Still more special merit of the work lies in its interpretation of the Vedic text. Till then Sāyana was slavishly followed in this respect; now a direct appeal to the texts themselves was made, and their meaning asserted from the contexts and from parallel sources under the guidance of etymology and comparative science of languages. All future compilers of Sanskrit dictionaries have used this *thesaurus* and thus, so to say, have dug up from this mine some gems and made them current.

Soon after the publication of this great work, Boehtlingk thought it advisable to prepare a smaller dictionary to meet the requirements of beginners and such students as did not stand in need of the rich apparatus given in the great *Petersburger Woerterbuch*. This plan was at the same time thought to be an opportunity for making all the then possible additions to and corrections in this great work. The learned author was not only encouraged by all eminent Sanskritists chiefly German in this new undertaking of his, but was promised help on their part for same. This promise was faithfully kept and thus they, especially Roth and Kern, contributed much to make this standard work as complete and accurate as possible. It appears in seven parts, again under the patronage of the Royal Academy of Sciences of St.

Petersburg (1879-1889), and hence has been known as the smaller Petersburg Woerterbuch. Each part contained numerous additions and all these additions were given as a general index in the seventh part, thus making the reference easy. The list of new works (scattered in all the seven parts) which the author and his co-workers had used for the search of words and their meanings gave some idea of the original research treasured in this really monumental work.

The Petersburg Woerterbuch was not quite unknown in India in the past, and Indian Sanskritists did refer to its authority; but still it was not so adequately used as it ought to have been. The reason was that in those days our scholars were not so particular and only very few knew German. Today when this condition is changed, we do hope that our students, or at least our scholars should use this Dictionary in their study and research. Even those who do not know German can use it with some benefit. Not only that it is almost complete but it is most faithful. Whenever necessary, references are duly given and these show to one clearly where and in what sense the word in question is used. It goes without saying that a mere record of meanings put down in front of a word is not a proper guide—nay, no guide at all for research work. Words have life and life is changing from time to time. To ignore this will be to ignore all. Hence is the importance of these references. Again nobody is faultless, and so in doubtful cases the student can himself verify the meaning etc. from the original with the help of these references. It should be noted that accentuation, often indispensable to a correct knowledge of Sanskrit, is not omitted in this work. The fact that all the words, not only roots and primary words but also their derivatives, are given in Sanskrit characters will specially appeal to Indians, all of whom prefer them to Latin ones and some of them do not even know the latter. Again the arrangement of words is purely alphabetical and hence very convenient.

JEHANGIR C. TAVADIA

A SUPPLEMENT TO BOEHTLINGK'S SANSKRIT DICTIONARY.—*Nachtraege zum Sanskrit-Woerterbuch in kuerzerer Fassung von Otto Boehtlingk, bearbeitet von Richard Schmidt. Lieferung 1-4. Hannover (Germany) 1924-25, Orient-Buchhandlung Heinz Lafaire.*

It is a happy coincidence that with the appearance of the facsimile edition of Boehtlingk's Sanskrit Woerterbuch, a Supplement to this great work also appears. Since the days of Boehtlingk a number of new Sanskrit writings has come to light and they have increased the stock of words of the language. This addition required to be put in a proper form, and we are thankful to Prof. Schmidt for having done it here to a certain extent. The author has attempted at completing Boehtlingk's work in various directions. Thus not only absolutely new words are given, but unknown meanings and genders of the words are also recorded. Again references are found out for some of those words which Boehtlingk has marked as missing in the then known literature. In order to make the Supplement more useful, the words in the General Index of Boehtlingk's Dictionary are also given. Thus when one does not find a word in the body of the latter work, he is not required to refer to the General Index ; the Supplement is enough to trace out the word. The Yaśastilakacampū and its commentary have been worked out for the Supplement and a large number of literary works has been taken into account. But the author does not claim completeness which can only be achieved when all Sanskritists work together. Still he should not have omitted to make use of ready materials as he has done, for instance, in the case of the glossary of new words from *Bharatāka-dvātriṃśikā*, edited by Prof. Hertel in 1922. The Sanskrit words are given in Latin characters for the sake of economy ; in other respects the Supplement follows the chief work.

The work appears in seven parts of 48 folio pages each. Four parts are already out, and the remaining will follow soon.

JEHANGIR C. TAVADIA

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, vol. viii, pt. i, 1926-27

- P. V. BAPAT.—The Different Strata in the Literary Material of the Dīgha Nikāya. By examining the contents of the Suttas in the Dīgha Nikāya the writer has pointed out in them three different strata and has come to the conclusion that 'an extensive range in the evolution of Buddhism is covered' by these Suttas.
- C. R. DEVADHAR.—The Plays Ascribed to Bhāsa, their Authenticity and Merits. Disagreeing with the editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series the writer of this article has adduced evidences in support of Dr. Barnett's contention that the *Svapnavāsavadatta* referred to by several ancient Sanskrit poets cannot be identified with the play now published under that name. He suggests that the author of the Trivandrum plays passing under the name of Bhāsa may be an obscure poet of a later age of Southern India and discusses at length the merits of the plays ascribed to Bhāsa.
- HARAN CHANDRA CHAKRADAR.—The Geography of Vātsyāyana.
- P. L. VAIDYA.—Observations on Hemacandra's *Deśināmamālā*. Names of the lexicons or lexicographers mentioned in the *Deśināmamālā* of Hemacandra are given as also a list of *deśi* words from the work preserved in Mārāṭhī and its dialects.
- J. N. C. GANGULY.—Hindu Theories of Punishment.
- P. V. KANE.—Dharmasūtra of Śāṅkha-Likhita. This collection of quotations from Śāṅkha and Likhita occurring in later works continues from the previous issue of the journal.
- L. R. BHANDARKAR.—Pārasika Dominion in Ancient India.
- K. K. LELE.—Fragment of an Inscribed Hymn of Sarasvatī found at Mandu.
- D. M. ROY.—The Culture of Mathematics among the Jāinas of Southern India in the Ninth Century A. D. In dealing with the *Gaṇitasārasaṅgraha* of Mahāvīrācārya, the writer remarks that unlike the Hindu Mathematicians who were primarily astronomers, the Jaina scholars favoured the cultivation of Mathematical science by itself.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, vol. xii, pt. 1

- V. H. JACKSON.—Notes on the Barabar Hills. These notes on the

Lomaśa Ṛṣi cave and on the dedicatory inscription of the Karna Chaupar cave are presented as supplementary to those which were contributed previously by the same writer.

- A. BANERJISASTRI.—The Ājivikas. The paper discusses the mutual relation of the Brahmins, the Jains, the Ājivikas and the Buddhists of ancient times and particularly describes the hostilities between the Ājivikas under Gośāla and the Jains under Mahāvīra.

SARADAKANTA GANGULY.—Notes on Āryabhaṭṭa.

- P. ACHARYA.—The Bhanja Kings of Orissa. This is an attempt to determine the chronology and genealogy of the Bhanja Rulers of Orissa.

- A. BANERJISASTRI.—The Asuras in Indo-Iranian Literature.

- S. C. ROY.—The Asurs—Ancient and Modern. The writer of this paper is of opinion that the Mūṇḍā traditions indicate that the Asuras mentioned in the ancient Sanskrit literature as following the occupation of iron-smelting belonged to an ethnic stock and culture different from those of the present day 'Asurs' of the Chota-Nagpur plateau. The latter is a tribe of the Mūṇḍā stock and has adopted from the ancient Asuras the occupation of iron-smelting as well as its tribal name.

KALIPADA MITRA.—Music and Dance in the *Vimāna Vatthu Atthakathā*.

Indian Antiquary, April, 1926

INDUBHUSAN BANERJ.—Some Aspects of the Career of Guru Hargovind.

- S. M. EDWARDES.—Kannada Poets. This is a summary of T. T. Sharman's *Kannada Poets mentioned in the Inscriptions* published in Memoir No. 13 of the Archaeological Survey of India (Madras, 1924) in the Kanarese language.

Ibid., May, 1926

W. CROOKE.—Marriage Songs in Northern India.

- M. SYLVAIN LEVI.—Paloura-Dantapura. This is a note by Lévi translated into English from its French original by S. M. Edwarde. A place mentioned by Ptolemy as "Paloura" has been identified here with the city of Dantapura of Buddhist literature.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, March, 1926

L. C. BARRET.—The Contents of the Kashmirian Atharva Veda. Books 1-12.

L. C. BARRET.—The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book xii edited with Critical Notes.

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Obituary Notice

The Late Sir George Forrest

The death of Sir G. W. Forrest announced some time ago by Reuter removes yet one more outstanding figure from the array of living historians of British India. Forrest's connection with India was long and varied. He entered, when 26 years of age, the Bombay Education Department, served as Professor of History in the Elphinstone College for some years, and acted as the Census Commissioner for Bombay in 1881-82 and subsequently as the Director of the Bombay Records where he was placed on special duty and prepared the home Series and Maratha Series of *Selections from the State-Papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat* (1885-87) which he followed a number of years later by another volume of *Selections from the Travels and Journals preserved in the Bombay Secretariat*. Forrest became in 1894 the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India. It was during his tenure of this high office that he edited the three volumes of *Selections from the Papers in the Foreign Department of the Government of India in the time of Warren Hastings*. He also examined the papers in the Military Department relating to the Great Mutiny at the instance of Sir George Chesney and embodied his labours in the four volumes of *Selections from the letters, despatches and other state-papers in the Military Department (1893-1912)*. As an introduction to this Forrest wrote, mainly on the basis of official documents, a continuous story of the Mutiny shorn of all unnecessary technical details. Besides these he brought out a collection of Clive Papers from Bengal, Madras and the India office, "with other papers illustrating the rise of the British Power in India in the epoch 1671-1785" (Calcutta, 1891-93). His last great work was the *Life of Lord Clive* (Cassell, 2 vols., 1918) based on an exhaustive examination of all available materials in both the European and the Indian archives. It is this biography that is bound to hold the field for a long time. Incidentally when searching for papers relating to Clive at Pondicherry that he alighted with the help of Col. MacLeod the Consular Agent at the French settlement, on the famous Diary of Ananda Rangan Pillai, the translation of which has been taken on hand by the Madras Government. Other books that came from the learned pen of Forrest are (1) *The Administration of Lord Lansdowne*; (2) *Sepoy-Generals*; (3) *The Cities of India*; (4) *The History of the Indian Mutiny*, etc. He was made a C.I.E. in 1899 and retired from service in the next year; but he continued to labour on in his chosen fields of work down almost to the day of his death.

C. S. S.

37. *Jāto vaḍḍho*¹ ti jāto ca vaḍḍhito ca. Yo hi kevalaṃ tattha jāto va hoti aññattha vaḍḍhito, tassa -amantā gāṃamaggā na sabbaso paccakkhā honti, tasmā 'jāto vaḍḍho' ti āha. Jātaḥvaḍḍho pi yo ciram nikkhanto tassāpi na sabbaso paccakkhi honti², tasmā 'tīvaḍḍho' eva avasatan' ti āha. Taṃ khaṇam eva nikkhantan ti attho. *Dandhāyitattaṃ* ti ayam nu kho maggo, ayam na nu kho³ ti laṅkhāvasena cirāyitattaṃ. *Vitthāyitattaṃ* ti yathā sukhumaṃ atthajātaṃ sahasā pucchitassa kassaci sarīrathaddhabhāvaṃ gaṇhāti evaṃ⁴ thaddhabhāvaggahaṇaṃ.

38. *Na tvevā* ti iminā sabbaññuta-ñāṇassa appaṭihatabhāvaṃ dasseti. Tassa hi purisassa Māravaṭṭanādi-vasena siyā ñāṇassa paṭighato, tena so dandhāyeyya vā vitthāyeyya vā, sabbaññuta-ñāṇaṃ pana appaṭiha taṃ, na sakkā tassa kenaci antarāyo kātun ti dpeti.

39. *Ullumpatu bhavaṃ Gotamo* ti uddharatu bhavaṃ Gotamo. *Brāhmaṇiṃ paṇa* ti brāhmaṇa-dāraṇaṃ. Bhavaṃ Gotamo maṇ⁵ brahmaṇa-puttam apāyamaggato uddharitvā Brahmālokaṃ magge paṭiṭṭhāpetu ti attho.

Ath' assa Bhagavā uddhuppādaṃ dassetvā saddhiṃ pubbabhāga-paṭipadāya mettāvihārādi Brahmāloka-gāmi-maggaṃ dassetukāmo, tena hi 'Vāseṭṭhā' ti ādim āha.

Tattha 'idha Tathāgato' ti ādi Sāmaññaphale vitthāritaṃ. 'Mettā-sahagatenā' ti ādisu yaṃ vattabbaṃ taṃ sabbaṃ Visuddhimagge Brahmavihāra-kammaṭṭhāna-kathāyaṃ vuttaṃ.

77. 'Seyyathā pi Vāseṭṭha balavā saṅkhadhamo' ti ādi pana idha apubbam. Tattha *balavā* ti balasampanno. *Saṅkhadhamo* ti saṅkha-dhamako. *Appakasireṇā* ti akicchena adukkheṇa. Dubbalo hi saṅkha-dhamo saṅkhaṃ dhamanto pi na sakkoti, catasso disā sareṇa viññāpetuṃ nāssa saṅkhasadūo sabbato pharati, balavato pana vipphāriko hoti, tasmā 'balavā' ti ādim āha. *Mettīya cetovimuttiyā* ti 'ettha mettā ti vutte upacāro pi appanā pi vaṭṭati. 'Cetovimutti' ti vutte pana appanā va vaṭṭati.

Yaṃ pamāṇakataṃ kammaṃ ti pamāṇakataṃ kammaṃ nāma kāmāvacaraṃ vuccati. Appamāṇakataṃ kammaṃ nāma rūpārūpāvacaraṃ. Taṃ hi pamāṇam atikkamitvā odissaka-anodissaka disāpharaṇavasena vaḍḍhetvā katattā 'appamāṇakatan' ti vuccati. *Na taṃ taṭṭhāvasissati na taṃ taṭṭhāvasissati* ti taṃ, kāmāvacaraṃ kammaṃ tasmim rūpāvacarārūpāvacarakamme⁶ na ohiyyati na tiṭṭhati ti. Kiṃ vuttaṃ hoti ?

1 B. & S. use *saṃvaḍḍho* throughout

3 S. *ayaṃ* nu, *kho* no ti

5 S. omits it ; B. *māma*

2 Si. puts it in singular

4 Si. *thaddha-dandha-*

6 Si. *rūpāvacarārūpa-*

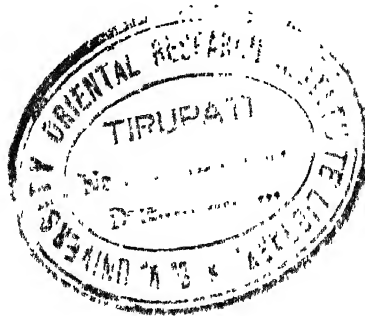
Taṃ kāmāvacarakammaṃ tassa rūpāvacarārūpāvacarakammasa antarā laggituṃ vā t̥hātuṃ vā rūpārūpāvacarakammaṃ pharitvā pariyādiyivā attano okāsaṃ gahetvā paṭiṭṭhātuṃ na sakkoti. Atha kho rūpāvacarārūpāvacarakammam eva kāmāvacaraṃ mahogho viya parittam udakaṃ pharitvā pariyādiyivā attano okāsaṃ gahetvā tiṭṭhati tassa vipākaṃ paṭibāhitvā sayam eva Brahmaśahabyatam upaneti ti.

80. *Evam vihāri* ti evaṃ mettādivihāri.

82. *Ete mayaṃ bhavaṃtaṃ Gotamaṃ* ti idaṃ tesāṃ dutiya saraṇa-gamaṇaṃ. Paṭhamam eva h'ete majjhimaṇṇāsake Vāseṭṭhā-suttaṃ sutvā saraṇaṃ gatā, imaṃ pana Tevijjasuttaṃ sutvā dutiyam pi saraṇaṃ gatā, katipāhaccayena pabbajitvā Aggañña-sutte upasam-padañ c'eva arahattañ ca aladdhuṃ. Sesāṃ sabbattha uttānattham evā ti.

Iti Sumaṅgalavilāsiniyā Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāya TEVIJJA SUTTA VAṆṆAYĀ niṭṭhitā ternaṃsaṃ.

Niṭṭhitā ca terasasutta-paṭimaṇḍitassa Silakkhandhavaggassa attha-vaṇṇanā ti.



SUMAṄGALA-VILĀSINIYĀ
DĪGHANIKĀYATTHAKATHĀYA MAHĀVAGGAṆṆANĀ

XIV. MAHĀPADĀNA SUTTA VAṆṆANĀ

1. 1. *Evam me sutaṃ.pè... ..Karerikuṭikāyaṃ* ti Mahāpadāna-suttaṃ. Tatrāyaṃ anupubbapadavaṇṇanā. *Karerikuṭikāyaṃ* ti Karerī ti Varuṇa-rukkhassa nāmaṃ. Karerī-maṇḍapo tassā kuṭikāya dvāre ṭhito tasmā Karerikuṭikā ti vuccati, yathā Kosamba-rukkhassa dvāre ṭhitattā Kosambakuṭikā ti.

Anto Jetavane kira Karerikuṭi, Kosambakuṭi, Gandhakuṭi, Salaḷa-gharaṇ¹ ti cattāri mahāgehāni. Ekekaṃ sataśahassapariccāgena nipphan-naṃ. Tesu Salaḷa-gharaṇaṃ raṭṭhā Pasenadinā kāritaṃ. Sesāni Anātha-piṇḍikena² kārītāni. Iti Bhagavā Anāthapiṇḍikena gahapatinā thambhā-nam upari kārītāya deva-vimāna-kappāya Karerikuṭi³ naṃ viharati.

Pacchābhaddha ti ekāsānika⁴ khalu pacchābhaddha ti⁵ naṃ pāto va⁶ bhu-ttānam antomajjhantike pi pacchābhaddham eva. Idha pana pakati-bhattassa pacchato pacchābhaddhaṃ ti adhippetam. *Piṇḍapāto-paṭi-kkantānaṃ* ti piṇḍapātato paṭikkantānaṃ, bhattakiccaṃ niṭṭhapetvā uṭṭhitānaṃ ti attho.

Karerimaṇḍalamāle ti tass' eva Karerimaṇḍapassa avidūre katāya nisidanasālāya. So kira Karerimaṇḍapo⁷ Gandhakuṭikāya ca sālāya ca antare hoti. Tasmā Gandhakuṭi pi Karerikuṭikā pi sālā pi Karerī-maṇḍalamālo ti vuccati.

Pubbenivāsa-paṭisaṃyuttā ti ekam pi jātiṃ dve pi jātiyo ti evaṃ vibhaddhena pubbenivuṭṭhakhandhasantānaṃ saṃkhātena pubbe-nivāseṇa saddhiṃ yojetvā pavattitā. *Dhammā* ti dhammasaṃyuttā. *Udāpādi* ti aho acchariyaṃ Dasabalassa pubbenivāsa-ñānaṃ. Pubbe-nivāsaṃ nāma ke anussaranti, ke nānussaranti? Titthiyā anussaranti, sāvaka ca paccekabuddhā ca buddhā⁸ ca anussaranti. Katara titthiyā anussaranti? Ye aggappattā kammavādino te pi cattālisam yeva kappe anussaranti na tato param⁹. Sāvaka kappasatasahassam anussaranti. Dve aggasāvaka asamkheyyāni¹⁰ c' eva kappasatasahassāni ca. Paccekabuddhā dve asamkheyyāni kappasatasahassāni ca. Buddhānaṃ pana ettakan ti paricchedo natthi, yāvata kam ākasmākhanti

1 B. -agāram

4 Si. omits it

2 Si. adds gahapatinā and omits kārītāni

5 S. omits it and all the 'ca's

3 S. ekāśānika

6 Si. omits 'na tato param'

tāvatakam anussaranti. Ye aggappattā kammavādino¹ titthiyā khandha-
paṭipāṭiyā anussaranti, paṭipāṭiṃ muṁcitvā na sakkonti. Paṭipāṭiyā
anussarantā pi asaṁñabhavaṃ patvā khandhappavattiṃ na passanti,
jāle patitā sakuṇā² viya kūpe patitā paṇḍulā viya ca honti. Te tattha
ṭhatvā ettakam eva, ito paraṃ natthi ti diṭṭhiṃ gaṇhanti. Iti titthiyā-
naṃ pubbenivāsānussaraṇaṃ andhānaṃ yaṭṭhikoṭigamanaṃ viya hoti.
Yathā hi andhā yaṭṭhikoṭiggāhake sati yeva gacchanti, asati tatth' eva
nisīdanti, evam eva titthiyā khandhapaṭipāṭiyā va anussarituṃ sakkonti,
paṭipāṭiṃ vissajjetvā na sakkonti. Sāvaka pi khandhapaṭipāṭiyā va anus-
saranti, asaṁñabhavaṃ patvā khandhappavattiṃ na passanti. Evaṃ
sante pi te vaṭṭe saṃsaraṇaka-sattānaṃ khandhānaṃ abhāvakālo nāma
natthi, asaṁñabhavaṃ pana pañca kappasatāni pavattanti ti, ettakaṃ kālam
atikkamitvā Buddhēhi dinna-naye ṭhatvā parato anussaranti, seyyathā pi
āyasmā Sobhito. Dve aggasāvaka pana paccekabuddhā ca cuti-paṭisa-
ndhim oloketvā anusaranti. Buddhānaṃ cuti-paṭisaṇḍhi-kiccaṃ natthi,
yaṃ yaṃ pana³ ṭhānaṃ passitukāmā honti taṃ tad eva passanti. Titthiyā
ca pubbenivāsaṃ anussaramānā attanā diṭṭha-kata-sutam eva anussar-
anti. Tathā sāvaka ca paccekabuddhā ca. Buddhā pana attanā vā parehi
vā diṭṭha-kata-sutaṃ sabbam eva anussaranti. Titthiyānaṃ pubbe-
nivāsa-ñāṇaṃ khajjopanakobhāsa-sadisam, sāvakānaṃ padīpobhāsa-sadi-
sam, aggasāvakānaṃ osadhitārakobhāsa-sadisam, paccekabuddhānaṃ can-
dobhāsa-sadisam, Buddhānaṃ saḥassa-sūriya-maṇḍalobhāsa-sadisam. Tassa
ettakāni jātisatāni jātisahassāni jātisatasahassāni ti vā ettakāni kappā-
satāni kappasahassāni kappasatasahassāni ti vā natthi. Yaṃ kiñci
anussarantassa n'eva khalitaṃ na paṭighāto hoti. Āvajjana-paṭibaddham
eva 'ākaṇkhā-manasikāra-cittuppāda-paṭibaddham eva hoti. Dubbala-
pattapūṭe 'vegukkhittanārāco viya Sinerukūṭe visaṭṭha-inda-vajiraṃ
viya ca āsajjamānaṃ eva gacchatī. Aho mahantaṃ Bhagavato pubbe-
nivāsa-ñāṇaṃ ti evaṃ Bhagavantaṃ yeva ārabha kathā⁴ uppannā jātā
pavattitā ti attho. Taṃ sabbam pi saṃkhepato dassetuṃ 'iti pi
pubbenivāso, iti pi pubbenivāso' ti ettakam eva Pāliyaṃ vuttaṃ. Tattha
'iti pi ti' evam pi.

2. *Assosī kho...pe...atha Bhagavā anuppatto ti ettha yaṃ vat-
tabbaṃ taṃ Brahmajālaṃ vaṇṇanāyaṃ vuttaṃ eva. Ayam eva hi viseso.
Tattha sabbaññuta-ñāṇena assosī. Idha dibbasotena. Tattha ca vaṇṇā-
vaṇṇakathā vipakatā. Idha pubbenivāsa-kathā. Tasmā Bhagavā 'ime*

1 S. & B. omit these first three words

3 Si. & B. omit it

5 B. vega-

2 B. kuṇḍā

4 Si. ākaṇkhana ; B. ākaṇkha

6 Si. & B. omit it

bhikkhū mama pubbenivāsa-ñāṇam ārabba guṇaṃ thomeṇi, pubbenivāsa-ñāṇassa pana me nipphattiṃ na jīnanti, handa nesaṃ tassa nipphattiṃ kathetvā dassāmi¹ ti āgantvā pakatiyā pi Buddhāsane nisiditvā dhamma-desanattham eva ṭhapite taṃ khaṇaṃ² bhikkhūhi papphetvā dinne varabuddhāsane nisiditvā *kāya nu'ttha bhikkhave* ti pucchāya ca *idha bhante* ti ādito paṭivacanassa ca pariyosāne tesam pubbenivāsa-paṭisaṃyuttaṃ³ dhammakathaṃ kathetukāmo *iccheyyūtha no* ti ādim āha. Tattha *iccheyyūtha no* ti iccheyyūtha nu.

3. Atha naṃ pahaṭṭhamānasā bhikkhū yācamānā *etassa Bhagavā* ti ādim āhaṃsu. Tattha *etassā* ti etassa dhammakathā-karaṇassa.

Atha Bhagavā tesam yācanaṃ gahetvā kathetukāmo *tena hi bhikkhave sunāthā* ti te sotāvadhāna-sādhuka-manasikāresu niyojetvā aññesam asādhāraṇaṃ chinnavatūmakānussaraṇaṃ pakāsetukāmo *ito so bhikkhave* ti ādim āha.

4. Tattha *yam Vipassī* ti yasmiṃ kappe Vipassī⁴ 'yaṃ hi 'yaṃ' saddo "yaṃ me bhante devānaṃ tāvatiṃsānaṃ sammukhā sutāṃ sammukhā paṭiggahitaṃ, ārocemi taṃ bhante Bhagavato" ti ādisu paccatta-vacane dissati. "Yaṃ tam apucchimha akittayi no, aññaṃ taṃ⁵ pucchāma tad iṃgha brūhi" ti ādisu upayogavacane. "Aṭṭhānaṃ etaṃ bhikkhave anavakāso yaṃ ekissā lokadhatuyā" ti ādisu karaṇavacane. Idha pana bhummattheti⁶ daṭṭhabbo. Tena vuttaṃ 'yasmiṃ kappe' ti, *Udappādi* ti dasasahassalokadhātum unnādentu uppajji. *Bhaddakappe* ti pañca Buddhuppāda patimaṇḍitattā sundara-kappe sāra-kappe ti Bhagavā imaṃ kappam thomento evam āha.

Yato paṭṭhāya kira amhākaṃ Bhagavatā abhinihāro kato, etasmim antare ekakappe pi pañca Buddhā nibbattā nāma natthi. Amhākaṃ Bhagavato abhinihārassa purato pana Taṇhaṅkaro Medhaṅkaro Saraṇaṅkaro Dīpaṅkaro ti cattāro Buddhā ekasmiṃ kappe nibbattiṃsu. Tesam uparimabhāge ekam asaṃkheyyaṃ Buddha-suññaṃ eva ahosi⁷. Asaṃkheyya-kappa-pariyosāne pana Koṇḍañña nāma Buddho eko va ekasmiṃ kappe uppanno. Tato pi asaṃkheyyaṃ Buddha-suññaṃ eva ahosi. Asaṃkheyya-kappa-pariyosāne Sumaṅgalo¹ Sunano Revato Sobhito ti cattāro Buddhā ekasmiṃ kappe uppannā. Tato pi asaṃkheyyaṃ Buddhasuññaṃ eva ahosi. Asaṃkheyya-kappa-pariyosāne pana ito kappa-satasahassādhikassa asaṃkheyyassa upari Anomadassi Padumo Nārado ti tayo Buddhā ekasmiṃ kappe uppannā.

1 Si. ādāsa yeva

2 B. dhammip

3 Si. & B. yaṃ

4 S. & Si. bhummeti

5 B. orari

6 Si. āsi

7 Si. & B. Maṅgalo

Tato pi asaṃkheyyaṃ Buddha-suññam eva ahosi. Asaṃkheyya-kappa-pariyosāne pana ito kappa-satasahassānam upari Padumuttaro Bhagavā eko va ekasmiṃ kappe uppanno. Tassa orato¹ ito tiṃsakappasahasassānam upari Samedho Sujāto ti dve Buddhā ekasmiṃ kappe uppannā. Tato uparimabhāge ito aṭṭhārasannaṃ kappasahasassānam upari Piyadassī Atthadassī Dhammadassī ti tayo Buddhā ekasmiṃ kappe uppannā. Atha ito catunavute kappe Siddhattho nāma Buddhō eko va ekasmiṃ kappe uppanno. Ito ekanavute kappe Tisso Phusso ti dve Buddhā ekasmiṃ kappe uppannā. Ito ekanavute kappe Vipassī³ Bhagavā uppanno. Ito ekatiṃse kappe Sikhī Vessabhū ti dve Buddhā uppannā. Imasmiṃ bhaddakappe Kakusandho Konāgamaṇo Kassapo Gotamo⁴ amhākaṃ Sammāsambuddho ti cattāro Buddhā uppannā, Metteyyo uppajjissati. Evam ayaṃ kappe pañca-buddhuppāda-paṭimaṇḍitattā 'sundara-kappo sārakappo' ti Bhagavā imaṃ kappam thomento evam āha.

Kiṃ pan' etaṃ Buddhānaṃ yeva pākaṭaṃ hoti imasmiṃ kappe ettakā Buddhā uppannā vā uppajjissanti ti vā ti udāhu aññesam pi pākaṭaṃ hoti ti? Aññesam pi pākaṭaṃ hoti. Kesaṃ? Suddhāvāsabrahmaṇaṃ. Kappa-saṇṭhiti⁵-kālasmiṃ hi ekam asaṃkheyyam ekaṅgaṇaṃ hutvā ṭhite loka-sannivāse lokassa saṇṭhānatthāya devo vassitum ārabhi.⁶ Ādito va 'anta-raṭṭhake himapāto viya hoti. Tato kaṇa-mattā tila-mattā⁸ taṇḍula-mattā mugga-māsa-badara-āmalaka-eḷāḷuka⁹-kumbhaṇḍa-alābu-mattā udaka-dhārā hutvā anukkamena vadḍhi tvā¹⁰ usabha dve usabha aḍḍhagāvuta gāvuta dve gāvuta¹¹ aḍḍhayojana yojana dviyojana tiyojana dasayojana...pe...satasahassa-yojana-mattā hutvā koṭisatasahassa-cakkavāḷabbhantare¹² yāva¹³ Akaniṭṭhaka-brahmalokā pūretvā tiṭṭhanti. Atha tam udakam anupulbena bhassati, bhassante udake pakati-devaloka-ṭṭhānesu devalokā patitiṭṭhahanti.¹⁴ Tesam saṇṭhahana-vidhānaṃ Visuddhimagge pubbenivāsa-kathāyaṃ vuttaṃ.

Mar.ussaloka¹⁵ ṭṭhānaṃ pana patte udake dhammakarakassa¹⁶ mukhe piḥ te viya vātavaseṇa tam udakaṃ santiṭṭhāti. Uda-kapiṭṭhe uppaliṇaṇṇaṃ viya paṭhavi saṇṭhāti.¹⁷ Mahābodhipallāuko vinassamāne loke pacchā vinassati saṇṭhamāne paṭhamam saṇṭhahati. Tattha pubba-nimittaṃ hutvā eko padumini-gaccho uppajjati. Tassa sace tasmiṃ kappe Buddhō nibbattissati¹⁸ puppham uppajjati no ce¹⁹ na uppajjati.²⁰

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| 1 B. orabhāge | 2 B. dve- | 3 Si. adds nāma | 4 S. omits it |
| 5 Si. & B. saṇṭhāna- | 6 B. & Si. ārabhati | 7 B. Andha- | 8 Si. omits it |
| 9 Si. eḷāṭṭhaka | 10 Si. & B. omit it | 11 Si. omits it | |
| 12 Si. -vāḷagabbhantaram | 13 S. Avinaṭṭha- | 14 B. saṇṭhahanti | |
| 15 B. adds saṇṭhahana | 16 B. dhammakarapa | 17 B. saṇṭhahanti | |
| 18 Si. nibbattanti | 19 Si. adds here uppajja nti | 20 Si. puts it in plural | |

Uppajjamānaṃ ca sace eko Buddho nibbattissati ekam uppajjati. Sace dve tayo cattāro pañca Buddhā nibbattissanti pañca uppajjanti, tāni ca **kho** ekasmiṃ yeva nāle kaṇṇikābaddhāni hutvā. Suddhāvāsabrahmāno 'āyāma¹ mārīsā pubbanimittaṃ passissāmā' ti mahābodhipallāṅka-tṭhānam āgacchanti. Buddhānam anibbattanakappe pupphaṃ na hoti. **Te** pana² apupphitaṃ gacchaṃ disvā 'andhakāro vata bho loko bhavissati tamābhibhūtā³ sattā apāye pūressanti cha devalokā nava brahmalokā suññā bhavi-santi' ti anattamanā honti. Pupphita-kāle pana pupphaṃ disvā 'sabbāññubodhisattesu mātukucchim okkamantesu nikkhamantesu sambujjhantesu dhammacakkaṃ pavattantesu yamaka-pāṭihāriyaṃ karontesu devorohaṇaṃ karontesu āyusaṅkharāma⁴ ossajjantesu parinibbāyantesu dasasahassa-cakkavāla-kampanadmi pāṭihāriyāni dakkhissāmā ti, cattāro apāyā parihāyissanti, cha devalokā nava brahmalokā paripūressanti' ti attama⁵ udānam udānetvā⁶ attano attano brahmalokaṃ gacchanti. Imasmiṃ pana 'kappe pañca padumāni uppajjissu. Tesam nimittānam ānubhāvena cattāro Buddhā uppannā, pañcama uppajjissati ti Suddhāvāsabrahmaṇo pi tāni⁷ padumāni disvā 'imam atthaṃ jāñissu. Tena vuttam' añhesam pi pākaṭaṃ hoti' ti.

Iti pi Bhagavā 'ito so bhikkhave' ti ādinā nayena kappa-pariccheda-vasena pubbenivāsaṃ dassetvā idāni tesam Buddhanam jātiparicchedādivasena⁸ dassetuṃ 'Vipassī bhikkhave' ti ādim āha.

7. Tattha āyu-paricchede *parittaṃ lahuṇa* ti ubhayam etam appakass' eva vevacanaṃ. Yaṃ hi appakaṃ taṃ parittaṃ c' eva lahuṇa⁹ ca hoti. *Appaṃ vā bhiiyyo* ti vassasatato vā upari appaṃ. *Aññaṃ vassasatam* appatvā visaṃ vā tiṃsaṃ vā cattālisaṃ vā paṇṇāsaṃ vā saṭṭhiṃ vā vassāni jīvati. Evaṃ dighāyuko pana atidullabho, asuko kira evaṃ ciraṃ jīvati ti tattha tattha gantvā vā *daṭṭhabbo* hoti; tattha Visākhā upāsikā visavassasataṃ jīvati, tattha¹⁰ Pokkharasāti¹¹ brāhmaṇo, Brahmāyu brāhmaṇo, Selo brāhmaṇo, Bāvariya¹² brāhmaṇo, Ānandatthero, Mahākassapatthero, Anuruddhatthero pana vassasataṃ c' eva paṇṇāsaṃ ca vassāni, Bakkulatthero vassasataṃ c' eva saṭṭhiṃ ca vassāni, ayaṃ sabbadighāyuko, so pi dve vassasatāni jīvati.¹³

Vipassī ādayo pana sabbe pi bodhisattā mettā-pubbabhāgena soma-

1 B. adds mayam

5 B. uttānenta

3 Si. omits it

11 Si. -sadi

2 S. omits it

6 B. bhadda-

9 Si. lahuṇ

12 Si. Pāvāriya

3 Si. & B. matamata

4 Si. vasa-

7 S. omits it

10 B. tattha

13 Si. jivi

nassa-sahagata-nāṇasampayutta-asamkhārika-cittena mātukucchismiṃ paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhiṃsu. Tena cittena gahitāya paṭisandhiyā asaṅkheyyam āyu. Iti sabbe Buddhā asaṅkheyyāyukā. Te kasmā asaṅkheyyaṇi na aṭṭhaṃsu. Utubhojana-vipattiya. Utubhojana-vasena hi āyu hāyati pi vaḍḍhati pi.

Tattha yadā rājāno adhammikā honti tadā uparājāno senāpati seṭṭhi sakalanagaraṃ sakalaraṭṭham adhammikam eva hoti. Atha tesam irakkhadevatā, tesaṃ devatānaṃ mittā¹ bhumma-devatā, bhumma-deva-ānaṃ mittā ākāsaṭṭha-devatā, ākāsaṭṭha-devatānaṃ mittā uṇha-valāhaka devatā, tesaṃ mittā abbha-valāhaka devatā, tesaṃ mittā sito-alāhaka devatā, tesaṃ mittā vassa-valāhaka devatā, tesaṃ mittā ātummahārājikā devatā, tesaṃ mittā tāvatiṃsā devatā, tesaṃ mittā yāmā devatā ti, evam ādi evaṃ yāva bhavaggā ṭhapetvā riyasāwake sabbā devā brahmaparisā pi adhammikā honti. Tesaṃ dhammikatāya visamaṃ candima-sūriyā pariharanti, vāto yathā-aggena na vāyati, yathāmaggena avāyanto² ākāsaṭṭhaka-vimānāni robbheti. Vimānesu khobhitesu devatānaṃ kiṇanattāya cittāni namanti. Devatānaṃ kiṇanattāya cittesu anamantesu sītuṇha-vedo utu yathākālena na sampajjati. Tasmim asampajjante va na sammā devo vassati, kadāci vassati kadāci na vassati, katthaci vassati utthaci na vassati, vassanto pi vappakāle aṅkurakāle nālakāle upphakāle khiraggahanādikālesu yathā yathā sassānam upakāro na hoti tathā tathā vassati ca³ vigacchati ca. Tena sassāni visama-ikāni honti vigata-gandha-vaṇṇa-rasādi sampattini.⁴ Ekabhājane akkhitta-taṇḍulesu pi ekasmiṃ padese bhattaṃ⁵ taṇḍulaṃ hoti, tasmim atikilinnam, ekasmiṃ samapākaṃ. Taṃ paribhuttaṃ kucchiyam tath' eva ākāraṃ hi gacchati.⁶ Tena sattā bahvābādha c'eva honti opāyukā ca. Evaṃ tāva utubhojanavasena āyu hāyati.

Yadā pana rājāno dhammikā honti tadā senāpati uparājāno pi dhammikā honti ti, purima-nayen' eva yāva brahmalokā sabbe pi dhammikā honti. Tesaṃ dhammikattā samaṃ candima-sūriyā pariharanti. Yathāmaggena vāto vāyati⁷ ākāsaṭṭhaka-vimānāni na robbheti. Tesaṃ asaṅkhobhentaṇaṃ devatānaṃ kiṇanattāya cittāni namanti. Evaṃ ālena utu sampajjati. Devo sammā vassati, vappakālato paṭṭhāya sassānam upakāraṃ karonto kāle vassati kāle vigacchati. Tena sassāni samapākāni sugandhāni suvāṇṇāni surasāni ojavantāni honti. Tehi

1 B. bhummaṭṭha-devatā

2 Si. & B. yathāmaggena vāyanto

3 S. ciram

4 B. sampannāni

5 Si. uttaṇḍulaṃ

6 Si. paccati

7 Si. & B. add yathāmaggena vāyanto

8 B. akkhobha-

